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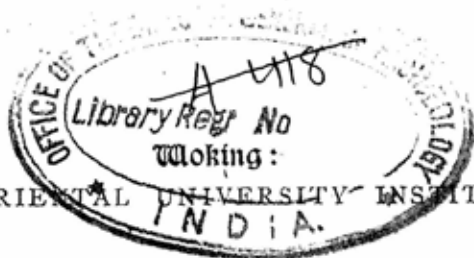
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18/17

JAPAN AND HER CONSTITUTION.

By F. T. PIGGOTT.

*(Late Legal Adviser to the Japanese Cabinet.)*

I WALKED recently through the spacious halls of the king of auctioneers in London, and I saw upon the walls, waiting the fall of the hammer, a canvas on which was depicted the counterfeit presentment of a Japanese lady. A more gruesome counterfeit I never yet beheld. Her garments, and the colour of them: her features and the lines of them: her figure and the pose and draping of it, all were caricatured. Yet the picture was the work of somebody they call a "Master," and had helped to pass current in bygone days the fiction that Mr. Whistler knew something about Japanese art.

I read recently through the spacious columns of the king of newspapers in London, and I saw in a speech delivered at Huddersfield, to influence the fall of the beans in election vases, the counterfeit presentment of the Japanese Constitution. The words were not a less gruesome counterfeit of the spirit and the letter of that Constitution than the "Princesse du Pays de Porcelaine" was of the ladies of Japan, of the art of Japan, and be it added also, of the art of Europe. The letter of that Charter and the meaning of it: the spirit of that Charter and the influence of it: the law laid down by both, and the Emperor's expressed intention to observe them, and his actual obedience to them, all

were caricatured, in supercilious fashion. Yet the speech at Huddersfield was the speech of somebody we call a "Statesman," and will help to pass current, in the belief that he knew what he was talking about, the absurd parody of the Constitution which he uttered.

Mr. Morley was criticising the provisions of the Irish Local Government Bill; he was scoffing at the "safeguards" which the Bill contained, contending that they made the proposals a sham and no reality. To emphasize his meaning, to give an example of legislation which appeared real and yet was unreal, he had recourse to the new Constitution of Japan. He said—though it is fair to add that he did not speak as of his own knowledge, but quoted a dictum of Mr. Bryce—that this Bill reminded him of the provisions of that Constitution, wherein "as Mr. Bryce tells us" among many very excellent provisions for the exercise of the franchise, is a "little article" which enables the Mikado, in cases of urgency, he himself being the judge of the urgency, to enact his own laws, and vote his own supplies. Was anything more needed to show how unreal, what a sham, this Constitution was? Bah! let him pass quickly from this atmosphere of sham to the atmosphere of reality contained in his Huddersfield audience.

This present article, or rather, with the Editor's permission I should say, this series of articles, is not specially devoted to the refutation of Mr. Morley's and Mr. Bryce's pleasantries about Japan; but rather to a critical examination of the constitutional work which, after many years' preparation, was begun on the eleventh of February, 1889, with the promulgation of the Constitution, and which, with many developments, some natural and to be expected, some very unexpected, is going on at a very rapid rate in that far-distant Empire. Mr. Morley's utterance—I will not do him the injustice to call it a critical utterance—may however serve as a convenient peg whereon to hang certain remarks of a general nature which apply not only to the article in question, but to the whole Constitution.

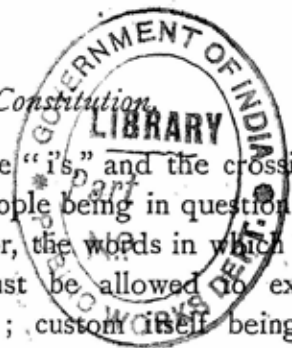
I gather that the sinister, or from the sarcastic point of



view, the dexterous, "little article" which destroys the value of the Imperial gift to the people of Japan, which takes back with one hand what has been given with the other, is the eighth. It is not hidden away in the remote recesses of seventy-eight articles, but stands out quite clearly and as near the beginning of the first chapter as it could be placed. It runs thus in the English translation: "The Emperor, in consequence of an urgent necessity to maintain public safety, or to avert public calamities, issues, when the Imperial Diet is not sitting, Imperial ordinances in the place of law." Paraphrased the principle is that the Emperor, while he has given to the people a full constitutional voice in the legislation of their country, reserves to himself the power of issuing ordinances to deal with cases of great urgency which may arise when the Diet is not sitting. It is not stated in so many words, but I am quite willing to admit, that the Emperor himself may determine whether the urgency exists, and what amounts to urgency. The principle which is laid down, in the eighth article, with regard to general legislation, is, in the seventieth article, applied specially to financial affairs. This article runs thus: "When the Imperial Diet cannot be convoked, owing to the external or internal condition of the country, in case of urgent need for the maintenance of public safety, the Government may take all necessary financial measures, by means of an Imperial ordinance." I am willing to admit, as before, that the question of "urgency" must be determined by the Emperor and his Government; and also, in this case, the question whether "the external or internal condition of the country" [one of those awkwardly literal translations of the original which unfortunately abound in the English version of the Constitution] is such that "the Imperial Diet cannot be convoked." Both to the eighth and the seventieth Articles, however, an identical and important proviso is attached. In the case of general laws—"Such Imperial ordinances are to be laid before the Imperial Diet at its next Session, and when the Diet does not approve the said

ordinances, the Government shall declare them to be invalid for the future": and in the case of the special financial legislation—"the matter shall be submitted to the Imperial Diet at its next Session, and its approbation shall be obtained thereto." The seventy-first article is also important in this connection, though it has a wider application: it runs thus: "When the Imperial Diet has not voted on the Budget, or when the Budget has not been brought into actual existence, the Government shall carry out the Budget of the preceding year." Here then is the actual verbal check to the Imperial abuse of the power which is retained in the Crown; the balance-weight in the hands of the people to prevent any kicking of the beam by too great a license in the exercise of the Imperial will and pleasure.

I pass over the fact that hasty and hap-hazard criticism has ignored the existence of these verbal checks. I will in fact refer its author, and its recapitulator, to the extraordinary powers which the Government possesses in the matter of proroguing either House of Parliament: "The Government may at any time order the prorogation of either House for a period of not more than fifteen days. When either House again meets after the termination of the prorogation, the debates of the last meeting shall be continued" [Article xxxiii. of the "Law of the Houses"]. I will go further and admit that the Government by successive uses of this power, might keep the meeting of the Diet in continued suspense, so that it should never have a chance of expressing an opinion adverse to the Emperor's "urgency ordinances": that the power contained in this Article might, on the face of it, be said to destroy the value of the verbal checks which the Constitution contains. But I say that in dealing with a great national charter, this is not the true critical spirit which a philosopher on Constitutions like Mr. Morley, or an analyser of Constitutions like Mr. Bryce, ought to adopt. Words are as bad almost as figures: they may be made to prove anything. But a Constitution, though a fundamental law, is in one sense not a law. As against the Imperial grantor it is to be construed



rigorously, to the dotting of the "i's" and the crossing of the "t's"—the rights of the People being in question: but in favour of the Imperial grantor, the words in which these rights have been granted must be allowed to expand under the influence of custom; custom itself being the creature of convenience, expediency, policy and wisdom; and the words cannot be nor ever are, except in extreme cases, pushed to their extreme significance. The *vox populi* is in one sense, and in one sense only, divine. It holds, in its clamour, the ultimate sanction of the law of interpretation of all great charters—rebellion—and in such sense becomes the voice of the very devil.

These glib commentators of other People's rights, of other Sovereigns' charters, do they realize what the writing of a Constitution means, the struggle between language and intention which is always going on? Turn for a moment to the well-worn topic of our own Constitution, the veto of the Crown: The hardest democratic expositor would not go further than saying that its disuse for so many years warrants the statement that it is "practically extinct." But in settling a Constitution on the English model, would any statesman omit that cardinal doctrine from his draft? Would he not write down in so many words that the power of veto in all matters of legislation is, and remains in, the Sovereign; trusting—and he would cease to be statesman if he could not trust—to the wisdom of Sovereign and of people, and chiefest of all, of the advisers of both who stand between, to build up an interpretation of the words; to create, out of mutual forbearances, a custom which shall wield a stronger power than any mere words can do.

Is not this precisely what we ourselves have done in granting what is practically legislative autonomy to the greater Colonies of our own Empire, and yet in making it subject to the veto of the Crown? Or, to take another instance of more modern application, the legislative functions of the Upper House. The Party of Progress is busy building, it can hardly be called a custom, but an interpre-

tation of the power which the Constitution of England assigns to the House of Lords. It is not at present too clear how this interpretation is to be worded, but judging from the noise which any throwing out of Bills by the Lords creates, it will go to great lengths: but not the noisiest of the shouters, nor the hardest of the "neopoliticians," were he set down to write an exposition of the British Constitution, but would on this subject resort only to an interpretative "gloss"; he would explain how the legislative power exists, "but is," or "ought to be," "rarely exercised" adversely to the Commons: and he would support his statement by references to well-known examples of mutual forbearances of Lords and Commons which the solemn functions of "conferences" had fostered.

It was inevitable therefore that, in drafting a Constitution for Japan, this great difficulty of language should present itself: the difficulty of expressing accurately, and above all, concisely, in words, what words and custom combined had in other countries already effected.

Let me say this now distinctly: Whatever blemishes the Japanese Constitution may possess in its details, however imperfect it may be, admitting that there are both blemishes and imperfections, there was a wish to incorporate, so far as could be done, the fundamental principles which prevail in our own fair land of freedom. But those who had to frame the words were compelled to trust, and those who advised them, *quorum pars parvula fui*, bade them so to trust, to a certain aftergrowth of custom, the lichen on the trunk which is incorporate with the tree we look upon, to goodwill on both sides which in cases of friction would promote mutual forbearances, which should make the Constitution what it was intended it should be.

And so first to repel the particular charge before establishing the general principle. The statement that the words bear the meaning so contemptuously assigned to them is not warranted: for, as I have shown, they have certain important provisos. And the suggestion that the Emperor, or the Government on his behalf, deliberately inserted a

"little article" which—apparently harmless until some acute English observer discovered its true import and exposed it—was intended to nullify the effect of the grant of representative government, is absurd. It is a deliberate insult to the Emperor, not so much as a ruler of men, but as a sane human being, endowed with a certain instinct of government, and surrounded by men of wisdom, of learning, and of experience in the craft of State.

If it had been the Constitution of any other country but Japan, this feebly facile criticism would never have been uttered. But for Japan, the pretty plaything of the globe-trotter from which no serious thing can come, for Japan the oriental which can never change the crookedness of her mind, it was quite good enough. In most commonplace language "it is too bad." Burrs stick. Years hence, if anybody is kind enough to bestow a passing thought on Japan and the Constitution, this particular burr of Mr. Bryce will be remembered and repeated, and will pass as sober and thoughtful criticism. Curiously enough, however, the principle of the "little article" was based on English precedents, (see note).

My general proposition then is this: That a written Constitution must be construed in the same way as an unwritten Constitution, that is to say, by the light of customary interpretation which grows up around it: and that there is no reason to suppose that this necessary growth of customary interpretation will be in any way checked in Japan by undue interference of the Imperial will. The constitutional spirit of all parties was shown in a remarkable manner in the very first debate in the Lower House. One of the members had been arrested on a charge of fraud: a question of privilege thereupon arose, and one of some nicety: Should the question be raised before the House proceeded to elect its President? The debates were of a distinctly high order and compared very favourably with debates on similar subjects at Westminster. There were displayed both constitutional knowledge and legal acumen which were remarkable, without there being any necessity to add "for

the first parliamentary debate in the East." And so, in the recent dissolution of the Diet, which the hostile critics of the Government have called a high-handed proceeding. The Opposition had shown a hostility to the Government of a somewhat violent obstructionist type, not to one measure but to several. The Cabinet had the power, the hostile critics' case depends on this, to dissolve the Diet at the first sign of such opposition: but it was not until it had been borne with patiently for a long time that the moment arrived for striking its foes. One of the measures which had been thrown out was the Government proposal to establish a large relief fund for the sufferers from the terrible Gifu Earthquake last year. After the dissolution the Government treated this matter as one of urgency and immediately voted the sums necessary for relief on a large scale. The bearing of this example on my general proposition is this: There was no high-handed dealing with the Diet, but in a constitutional spirit a dissolution was determined on to avoid a deadlock, and to enable the Ministers to appeal to the country.

It is time now to give a brief summary of the Constitution.

The first chapter deals with the prerogatives of the Emperor. As to these one thing only calls for special remark: first the use of the term "Ordinance" as distinguished from "Law." The Ordinances are those enactments which proceed directly from the Sovereign. The Laws proceed from the Sovereign and the Diet. The Ordinances in case of urgency I have already dealt with. Article ix. reproduces the English principle that the Sovereign may, by proclamation, reinforce the law, may give vitality to a law by calling special attention to it. But in the case of all the Imperial Ordinances they may not in any way alter any of the existing laws. The doctrine that the Sovereign has no inherent power of legislation could not be expressed in any stronger way.

The second is the important chapter: it deals with the rights and duties of subjects. The following are among its chief provisions:

All Japanese subjects are equally eligible for all public offices, whether civil or military.

They are to have complete liberty in the choice of their abode. They are to be arrested, detained, tried, and punished only according to law. They are to be tried only by the Judges appointed by law. The house of the Japanese is henceforth to be his castle. The secrecy of letters is not to be violated. The right of property shall be respected. Freedom of religious belief shall be enjoyed, and also liberty of speech, writing, publication, public meeting and association. The right of presenting petitions is conferred. All these things are taken out of the sphere of interference of an autocratic Sovereign, and are put within the sphere of the law : that is, these things, these liberties and rights can only be interfered with by the joint act of the people, through their representatives in the Diet, and the Sovereign. The Imperial Diet is constituted by Chapter III. : in the Upper House the principle of election is partially introduced. By the law of the House of Peers, Counts, Viscounts, and Barons are elected by their respective orders : and a certain number of Commoners, one for each City and one for each Prefecture, are to be elected by and from among the highest tax-payers. The Emperor also possesses the power of nominating members of the Upper House for meritorious services, or for erudition.

The share which the Diet has in legislation is again stated : Every law requires its consent. The Diet is to be convoked every year, a session lasting three months : but this may be prolonged in case of necessity by Imperial order : and extraordinary sessions may be convoked by the same means. In the House of Representatives no debate can be opened, or vote taken, unless one third of the members are present. The deliberations of both Houses are to be public, but the Government may demand, or the House may resolve to hold, secret sittings. Petitions may be presented to both Houses by subjects. Freedom of debate is ensured to members : but this does not cover the printing and the publishing of speeches delivered in the House, which

are left subject to the general law. Freedom from arrest is also ensured, except in certain heinous crimes, unless either House assents to the arrest of one of its members.

The Ministry is distinct from the Diet, but members of the Government, or Delegates from the Government may sit and speak in either House.

Chapter V. deals with the Courts of Law and the Judges. Law is to be administered in the name of the Emperor, by judges appointed by law. The judges are not removable except by sentence of a Court of Discipline. Trials are to be conducted in public, except where such publicity may be prejudicial to peace and order, or to the maintenance of public morality. Infringements of rights by the illegal actions of the executive are to be dealt with solely by a "Court of Administrative Litigation."

Chapter IV. deals with the Privy Council and the responsibility of ministers : and Chapter VI. with Finances ; but these may be conveniently left to the next article.

*(To be continued.)*

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NOTE.

The eighth and seventieth articles which have been scoffed at were in reality based on certain statements made by writers of some authority as to what could in fact occur in England. The following two quotations are taken from Todd's "Parliamentary Government of England":

"Legislation of this kind [Acts of Indemnity] is a parliamentary acknowledgment of the principle that, in times of danger or emergency, the Crown, acting under the advice of responsible ministers, may properly anticipate the future action of Parliament, by a temporary suspension of certain classes of statutes. Abstractedly the Crown has no right to issue any such orders or proclamations: but in the words of Sir Robert Peel, 'Governments have assumed, and will assume, in extreme cases, unconstitutional power, and will trust to the good sense of the people, convinced by the necessity to obey the proclamation, and to Parliament to indemnify the issuers.' And again,

"In the words of Mr. Macaulay (Secretary to the Board of Audit), Cases must constantly arise in so complicated a system of government as ours, where it becomes the duty of the executive authorities, in the exercise of their discretionary powers, boldly to set aside the requirements of the Legislature, trusting to the good sense of Parliament, when all the facts of the case shall have been explained, to acquit them of all blame; and it would be, not a public advantage, but a public calamity, if the Government were to be deprived of the means of so exercising their discretionary authority."

We have probably "seen the last" of the exercise of these discretionary powers; we have seen the last of so many things lately: England is "going so fast." But there was at least warrant for Japan desiring to establish the constitutional existence of a power which had not been entirely unknown in England.



## IS THE FALL IN SILVER IN ANY WAY A BENEFIT TO INDIA?

AFTER a recent discussion on Bimetallism I was talking to a very eminent and well-known Anglo-Indian official, and I asked why he, whose name figured among the list of vice-presidents of the Bimetallic League, had never, as far as I knew, publicly advocated Bimetallism—at any rate, in England. He replied that he believed in Bimetallism *as a theory*, and had joined the Bimetallic League under the belief that the triumph of its principles would be immensely for the benefit of India; but that when he went to Manchester in 1888 to attend the Bimetallic Conference there, and heard all the Manchester men had to say, the conclusion was forced on him that the interests of England (*i.e.*, Manchester) and of India on the Silver question were diametrically opposed, and that as long as he had any official connection with India he ought not to take any active part in supporting the Bimetallic League, lest he might be thought to be acting in opposition to the interests of India. Now, that there is *some* divergence of interest on the Silver question between Manchester and India no sane man would deny, but the official of whom I speak had allowed himself to be drawn into a deduction of much wider range than this, and had, in accepting the view that the interests of England and of India were irreconcilable on the Silver question, adopted, in fact, what I hold to be the pestilent heresy, that the fall in the Gold-value of Silver is a benefit and not a curse to India. That such a theory had found supporters among the ill-informed, and among those whose interest it was to inflate Gold at any price, I was aware; but it was a startling shock to find an Anglo-Indian statesman of the first rank, not only admitting the heresy in theory, but allowing it to influence his conduct in a very practical manner, to the extent of abstention from all support of the theory of Bimetallism, although he believed it to be true.

It seemed to me that this showed the necessity for immediately combating the heresy, and doing one's best to show those who are interested in India that the fall in Silver has been almost absolutely a disaster for India ; and that the small benefits which some branches of her trade may have received from it (though even this is doubted and disputed by many experts) are overwhelmingly outbalanced by the heavy burdens it has laid on her finances, by the restriction and almost entire stoppage of the investment of European capital in India, and by the serious and increasing losses it has imposed on her banking and mercantile classes.

By the kindness of the Editor of this Review I have been afforded this opportunity of stating what I believe to be the true view of the question, and of defending my views as far as this can be done in a short article.

There are, I think, three ways in which we ought to examine this question ; and, as I think a reader always likes to have a map of the country which he is going to traverse, I will state them here in the order in which I think they ought to be considered. They are :

- I. *The Argument from Authority*.—To ascertain what the best authorities say on this question, and to see whether they are divergent or virtually unanimous.
- II. *The Argument from History*.—To inquire whether the fall *has* been a benefit in the past (*i.e.*, from 1873 to 1892) ; and if not, whether we have any reason to suppose that the eventualities of the future will differ in any way from the experience of the past.
- III. *The Argument from Science*.—To ascertain whether we have any good ground for believing that a fall in the value of its standard currency is *ever* a benefit to any nation ; and even if so, whether there is any reason to think that it is a benefit to India under *present* circumstances.

Of course, to discuss the question fully and in detail under these three aspects would take much more space than I have at my disposal ; but I hope to be able to set forth the

main facts and views, which render it, in my opinion, necessary to answer the two latter of these questions with an absolute negative.

#### I. THE ARGUMENT FROM AUTHORITY.

On a question like this, affecting the welfare of India as an Empire, there cannot be a more authoritative opinion, or one which could be more justly considered final, than that of the Government of India, as expressed in one of their formal and important despatches to the Secretary of State. The readers of this Review do not need to be told that the Government of India consists of five or six of the most experienced and able of Indian administrators ; men trained to watch and discern the most delicate signs of good and evil in the results of the measures which they have passed their lives in administering ; men who, starting with an intellectual and practical training without its equal in the world, have succeeded in passing through all the nets and snares which impede official progress in India, and have at last reached the supreme administrative grade of governing the whole Empire, each in the department allotted to him. These are not men who write hastily or with a light heart ; they are each experts of the highest class in their own line, and are assisted by the ablest Secretaries which the trained Civil Service of the country can provide. They *know* that their verdict will probably be final, and that every word they write will be received with respect and attention in England, and will affect for weal or woe the destinies of millions in India. These administrators have at their head always one of the ablest and most experienced statesmen whom England can send forth to govern her greatest dependency, and they are assisted in legal matters by some able and successful barrister, who gives up for a time the triumphs and profits of the bar to gain experience in government and legislation. These are the men whose verdict I am now going to quote to you. Remember that it was written on a most important and solemn occasion, with a knowledge that it would, and

an intention that it should, influence the discussions of the Royal Commission on Gold and Silver, which sat in 1888, and which would, if it had been unanimous, have settled the Silver question as far as England is concerned.

This is what they say in their despatch to the Secretary of State, No. 227, of 4th September, 1886: "The fall in the rate of exchange has coincided in point of time with a large development of Indian trade and a steady increase of Indian revenue; but many authorities hold that this growth of trade and revenue is due to a succession of several good harvests, to the increased energy shown of late years in the construction of railways in India, to the cheapening of the cost of sea-transport, and to the opening of the Suez Canal rather than to the fall in exchange. It is beyond question that the instability in the relative value of gold and silver discourages the investment of capital in India; and the higher rate of interest, which we should have to pay for silver loans, forces us to borrow in gold, and to accept the risk of a still further appreciation of that metal. The fall in silver, by throwing unexpectedly a heavy burden on our finances, has more than once compelled us to defer the construction of public works intended for the protection of the country against famine, and has led to regrettable and wasteful fluctuations in our public works policy. These are evils of great magnitude, and if we take into consideration also the direct accumulating increase to the public expenditure due to the fall in exchange, it is, to say the least, difficult to contend that India as a whole may have gained as much as she has lost. It has no doubt been argued that the fall in exchange by encouraging Indian exports has given a stimulus to industries in which India competes with countries which have a gold standard; but . . . we have been unable to discover that the silver prices of Indian exports, or Indian commodities generally, have risen since the fall in exchange, and there are good grounds for believing that the effect of the change, that of late years has taken place in the relative value of silver and gold, has been to lower

gold prices and not to raise silver prices." These are weighty words, and the official utterance gives no uncertain sound. If due allowance be made for official reticence and the desire to avoid the slightest semblance of strong language or exaggeration, it will be seen at once that the verdict conveys the strongest opinion of the injury done to India by the fall in Silver.

Further on, in the same despatch, they say again: "Even if, for the sake of argument, it be admitted that India as a whole has gained as much as she has lost by the fall in exchange, we are still of opinion that a change [*i.e.*, in favour of silver] is imperatively required in the interests of the British Government in India. If the gain has just balanced the loss, we may reasonably conclude that, in case of a rise in exchange, the loss would not on the whole exceed the gain; while the financial relief and the consequent political advantage to our Government would be incalculable."

The men who signed this despatch were Lord Dufferin, Sir Fred. Roberts, Mr. Courtenay Ilbert, Sir Stuart Bayley, Sir Theodore Hope, Sir Auckland Colvin, and Sir George Chesney—names not exactly to be despised, when expressing an opinion on an Indian financial question.

Next let us see what Sir David Barbour, the present Finance Minister of India, and the author of the "*Theory of Bimetallism*," says. He was a member of the Royal Commission on Gold and Silver; and, so far from being a fanatical adherent of the doctrine that the fall in exchange is bad for India, he, at the time he wrote the above work in 1885, was somewhat inclined to support the opposite theory; but even then he wrote: "Every fall in the Gold price of Silver will be followed by a corresponding decline in the Gold prices of commodities, by increased disinclination of capitalists in London to invest money in India, by a reduction of profits and a general increase of the burden of obligation already contracted in England:" and he has since become a still more decided advocate of the doctrine of loss to India. In his note appended to the 3rd Report

of the Gold and Silver Commission (p. 134) he states : " The fall in the relative value of Silver has most injuriously affected the financial position of the Government of India. The increase in the number of rupees required to meet a fixed obligation is nearly 45 per cent. This change not only imposes a burden on the Indian finances at the present time ; but the uncertainty as regards the future exercises a paralysing influence. India must depend more and more upon her own resources of all kinds and those of other silver-using countries ; and even this policy may, in the case of the occurrence of events which are not beyond the range of probability, fail to avert political and economic dangers of a very serious character."

Thirdly, let us see what the Royal Commission on Gold and Silver said ; I mean not only the Bimetallists who signed Part III. of the Report ; but the *whole* Commission, who signed Part I. unanimously. They say as follows (p. 38, Part I.) : " The most important is the fact that the Government of India has every year to convert a large portion of its receipts from silver into gold. As these gold payments are for the most part fixed in amount, any fall in the value of Silver necessarily compels the Government to sell a larger quantity of bills or in other words to pay a larger quantity of silver. The difficulties of the Government of India consist not only in the additional number of rupees, which it is compelled to find from year to year in order to discharge its gold liabilities ; but in the uncertainty caused by the fluctuations in the rate of exchange, which makes it impossible to forecast with any accuracy its future expenditure. There is also the difficulty of attracting capital to silver-using countries, owing to the reluctance of capitalists to invest in securities, the return on which they are unable to calculate with certainty. This consideration applies with special force to the Government of India, with whom it necessarily lies to take the initiative in any scheme of public works for the better development of the country. In former times the Government were able to raise loans . . . at

about the same rates in Calcutta and in London. The price of 4 per cent. rupee paper was then  $101\frac{3}{4}$  to  $105\frac{1}{2}$  in Calcutta, while the price of the 4 per cent. sterling stock in London was 101 to 106. But in 1887 4 per cent. rupee paper was  $95\frac{1}{4}$  to  $99\frac{7}{8}$ , while the  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. sterling stock was  $100\frac{1}{4}$  to 104, or but little below the 4 per cent. stock of 14 years before.\* This report was signed by Lord Herschell, Sir Louis Mallet, Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, Right Hon. H. Chaplin, Hon. C. W. Freemantle, Sir John Lubbock, Sir T. Farrer, Sir William Houldsworth, Sir D. Barbour, and Messrs. J. W. Birch, Leonard Courtney, M.P., and Samuel Montagu, M.P.—names not to be held in light esteem.

I will take one more official witness, because he was the first to draw public attention to the Silver question as it affects India, and because his minute on this subject was admitted by English and Continental economists to be one of the ablest as well as earliest contributions to the subject. I mean Mr. R. Barclay Chapman, C.S.I., who was Financial Secretary to the Government of India from 1869 to 1881; and whose minute on the Silver question was laid before the Paris Monetary Conference of 1881 by M. Cernuschi: and I quote him specially, because he holds the opinion that any rise in the value (*i.e.*, power of purchasing commodities) of the rupee would be injurious to India; yet he holds strongly (p. 56) that the Indian producer gains nothing by the fall in the gold-value of Silver; his answer to the question (No. 10,290) whether the Indian producer has an advantage in competition with other corn-growing countries, owing to the low gold-value of the rupee, was: "It has always seemed to me that that really begs the whole question. If the ratio of 1 to  $15\frac{1}{2}$  were substituted for the present ratio, the rupee would necessarily rise in value and the Indian producer would get fewer rupees for his produce. He is getting now nearly the same number of rupees as before, because rupees have not materially altered in value [purchasing power], but

\* The latter part of this extract is slightly condensed.

he gets no more gold for his produce than he would do, if the standard of India were gold. I have never been able to see in what respect he gains."

This opinion I venture to say goes to the root of the whole matter. It is admitted on all hands that India loses enormously on her gold obligations, and on the purchases she has to make from gold-using countries; but it is contended that the Indian producer gains by the lessened gold value of the rupee, because the gold value of his produce obtains for him more rupees. Mr. Chapman shows clearly the fallacy which underlies this belief.

I have now given pretty fully the opinion of the most experienced Indian *officials* on the point we are discussing; and it is all one way, that the fall in the gold-value of Silver has been almost, if not entirely *disadvantageous* to India. I had intended to give some *non-official* opinions; but the limited space at my disposal renders it impossible for me to do this; and it must be remembered that, after all, the opinions of the highest officials in India, of men who are trained to consider such subjects from all points of view, and in the interests of all classes of the community, are necessarily more impartial than those of persons connected with any particular pursuit, which naturally tinges their views with the subtle hues derived from self-interest.

I now proceed to the second portion of my subject.

## II. THE ARGUMENT FROM HISTORY.

Here we have to consider firstly, whether the fall in the gold value of Silver can be considered from known facts and events to have been advantageous to India during the twenty years since it began to be of serious dimensions; and secondly whether, if it has hitherto been admittedly disastrous, there is any reason to believe that in the future the effect will be different, and will be in any way more favourable to India than it has been as yet.

As regards the past the task is an easy one. There can hardly be any doubt about the effect of a change, which has



increased the debt of India by 66 millions sterling in the last 20 years ; which is now increasing it at the rate of 7 millions sterling per annum ; which has half-ruined all the official and professional classes in India ; which has almost absolutely stopped the investment of English and European capital in Indian undertakings ; which has led to the increase of taxation in some directions and has prevented the removal of it in others ; and which has embarrassed the Government, destroyed the loyalty and content of the official classes, and most seriously damaged the credit and diminished the capital of all the mercantile and trading classes. That these injuries to the credit and prosperity of India are undoubtedly and demonstrably due to the fall in the gold-value of Silver, I propose to prove in detail as I proceed ; and what have we to put per contra, what are the alleged advantages which it is stated that India has gained to counterbalance these enormous and obvious disadvantages ? It is alleged that certain Indian trades, which are almost wholly in the hands of Europeans, have been benefited by the fall in exchange, such as the tea, jute, cotton and grain trades ; because the Indian producer, being paid in gold, is able, when he sells his produce in Europe, to convert this gold into more rupees than he could before, while each rupee will have nearly, if not quite, the same value or purchasing power in India. The fallacy which underlies this argument has been well pointed out by Mr. Chapman, as shown above. The Indian producer, if he sells in India, obtains about the same number of rupees as he did before, because the rupee has not materially altered in value ; but the gold prices of everything having decreased since gold increased in value, he does not get any more gold than he did before, indeed he gets less gold, but that smaller quantity of gold produces for him the same number of rupees. As Mr. Chapman pithily says, "I have never been able to see in what respect he gains." It will be remembered that the Government of India said in their despatch above quoted : "We have been unable to discover that the silver prices of Indian exports or Indian commodities

generally have risen since the fall in exchange; and there are good grounds for believing that the effect of the change which of late years has taken place in the relative value of silver and gold has been *to lower gold prices and not to raise silver prices.*" The italics are mine: these words should be written up in letters of gold over the desks of those who delude themselves into the belief that a low exchange places a premium on exports, and is advantageous to commercial interests in India. The benefit is hypothetical and doubtful as we have seen: the injury and loss are clear and undoubted. It is very *uncertain* whether the producer gets any really increased price for his produce: it is *quite* certain that all the business transactions of the merchant are impeded by the unsettled state of exchange; that he has lost from one-third to one-fourth of the real value of his capital through no fault of his own; and that his Government has been prevented from making for him roads and canals, railroads and harbours, drainage and water improvements, which would have facilitated commerce, would have given employment to thousands, and would have afforded to the capitalist opportunities of employing his funds or of undertaking contracts, which are now lost. As the Government of India said in 1888, "many authorities hold that the growth of trade and revenue is due to a succession of several good harvests, to the increased energy shown of late years in the construction of railways, to the cheapening of the cost of sea-transport, and to the opening of the Suez Canal, *rather than to the fall in exchange.*" That this is the true view has been amply confirmed by the events which have occurred *since* 1888. The rupee was in 1888 at an average of 1s. 5d., it is now at an average of 1s. 3½d.; and the Indian bankers and mercantile classes, who have for the last four years seen their capital steadily dwindling, their trade decreasing, and their profits vanishing, have become quite convinced that, if anybody is ever benefited by a low rate of exchange, it is certainly not they; and there is hardly a merchant or banker now, who would not welcome a rise in exchange, although there were plenty even up to 1890 who would not have done so.

Having dealt with the question in its general aspects, I have now to prove in more detail the statements which I have made. (1) And first as regards the immense loss on the remittances which the Government of India is obliged to make to England. I believe that very few Englishmen unconnected with India realize the enormous scale of this loss: it is now over 7 millions per annum, or more than the whole opium revenue; and the attempts to show that the whole of this is *not* loss, and to discriminate between old contracts and new contracts, and between fixed and modifiable obligations, should be swept away as sophistries. India has *got* to remit a certain number of pounds sterling to England each year; and, as the whole of her revenue is collected in rupees, it is obvious that the price of the rupee is the *only* determining factor which decides the price which she will have to pay in her own currency for that number of pounds sterling. Whether the contracts are old or new, whether they are fixed or modifiable, has surely nothing to do with the question. Such as they *are*, under whatever conditions they may *be*, the existing contracts have got to be met each year; and the price at which the Government of India can meet them in her own Currency depends on the value of the rupee in gold, and *not* on any other factor whatever. I give here a table showing the amount of remittances by Government from India to England for the 20 years from 1872 to 1891, and the loss incurred on them, in order that the magnitude of that loss may be appreciated; the figures are taken from the parliamentary return, the Statistical Abstract for British India for 1891.

This table shows that the total amount of remittances during the 20 years was 343 krors, for which 343 millions sterling would have been obtained, if the rupee had been at 2 shillings; but only 276 millions *were* obtained, thus showing a loss of 67 millions sterling on the 20 years, or an average of  $3\frac{1}{4}$  millions a year, with an average value of the rupee of 1s.  $7\frac{3}{4}$ d.; but this loss in the three last years averaged 7 millions, and will be even more in 1892, for the rupee is now at 1s.  $3\frac{1}{2}$ d. instead of 1s.  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d., as it was in 1891.

## REMITTANCES FROM INDIA TO ENGLAND (SECRETARY OF STATE'S BILLS).

Year.	Amount in Rupees (Krores).	Sums obtained in Gold (Millions).	Loss by Exchange (Millions).	Average Rate for Rupee.
1872	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	39	1-11 $\frac{1}{4}$
1873	14 $\frac{3}{4}$	14	76	1-10 $\frac{3}{4}$
1874	14 $\frac{1}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{4}$	1	1-10 $\frac{1}{4}$
1875	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	10 $\frac{3}{4}$	1	1-10
1876	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	12 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	1-9 $\frac{3}{4}$
1877	14 $\frac{1}{4}$	12 $\frac{3}{4}$	2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1-8 $\frac{3}{4}$
1878	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1-8 $\frac{3}{4}$
1879	17	14	3	1-7 $\frac{1}{4}$
1880	18 $\frac{1}{4}$	15 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	1-8
1881	18 $\frac{1}{4}$	15 $\frac{1}{4}$	3	1-8
1882	22 $\frac{1}{4}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1-8
1883	18 $\frac{3}{4}$	15	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1-7 $\frac{1}{4}$
1884	21 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{3}{4}$	4	1-7 $\frac{3}{4}$
1885	17	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1-7 $\frac{1}{4}$
1886	13 $\frac{3}{4}$	10 $\frac{1}{4}$	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1-6 $\frac{1}{4}$
1887	16 $\frac{3}{4}$	12 $\frac{1}{4}$	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	1-5 $\frac{3}{4}$
1888	21 $\frac{1}{4}$	15 $\frac{3}{4}$	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	1-5
1889	21	14 $\frac{1}{4}$	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	1-4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1890	22 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	1-6
1891	23	16	7	1-4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total - -	343	276	66 $\frac{1}{2}$	
Average -	17	14	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	1-7 $\frac{3}{4}$

This enormous loss is an undoubted fact ; and no attempt at minimising it or disputing it is possible. If it had *not* occurred, this amount would have been available either in reduction of taxation, or for the execution of public works—roads, railways and canals, or for reforms and additional expenditure in the Judicial, Educational, Jail, Sanitary and other Departments which urgently require more money, and would undoubtedly obtain it, if it were available.

(2) I come next to the effect on the official and professional classes in India ; and here, too, the bad results cannot possibly be disputed. All officials, whether English or native, are paid in rupees, and all professional men receive their fees and salaries in rupees ; these rupees have diminished in value by more than one-third at the present time, and *all* these classes have therefore lost practically one-third, or at least one-fourth of their income. For, in the first place, there are *no* compensations ; they do not get anything

cheaper on account of this fall in the gold-value of the rupee, and they cannot and do not have their salaries or fees increased in any way on account of it; and secondly, it is a loss which affects much the largest part of their income. It is commonly said by opponents of this view that, as they spend their income *in* India, the rupee is worth as much, or nearly as much, as it ever was, to them; and that the loss only affects that part of their income which they remit to Europe. But this is a fallacy; for a European official or professional man spends, if he is fairly well off, four-fifths of his income on things which have to be paid for, directly or indirectly, in gold. His actual food, bought in the country and not imported, is almost the only thing not affected by the rise in gold; everything else that he pays for, his stores, his wine, his clothes, his children's schooling, his books, his horses and carriages, his amusements and subscriptions, in fact everything that he buys, is either paid for directly in gold, if purchased in Europe, or has to be purchased at an enhanced price from the importer, if imported by tradesmen or others. Even his house-rent and his servants' wages have increased of late years; and though this may not be a *direct* effect of the fall in silver, yet, coming on the top of his other losses, it is a serious matter, and it is probably due *indirectly* to the lessened value of silver.

I will not dwell more on this topic, partly because the loss to important classes of the Indian community is so obvious and indisputable; and partly because I have recently dealt with it at length elsewhere; and I would refer any English readers who feel any doubt about it to what I have said on that occasion.\*

(3) I now come to the third evil which I mentioned, viz.:

The almost absolute stoppage of the investment of European capital in Indian undertakings on account of the uncertainty in the value of silver, and the doubts which

\* Lecture on the Effects on the Finances and Commerce of India of the fall in the Gold-value of Silver. *Journal of the East India Association* for April, 1892.

European investors therefore feel as to the prospects of any undertaking, of which the returns must necessarily be in a silver currency.

Perhaps the best known instance of this is the most recent one, where a well-known and carefully-planned scheme for a railway to connect Bengal with Assam, which would appear to have as good chances of becoming remunerative, as many of the Indian railway schemes in which the English investor freely placed his money before the fall in silver frightened him, and which possessed the advantage of a partial guarantee from the Secretary of State, entirely failed to win the confidence of capitalists in London, and did not, I believe, succeed in obtaining more than a small portion of the sum required. But this is only one instance among many; there are innumerable projects for railroads, canals, bridges, harbour works, and trading and commercial undertakings of all kinds, ready to be launched in India, and possessing guarantees for stability and remunerativeness, which are at least wanting in many of the foreign projects which find favour in the eyes of English speculators, and which would undoubtedly be supported and fully subscribed for, considering the present low rate of money and difficulty in finding reliable investments with fair returns, if it were not for this uncertainty about silver, which the English investor does not understand, or understands only so far as to be thoroughly suspicious and puzzled about the whole matter, and to declare that none of his money shall go into schemes worked with a currency which jumps about like quicksilver, one day up and another day down, and seems to be at the mercy of any American speculator, who chooses to make a corner in silver or to "bear" it, and of any Government which chooses for its own purposes to spread a report that it is about to demonetize silver or to increase its gold coinage. The English investor will put his money into South American, Mexican, Portuguese, Turkish and even Persian speculations, of the merits of which he knows hardly anything, and where he is utterly at the mercy of Foreign

Governments, which, if sometimes reliable, are very often much the reverse; he will confide his savings to these schemes in the full and certain hope of an immediate and large return, although there may be absolutely *no* ground for such expectation; and yet he will not invest a penny in the best-planned, most influentially-supported, and most promising Indian undertakings, where he knows that the promoters are his own countrymen and well known persons, whom he can always hold responsible in case of disaster; where he will be under English law, administered in the higher Courts by English judges, and where he will always be sure of the support and aid of his own Government, instead of being at the mercy of a foreign one.

Is it not amply evident that the insecurity which thus influences some of the shrewdest and ablest men in the world must be of a most serious and dangerous character, or it would not cause them to prefer risky, unvouched for, and foreign schemes to safe, well-supported and English enterprises? The insecurity *is* serious and dangerous, and the English investor is *right*: silver has been falling for twenty years; it has fallen lower than anybody would have believed 20 years ago that it *could* fall; and it is absolutely impossible to say *how* low it may fall in the next 20 years, if bimetallism is not restored. Who can wonder then that a wise investor refuses to touch Indian enterprises, based on a silver currency; and who can estimate the amount of harm done to India and also to England by this impossibility of bringing together English capital, longing for investment, and Indian enterprises, languishing for want of capital? If during these twenty years these two healthy and powerful parents had been united in a fertile union instead of being divorced by an unnatural and stupid legislation, they would have produced by this time a brood of strong and vigorous children, which would have been the support and comfort both of the mother country and of her great dependency; but such offspring is impossible, where one of the parents remains cold and impassive, and refuses to remove, by

means which are obvious and ready to hand, the chains which bind the other parent in a bondage, which is bringing it perilously near to financial death.

I have dwelt so much on the first three of the evils which I mentioned on p. 19 that I have left myself no space to consider the fourth and fifth of them, viz. : (4) the increase or non-removal of taxation, and (5) the loss of credit and diminution of capital values, which the fall in Silver has brought on India; nor can I treat of the third argument of which I spoke on p. 12, viz., the argument from economic science, or whether a fall in the value of its standard currency is *ever* beneficial to a nation: but to conclude the second part as briefly as possible, I may say that it is of course obvious that, if the 3½ millions (rising latterly to 7 millions) a year extra had not been required from the Indian Government, they could have spent this sum in the remission of taxation which is open to obvious objections, such as the Income tax, and the Salt tax; or Revenue to which many object, such as the Opium revenue, might have been abolished, whereas, under present circumstances, it is perfectly useless to discuss or advocate its abolition, simply because the Government of the country could not be carried on without it, and even the Anti-Opium Society does not, I believe, place the abolition of Opium above the preservation of our empire in India. The fifth head, the loss of credit and of capital values, is one which affects chiefly the mercantile and trading classes, who have hitherto been somewhat disinclined to join in the almost universal condemnation of the fall in silver as disastrous to India; but the events of the last two years, the sudden rise in silver in 1890, and the still more sudden and deeper fall which followed, have opened the eyes of all commercial men to the dangers of the present uncertainty; and both the Chambers of Commerce of Calcutta and Bombay have become converted to Bimetallism, and have addressed urgent requests to the Government to move in the matter, and to initiate measures, which may effect the restoration of silver to its former value. The loss of capital, amounting



often to one-third of the whole, has become a most serious matter to the Banks and mercantile houses; their capital has always been estimated on a gold basis, and they now find that except for internal purposes in India itself, it has lost one-third of its value and is shrinking day by day still farther. Many a firm has practically lost 10 per cent. of its capital since the beginning of this year; for all European firms must estimate their capital at what it would bring when re-transferred to Europe. It has generally been sent out from Europe, either directly or indirectly, and it has in almost all cases to be returned to Europe eventually in some shape or other. In all these cases the loss caused by the drop in silver is complete and is final unless silver can be restored. I have hitherto spoken of the larger banking and mercantile houses; but the retail trader is in the same predicament: he has to pay in gold in Europe for all the goods he imports, and as the rupee falls he has to put up his rupee prices, if he is to make the same profit as before: but he finds himself then on the horns of a most unpleasant dilemma. If he puts up his prices, his customers, who are all paid in rupees, cannot afford to buy as much as before, and his sales fall off proportionally: if on the other hand he does *not* put up his prices, his sales remain the same, but his profits dwindle, as silver falls, till he at last finds himself conducting a risky and troublesome business "for the pleasure of enjoying the beautiful climate," as one successful retail dealer described it to me.

And now I must conclude. I hope that I have shown by both the arguments from Authority and from History that the fall in the gold-value of silver has been an unmitigated evil for India; that the few and slight instances to the contrary given by our opponents are mostly, if not entirely, founded on misconceptions and delusions; that this evil is a growing and increasing one, equally harmful to India and to England; and that it is one which all who wish well to either country should set themselves to combat with vigour and firmness, undiscouraged by the stolidity and ignorance of the English banking and financial classes, and inspired

by the hope that the approaching conference which America is instituting, and which the Continental nations are joining with hearty approval and good will, will be the means of uniting all civilized nations in a more scientific and reasonable policy towards silver, and thereby in removing from India the wholly unnecessary and crushing burden, which has impeded her progress and fettered her steps for the last twenty years.

ALFRED COTTERELL-TUPP  
(Late Accountant-General, Bombay).

P.S.—Since this article was written two events have occurred, which I think corroborate all I have said as to the importance of the restoration of Silver. The first is that in the United States the Republican Resolutions Committee have submitted the following resolution to their Convention on June 9 :

“The American people, through interest and tradition, are in favour of bimetallism, and demand that both metals shall be used as standard money under such regulations and provisions as may be enforced by the Legislative Department, the Government to establish and maintain the parity of the metals, and to make each dollar, whether Gold, Silver, or Paper, equal to any other dollar. We commend the wise and patriotic policy which has been inaugurated of calling an international conference to establish the concurrent use of Gold and Silver throughout the commercial world.”

The second is that the New Oriental Bank Corporation, one of the largest Indian Banks, has failed, and that in the letter announcing the suspension, the directors attribute it in great part to the depreciation in Silver, “and the consequent increasing distrust throughout Great Britain of investments in Silver countries,” which amply confirms all I have said on pp. 24 and 25. Their letter is as follows :

NEW ORIENTAL BANK CORPORATION (LIMITED).

“I regret to inform you that the directors of the Corporation, at a meeting of the Board held this afternoon, have found it necessary to suspend payments by the bank owing to the depreciation in Silver, the consequent increasing distrust throughout Great Britain of investments in Silver countries, and the withdrawal of capital from the East, coupled with the wholly unprecedented condition of trade in China, Japan, the Straits, and Australia, and the recent disastrous hurricane in Mauritius. Steps have been taken to protect the assets.—By order of the Board.” The liabilities to the public are understood to be approximately  $7\frac{1}{4}$  millions, of which about  $4\frac{1}{4}$  millions are fixed deposits. The assets are approximately stated at over  $8\frac{1}{4}$  millions.

## AN EPISODE IN BURMESE HISTORY.

*(Being a Contribution to the History of Indigenous Oriental Education.)*

THE cold-weather tourist who, having traversed the Indian presidencies, alights on the shores of Burma after a three days' run from Calcutta, finds himself not merely in a new province of the empire, but in a new world. The contrast between India and Burma is hardly less marked than that between Europe and China. It is, indeed, the Flowery Land itself into which the traveller has plunged at a step. The unmapped wastes which lie between Bengal and Burma separate not only province from province, but the Arian from the Turanian world. Beyond that wilderness of flood and field lies a new quarter of the globe, peopled by another family of the human race, with other historical associations, influenced by other religious creeds, and distinguished by other languages, other customs, other physical types. For it is China, and not India, of which the Indo-Chinese peninsula forms in all essentials an integral part.

A flowery land it is well called, and the first impression of the contrast is conveyed by the changed aspect of the landscape. After the arid plains of India, level and parched as the desert, the eye is refreshed by a wealth of vegetation covering a mountainous and lavishly watered country, where every hill is clothed thick with verdure from base to summit, and soft foliage is spread like a carpet to the very margin of the sea. Moreover, the scale of the landscape is such as to satisfy the mind not less than the eye. Stately rivers, whose very sources are still matter of controversy, broaden into a labyrinth of unnumbered streams, and the scenes they traverse in their course present well-nigh every variety of natural beauty. Bare rocky defiles, low wooded hills receding now and again till they rise in the distance to the dignity of mountain ranges, forests of unvalued timber, cool valleys where perennial

cascades give life to unknown riches of ferns and grasses, deep shade of bamboo arcades, orange groves laden with fruit like the garden of the Hesperides, and stretches of level rice-fields of dazzling green. Such are some of the features which make up the panorama of the changing landscape. And through this sparsely peopled wilderness wild animal life has from all time roamed free and safe in endless variety and abundance. Herds of elephant and bison and deer share the impenetrable jungles with the tiger and leopard, with apes and hamadryads, with birds of every brilliant feather, reptiles and insects of unimagined beauty and strangeness.

Passing from a review of the outward world to contemplate the aspect and the life of its human inhabitants, the visitor from India is met by a contrast even more striking in its abruptness. Type and feature, dress and language, creed and custom, all are new. Woman is once more set free and becomes the active helpmeet of man, while the bonds of hereditary caste are exchanged for a social freedom hardly inferior to that of the Western world. But the most marked change which has come over the scene is found in the predominant characteristics of the indigenous races. Whether it is due to the influence of caste, to the crushing weight of centuries of oppression, or to idiosyncrasies of race, it must strike every stranger that the native of India—widely as the peoples differ to whom that designation applies—is for the most part a creature of anxious and fearful mind, taking even the pleasures of life terribly *au sérieux*. As he dare not trust his wives and daughters to the eye of the profane, or to a share of active life, so his whole existence seems too often to be spent as if under a haunting fear of being outwitted by his neighbour, or overtaken by some impending calamity. Fun and frolic seem altogether alien to his nature, and to him the subtleties of humour are an unknown mystery. He sings indeed, but it is in mournful cadence, and the laughter of pure merriment is less often heard in India than in any country in the world.

To pass from such a land to Burma is to pass, as it were, from the house of mourning to the house of joy. The careworn look of anxious poverty or uneasy wealth is turned to good-humoured smiles and song and laughter. In the faces around us there may be less of intellectual capacity, certainly less of keen self-interest; but how far more attractive is the genial enjoyment of life, the undisguised and unquenchable love of pleasure which makes the life of the Burman—spendthrift and gambler as he is—one long holiday, sweetened by a lively sense of humour, and by genuine appreciation of every form of fun and merry-making. Nor is this the carelessness of indifference to things sacred and serious. Religion is a power in the land, not a whit less in Burma than in India, but it is religion cast in a freer and happier mould. Mahomedan ceremonial and Hindu rites give place here to purer and more natural forms of devotion. For the prescriptions of a priestly caste we have a monastic order marked by a strictness of rule and even a purity of life rarely impugned, but it is an order which binds no man by irrevocable vows, and whose bonds, sacred as they are, may be put off at will with the monkish garb.

So profound is the impression made on the traveller from Europe by way of India by the contrast I have attempted to indicate, that he is often enough grievously misled in his estimate of the new country. The sudden sense of freedom is as refreshing, the laughter of a light-hearted people as welcome, as is the passage from parched and burning plains to a land of water and verdure. So that he is apt for the moment to forget the leagues that separate him from the land of his birth, till a brief experience reminds him that here too, under the glamour of the Eastern sun, the standards of thought and speech and conduct are alien to those of the Western world as are the aspect of nature or the features and customs of man.

Such in barest outline are the characteristics of the province which furnishes the text of my essay. Incorporated as it is with the Indian Empire, it has hardly more

to do with India or Indian ways of thought and life than if it were situated in Europe or Africa. In dealing with such a country experience of India is of even less value than experience of Europe. If a man has acquired his knowledge of the East in India he will have formed notions and prejudices hard to shake off, yet wholly out of place among a Turanian people. How essential for the task of administration in such a province is an experience gathered on the spot may be inferred from the story I have now to tell.

It was a happy fortune which placed the destinies of Burma at the most critical juncture of its history in the hands of a man whose Eastern training was among the people over whom he was called to rule, who had mastered their language, studied their history and literature, understood their character, and sympathized with their wants, and who eventually proved himself possessed of still rarer qualifications for his great responsibility.

The name of Phayre, the first governor under whom the province was consolidated thirty years ago, is to this day a household word in the country, not only among the foreign officials whose task he so greatly facilitated but in the homes of the poorest of the people, in the villages and monasteries of the most remote districts. No Indian administrator ever more completely identified himself with his charge or was ever rewarded by more of cordial loyalty or personal affection than Sir Arthur Phayre in Burma. From the King of Ava, smarting under the loss of his richest province, to the villagers whose daily life came under his influence, all alike were attracted by that union of manliness and modesty, of administrative ability and self-forgetfulness, which marked the character of the first Chief Commissioner. His is a name which deserves a more conspicuous place than has usually been assigned to it in the roll of Indian worthies, but it was in accord with his own character that the great but unobtrusive work of his life should be celebrated rather in the hearts of the people whom he loved and served than by flourish of trumpets in the pages of history.

If there was one direction in which the statesmanship of Phayre and the success of his rule were especially noteworthy it was in the field of popular education—that favourite playground of the theorist and the amateur. Keenly alive to the importance of school-education, but with the personal training of a soldier rather than of a scholar, it was not without grave anxiety that he looked about him for guidance in a matter so vital to the interests of the country. And what he saw was this.

In marked contrast to the neighbouring provinces of India the elements of school-education were already widely diffused among the Burmese, of whom the majority were able at least to read and write.

The origin of this phenomenon was immediately obvious. In a country where religion is woven with exceptional closeness into the social life of the people there has existed for centuries, in intimate dependence on the national religious belief, a primitive system of popular education extending over the whole country, rendered venerable both by antiquity and by sacred associations, in accord with public sentiment and of undoubted practical efficiency. No village is too remote or too insignificant to be provided with its Buddhist monastery of more or less stately proportions and equipment, and, as in Europe in past ages, it is the monastery which has at all times been the recognised home and depository of the learning of the day.

The retreat of venerated ascetics, it is the public treasury of sacred books, the peaceful resort of congregations of the devout, who come to hear the preaching of the law, and the national village school where, in return for the daily support of the mendicant monks, every boy of the population is free to attend, without invitation and without fee, and where systematic instruction and regular discipline are combined under teachers, of varying capacity indeed, but of uniform repute for piety and devotion.

To a governor less intimate with the people, their character and ways of thought, it would hardly have

occurred to think it possible that the representatives of a foreign government would be suffered to touch in any way a system forming so integral a part of native private life, associated so closely with an Oriental religion, and controlled by an ancient hierarchy bound by a routine of punctilious formality. Even if the leaders of the Order could be won over to acquiescence in any such interference, it would have seemed that the absolute neutrality in all matters of religion, which is one of the axioms of Anglo-Indian administration, would render impossible any alliance between the Buddhist monastic order and the English officials. Undisturbed by such considerations, the practical mind of the governor saw only that upon the extent to which it might be possible to win the co-operation of the teachers already in full possession of the field depended the whole issue of grasping or abandoning the control of popular education in the country. With this conviction he determined to make the attempt.

In forming this resolution Phayre seems to have stood absolutely alone in his belief that the object at which he aimed was not impossible of attainment. The objections to the attempt to organize a government department through the agency of a native religious institution were so many and obvious, that among the whole staff of officers serving under him,—many of them men of long experience in the province,—there was hardly one who did not regard the scheme as chimerical. Nevertheless the event has justified in so striking a manner the accuracy of the foresight with which Phayre was gifted, that a sketch of the nature and history of the scheme cannot be without interest.

Setting out with the exercise of his own personal influence, it was as the private and honoured friend of some of the chief dignitaries of the Monastic Order that the governor prevailed upon a few of the principal monasteries of Rangoon and Moulmein to introduce for the first time, alternately with the sacred palm-leaf texts exclusively in use hitherto, the reading and study of books in the Burmese



language printed and published in Western fashion, and containing the first elements of Western learning. The books first chosen were elementary works on arithmetic, geography, and physiology, and it was with anything but a confident anticipation of success that the tentative experiment was made of placing these before the teachers and pupils of Buddhist monasteries.

To the astonishment even of the officers entrusted with the practical working of the scheme, the overtures of the government were welcomed from the outset, not only without suspicion but with a wholly unexpected amount of intelligent appreciation. The Burmese mind, naturally open and unprejudiced to a remarkable extent, has always been alive to the attractions of science. Astrology had long been a favourite subject of study among the learned of the Monastic Order; Geometry was not unknown; and the natural apprehension that the new sciences would be received with suspicion, as antagonistic to cherished beliefs of antiquity, proved after a short trial to be without foundation. So far from any general display of jealous exclusiveness towards foreign interlopers, armed with insidious devices for undermining the popular faith, the open-minded inquisitiveness of the Burman was first attracted by the novelty, and after a time undoubtedly captivated by the intrinsic interest and practical utility of the new learning. The introduction to Western arithmetic, especially, was promptly recognized and welcomed as a revelation of the utmost practical value. Even the sealed books of History, Geography, and Physiology were accepted with unlooked-for readiness, and placed in the hands of students.

And if the reception of the books was matter of surprise, still more so was the general attitude of the monks towards a scheme which, while carefully disclaiming any attempt at interference, was nevertheless clearly enough designed to revolutionize the whole educational system of the monastic schools. With rare exceptions the heads of monasteries expressed their willingness to admit examiners deputed by

government to test the acquirements of their pupils, to aid them in their studies, to furnish them with books, and to advise the teachers themselves in matters of school-management.

From the cautious beginning thus made, and attended with such unlooked-for success, the gradual attraction to the scheme of the heads of monasteries throughout the province, and the complete incorporation of the time-honoured village school system indigenous to the country with the machinery of the civil administration, was only a work of time. District after district was included in the plan as the necessary funds and the services of qualified officers were available.

Nevertheless the extension of the work, if it was carried out with unexpected smoothness and rapidity, was, as experience soon showed, a task of a very delicate nature, dependent altogether upon the care and judgment exercised in the selection of the subordinate agents employed. A single unfortunate selection of an examining officer, a single failure in the tact and discretion essential to success, led at the very commencement, in an important frontier district, to a unanimous resolution on the part of the monks of the whole region to have no hand in the work, and to decline all offers of aid or advice from the employers of an unwelcome agent. To this day the district in question remains conspicuous for the attitude of passive obstruction maintained by the monks generally, in face of the most patient and persevering efforts of the Education Department.

A glance at the figures furnished by the local authorities illustrates at once the thoroughly practical nature of the scheme which was thus happily initiated and the genuineness of the welcome accorded to it, alike by the people and their religious guides.

It may be said roughly that there are 5,000 Buddhist monasteries scattered through the lower province; and the mere record, that of these close upon 3,700 were in 1887-88 under government inspection as elementary schools, fur-

nishes a sufficiently eloquent comment on the instinct and judgment of the governor who conceived the fruitful design which was destined to popularize not only a new system of education, but the whole regime of the English Government.

The most cursory survey of the official records is enough to show further that the term "under Government inspection" is no mere verbal phrase, implying no more than a toleration of complimentary visits from foreigners in authority, but that it tells of a business-like co-operation with the government, and a cordial acceptance of the guidance of Western teachers. So genuine, at all events, has been the approval of the scheme by the monks, and so far substantial has been the incorporation of the monasteries with the government system, that the pupils of monastery schools take their place habitually beside those of government and mission schools in all the public examinations of the Education Department, while from some of the monasteries picked students are sent by the managers for a course of training in the government normal schools, to return when trained to supervise and carry on with newly-acquired skill the educational work of the monastery.

Meantime a complete series of useful school books has been gradually published under the auspices of a committee appointed by government, and is in common use in the indigenous schools. The pupil-teacher system has also been introduced, under conditions specially adapted to the local circumstances, and every facility is given by government—which until lately maintained a special agency for the purpose—for the cheap provision and circulation of books, maps, slates, and all the paraphernalia of a well-ordered school.

The practical outcome of all this is shown in the tabulated records embodied in the official reports. According to the annual report issued by the Education Department for the year 1887-88 nearly 2,000 children from the indigenous schools passed in that year the standard prescribed for lower primary schools, a standard which involves fluent

reading, correct writing from dictation, and a good knowledge of the simple rules of arithmetic. Of these 589 were pupils of monastic schools. From the same schools 777 pupils, including 221 from monasteries, passed fully the standard for upper primary schools, in which are comprised a fair knowledge of the geography of the world, and a thorough knowledge of the "simple and compound" rules of arithmetic, as well as an acquaintance with practice and vulgar fractions. Even in the list of schools of a higher grade monastery schools figure, side by side with government institutions, as presenting pupils successful in passing the full standard required.

It must be noted here that while the very existence of the ancient system of native education was due to the machinery of the Buddhist monasteries, a very important adjunct to the system was found in the parallel institution of small mixed schools conducted by lay-teachers in the towns and larger villages. The special feature of these schools is that they are open to girls as well as boys, whereas to the monastic schools boys only are admitted.

From the outset it was seen that these institutions presented even greater promise of development than the monasteries, so much so, that it was at one time proposed to confine attention to these exclusively. It was undoubtedly well that no such separation was made; nevertheless it is in fact in the lay schools that by far the most abundant fruits of Phayre's scheme have been gathered, while the monasteries, with some brilliant exceptions, seem to incline more and more to rest content with their ancient status as seminaries of religious learning and the dignified retreat of the religious recluse. Hence the latest reports on the subject show that it has been found necessary, after long and patient trial, to weed out from the inspection lists a very large number of purely nominal schools in the monasteries. At the same time it is no less clear that if the monasteries are as a rule far outstripped by the lay schools in efficiency, there has been no withdrawal on the

part of the Monastic Order from the attitude of intelligent sympathy with the government Education Department which it was the successful aim of Phayre to attain, while in a large number of districts monastic schools continue to figure from year to year among the picked institutions commended by inspecting officers for exceptional efficiency.

The revolution effected in these ancient foundations where the government scheme has been fully accepted is very remarkable. It is, indeed, nothing short of a startling surprise to the visitor from Europe, or even from India, who is introduced to one or other of the excellent monastery schools which now flourish, as they never flourished before, in such towns as Rangoon, Moulmein or Bassein.

Braving the yelping of the curs whose sanctuary is in the monastery precincts, ascending the shabby dragon-guarded steps, and entering the quiet dimly-lighted *kyoung*, we are met by a scene which, in its essential features, is the same as may have been seen in the same place at any time for centuries past. There are the same regular ranks of gaily-dressed boys crouching on the bare boarded floor, the same shaven yellow-clad ascetics seated leisurely on the raised platform above them, and surrounded by the same quaint medley of furniture—huge palm-leaf fans and gilded umbrellas, bowls of lacquer and china, grotesque carvings of imaginary monsters, piles of palm-leaf MSS. with gilded edges, and at the present day clocks and candlesticks, chairs, pillows, and druggets of European manufacture.

But after the first glance it is soon perceived that, in its character of a school, a great and vital change has come over the institution. The order and routine are almost as regular as in an English board-school. Every child has his English slate and pencil, and his bundle of printed books. That Burmese youth in ordinary lay attire, who moves among the ranks of pupils, is the teacher trained in the government training-school, and imparting under the control of his monkish superiors the knowledge and method acquired under foreign teachers. And on the pillars which

support the lofty roof hang maps of the world and of Burma, time-tables of the school work, and records of the pupils' successes at the yearly inspection. For once a year a formal test examination is held on the spot, by an inspecting officer appointed by Government, when the pupils are examined under the departmental standards.

The "surprise visit" is also a recognised institution, and on such an occasion as the present the monks are proud to show off to the visitors the efficiency of the school and the talents of the pupils. As class after class comes forward for a brief examination, it is seen that the system has borne good fruit. The reading is fluent and intelligent, questions on general geography are promptly answered, and those who knew the country but a few years ago would be astonished at the readiness with which difficult problems in arithmetic are solved by Burmese urchins, who would take a creditable place beside their equals in age in any school of similar grade in Europe!

When it is considered that a similar revolution has been effected, with the voluntary and cordial assent of the monks, in hundreds of ancient monasteries throughout the country, and when it is remembered that rigid conservatism and impenetrable exclusiveness are the well-known characteristics of Eastern institutions, most of all of such as are in any way connected with religion, it must be felt that such a work, carried out by an English soldier serving in a civil capacity, is one worthy to be reckoned among the achievements of the most illustrious of our countrymen.

As the notorious success of England in dealing with strange races is largely due to her plodding method of studying the language and character, the history and customs of the people, and making these the basis of the new system of government, so, probably, no other nation could have produced for the rich and important province of Burma a governor so conspicuously qualified to deal with the untried and delicate problems presented by its administration. Phayre's scheme was entirely successful in the attainment of its great object—namely, the enlistment on the

side of the foreign government in its educational measures of the sympathy and co-operation of the existing agencies of popular native education. It was a success achieved in face of apparently hopeless obstacles, and its completeness is in no way diminished by the circumstance that its largest results, from an educational point of view, have been obtained less in the monastery schools than in the kindred institutions under lay management, or by the fact that while every monastery is equally in theory a place of learning, it is only in a small minority that really capable and successful teachers are to be found. It is also true that much patience was required in some instances to overcome the scruples of the monks, and that there exists a large number of monasteries where the rigid orthodoxy of the managers is even now averse to any alliance whatever with the foreigners.

All these exceptions combined, however, are not enough to detract from the friendly assent, indicated by the figures which I have quoted, which has been extended to the scheme by the monastic order as a whole, and by so many of its ablest and most representative dignitaries.

Based on such a foundation, the work of the educational official in Burma has been and continues to be full of living interest. There are other provinces where the very most has been made of existing native institutions in the scheme of public instruction, but there is probably none where the opportunities offered at the outset were so large, or where it has been possible to utilize them to the same extent. How the work has progressed step by step, on the lines indicated by Phayre, is not the least interesting chapter in the history of British India.

Finally, it has to be noted that the effect of Phayre's scheme of education has been even more far-reaching than he himself anticipated. It is not its only merit that it has based on a natural and firm foundation the edifice of popular education, of which the gradual extension and development continues without check from year to year. It has served also to bring the ruling power into exceptionally close touch with the mass of the people, giving to the foreign ad-

ministration the prestige of an intimate alliance with all that is involved in the religious sentiment of a devout people.

It is hardly possible to exaggerate the extent or importance of the political influence thus exercised in one of the principal frontier provinces of the empire. The machinery of the Monastic Order in Burma, spread as it is like a network over the country, intimately connected with the social life of the people, and backed by the sanctions of religion, constitutes an agency which, for good or evil, can influence as no outside agency could do, the national sentiment and the national life. One of the first steps taken by Lord Dufferin on the annexation of Upper Burma was to invite the so-called "Buddhist archbishop"—the official head of the Monastic Order—to confer with him on public affairs, a politic measure which was followed by the best results, in the effect produced on the popular mind by the publicly proclaimed co-operation of the head of their religion with the English authorities. To have turned so powerful an agency to further one of the most difficult and important duties of the civil administration, and at the same time to the union of rulers and ruled as fellow-workers in the cause of national progress, was a feat of statesmanship which deserves to be better known than it is. If only for this achievement, the name of Sir Arthur Phayre would deserve to be illustrious in Indian annals. Yet it was an episode no more thought of by its author than any other incident in the daily routine of a career devoted to the service of his country and to the promotion of the lasting benefit of the people entrusted to his care.

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P.S.—Since this paper was written, the work of inspecting and aiding indigenous schools has been extended to the newly-acquired districts of Upper Burma, with a promise of no less remarkable success than that which has been achieved in the Lower Province.

P. H.



## PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF PERSIA.

BY C. E. BIDDULPH.

## I.

THE mountainous character of the greater portion of the Persian Empire does not seem to have attracted generally quite as much attention as it deserves. It cannot, however, be too carefully noted, inasmuch as the degree of cultivation of which the various portions of the country is susceptible is mainly due to the altitude and extent of the mountain ranges intersecting their surface.

The district to the north of the Elburz Mountains, and bordering the Caspian Sea, is of a perfectly distinct character from the rest of Persia, and so must be considered separately; but the entire region extending thence, and from the present boundary between Persia and Trans-Caspia, as far as the Persian Gulf, may be described as a vast tableland, of a height above the sea-level varying from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, from which arise an infinite number of mountain ranges; so that the main portion of its surface at all adapted for agriculture may be said to consist of the more or less extensive plains or valleys which lie between these ranges.

Where these are numerous, and attain a considerable height, as in the western portion of the empire, the rainfall is more frequent and reliable, and the natural sources of water-supply, such as springs, streams and rivers, are more abundant. Thus these parts of the country are of a far more productive character than others, and furnish ample pasturage for cattle, as well as superior facilities for the cultivation of every species of crops. Where the mountain ranges are rarer and diminish in height, as towards the south, the rainfall and water-supply also decrease; and where they disappear to any extent, as in the case of the Great Desert, all supply of water completely fails.

Towards the eastern and southern portions of the empire the supply of water in the streams and artificial channels may be said to depend almost entirely upon the winter fall of snow upon the higher portions of the mountain ranges. This is, as a rule, very heavy, attaining upon their summits a height of many feet. In the course of its melting a considerable portion is absorbed by the surface of the ground upon which it lies. These ranges thus become huge natural reservoirs, containing generally a sufficient amount of water to keep the streams filled throughout the summer months. When the fall of snow is deficient, a corresponding failure of the water-supply is the natural consequence, and if this deficiency is very considerable a serious famine may be the result.

These numerous mountain ranges have, again, a most important bearing upon the means of communication between the various portions of the empire by reason of the peculiarity of their configuration. At a distance a range of mountains in Persia does not markedly differ in appearance from what one is accustomed to find in other ranges that one may have seen. That is to say, they show sharp and rugged outlines rising apparently more or less abruptly from the level of the surrounding country. A nearer view, however, shows that these peaks and rocks compose but a very small proportion of the general elevation, formed mainly by an extensive and unbroken rising of the ground, which constitutes as it were a gigantic mound, from the crown of which rise the actual mountains themselves, and even then not abruptly, but gradually, the ridges being separated by great broad level plains, rising in comparatively easy gradients to the bases of the highest peaks. The appearance produced in many cases is as though there had been a gradual upheaval of the ground to a considerable height, when the upper portions of the rising ground, being no longer able to bear the pressure from below, had given way, and the strata of rock had burst through into their present position on the summits of these gigantic mounds,

from which they rise abruptly in lofty ridges and peaks of perfectly naked rock. Many of these attain a height of 10,000 to 12,000 feet.

Thus, while the mountainous character of the country is the main cause why any portion of the great Persian plateau is rendered habitable, their presence and peculiar configuration present such obstacles to the construction of roads and railroads that works of this nature could only be executed with the greatest difficulty and at a most ruinous cost.

As an instance of the difficulties presented by the broken nature of the ground, and the long intervals existing in most parts between water-supplies of any description, it may be mentioned that, though the actual distance in a bee-line from Teheran to Kum is only a little over 80 miles, that traversed by the road considerably exceeds, I believe, 100 miles. This extra distance is rendered absolutely necessary in order that each of its stages may be at a place where water is procurable, and this in spite of the fact that, allowing for such necessary detours, the most direct line possible between the two points has been taken for the road, which crosses the intervening ranges straight up and down without any attempt at gradients.

Again, the route from Kum to Ispahan is barred by ranges of mountains stretching far across it to either side, covering nearly two-thirds of its extent, and rising to a height of about 11,000 feet above the sea-level. The easier of the two routes adopted, namely, that *viâ* Natanz, skirts as far as possible the lower portion of these ranges; but even then the way is intercepted by countless ridges which have to be crossed, besides a pass at a height of about 7,000 feet.

In describing the configuration of this plateau I have said that the main portion of its more level surface consists of the valleys and plains which lie between these ranges of mountains. I should, however, have added the reservation *for practical purposes*. As a matter of fact, the greater

portion of its level surface is occupied by the Great Desert, which extends over an area of not less than from 60,000 to 80,000 square miles, and is for the most part absolutely incapable of sustaining any form of life. Besides this, there are found at intervals numerous comparatively small patches of desert of the same description, covered in parts with a salt efflorescence known locally by the term "Kavir," which range from about 2,000 to 15,000 or 20,000 square miles in extent. The total area of desert on the Persian plateau cannot thus be estimated at much less than about 150,000 square miles; and this, as has been said, is of a soil and geological formation which renders it quite useless for any practical purposes, except during a few of the winter months, when the "Ilyats," or nomad tribes, take their flocks to graze upon the scanty vegetation which appears in portions of it. Even this, however, is only possible in the neighbourhood of the scanty wells found along the few routes which traverse it. Beyond this limit, these parts are utterly unknown and unexplored even by the inhabitants of the country.

The remainder of the plateau is, as has been said, covered with mountains, divided by more or less broad plains and valleys.

Such of these as are watered by natural streams or by means of artificial watercourses are the only portions of the country susceptible of cultivation; and along the borders of these are found clustered all the villages. For the amount of land in Persia which is cultivated otherwise than by means of irrigation may be described as inappreciable, the rainfall being very precarious, and when it occurs, extremely partial in its effects, which are confined principally to the immediate neighbourhood of the mountain ranges.

The valleys and plains themselves vary in altitude above the sea-level; that in which the city of Ispahan is situated, for instance, is about 5,000 feet above the sea, while the one surrounding Kashan is not more than 3,000 feet, and that round Teheran about 4,000 feet.

It must not be understood in the case of these plains and

valleys, even, that the whole of the extent covered by such of them as have a supply of water available is by any means cultivated, or, indeed, susceptible of cultivation under the most favourable circumstances; for the water-supply is very limited, and the area over which it can be made use of does not, as a rule, extend, in consequence of the irregularities of the ground, beyond a comparatively slight distance from the banks of the river or stream which is its source. They vary from a few hundred yards to several miles. In the case of the Ispahan plain, which appears a favourable instance of this kind to quote, as it is traversed by a river of some considerable volume, viz., the *Zinda Rud*, the area cultivation extends to a distance of about 10 to 15 miles from its banks towards the north, but then towards the south its course is mostly hemmed in by rising ground or hills.

In addition to the villages situated under such exceptionally favourable circumstances, there are numerous isolated ones scattered over the mountain-sides and along their bases and the plains below, which are irrigated by a species of artificially constructed subterranean watercourse, peculiar to the East, and more particularly to Persia and Central Asia: they are locally termed "Kanats."

These are constructed by digging a well in some spot near the base of a hill, where the drainage from its surface is likely to be accumulated, or where a spring is suspected to exist. Upon what other principle these wells are dug, or how their particular position is decided upon, it has never been possible to ascertain more exactly; there is no doubt however, that the greatest skill and ingenuity are exercised in their selection. This well being dug, another is sunk at a little distance off in the direction in which it is desired that the water should flow, and the two are connected by an underground channel, laid at an inclination specially designed with a view to the length of the intended watercourse and the contour of the ground it is intended to traverse; and so on, mile after mile, till it is conducted to

the place where the water is required. As frequently between the source and the supply this channel has to be conducted across low ground, through high ground, and round the bases of hills, the degree of care and ingenuity required for their successful completion becomes very evident.

These "Kanat" are of every degree of capacity—from that containing a volume of water sufficient only to irrigate a few acres, to that enough to satisfy the requirements of a large village. In the case of the latter, however, and of towns, the supply of water necessary for their requirements is obtained by the construction of numerous "Kanat" converging upon them from various points in the neighbouring hills or rising ground.

The peculiar formation of the mountains, which, as has been described, consist of vast extents of gradually rising ground, crowned only with rocks and peaks, lends itself, as may be imagined, most favourably to the establishment of villages along their slopes, and in the vast broad valleys which lead up to the bases of these ridges; and these are accordingly dotted at intervals with patches of cultivated ground, varying in extent according to the volume of the "Kanat" upon which they are dependant, or the number of the same which can be accumulated at any particular spot.

## SEA-VOYAGES BY HINDUS:

## I.

*MAY HINDUS CROSS THE OCEAN?*

BY S. E. GOPALACHARLU.

THERE exists among Brahmans a very generally received opinion that if one of their community crosses the sea and remains for a time in a foreign country, he is liable by that act to be expelled from his caste, and to be no longer looked upon as anything better than a pariah. After a careful study of the various authorities, it seems to the present writer that this opinion has no real foundation, and that the crossing of the ocean is not forbidden to Brahmans by their scriptures. But before citing the various passages that go to prove the correctness of this view, a few preliminary remarks ought to be made.

Some may consider that it is unnecessary to discuss this subject at all, on the ground that there is no sufficient reason to induce any of the "twice-born" to cross the sea. In our opinion, however, there are many benefits to be gained by foreign travel, and this without sea-travel is almost impossible.

Until the invasion of the Mahomedans, the inhabitants of India generally knew but little about those of other lands; but in later times, especially since the establishment of British rule in this country, a great interest has been awakened in foreign countries, and the habits, manners, and customs of their inhabitants. This new interest naturally aroused a desire on the part of my fellow-countrymen to see for themselves the things and people of whom they had heard, and accordingly we find that, during the last twenty years, a number of gentlemen from Bengal, the Mahratta country and the North-West Provinces have been to England, and the number of those who go is increasing year by

year. The people of the north set the example, and when it was found that they returned from England after having received a good education, and obtained as a result good positions in life in this country, the Southern Indians wished to follow their example, and some of them did so. But these on their return were visited by all the pains and penalties of transgressors against our strict caste rules. They were refused admittance into the community, and otherwise were made to suffer much pain and misery. Not only Brahmans, but also non-Brahmans, were excommunicated on account of their travelling by sea, and the consequence has been that many who would otherwise have gone abroad have been deterred from so doing by the social consequences incurred by others.

When we, Indians, look at the condition of our own country, we find much to regret. Our ancient prosperity seems to have deserted us. The arts and sciences that were known to our fathers have been forgotten. Native education has reached the lowest ebb, and we have actually to thank foreigners for the education received by our children. Our manufactures have fallen into decay, and we find that, generally speaking, with the exception of those engaged in agriculture, our people are compelled to rely on subordinate positions under foreigners as a means of gaining their livelihood. Our country is poverty-stricken, and our population is increasing. Except the public services and the two professions of law and medicine, there is no career open to our young men; the professions are over-crowded, and there are more applicants for public service than can possibly enter it. Education is sought for merely as a means of gaining livelihood. It is a well-known fact in all *Agraghātras* (villages)\* that the sons of Somayajis, and Pandits, and Acharyas, have entirely omitted to follow the old learning of their fathers, but resort to the different European colleges and schools.

In former days our people were not admitted into the

\* These are the centres of indigenous learning in this country.



British service under Government, but now the service is open to them under the same conditions as applies to other British subjects, by competition. Our children are ready to pass the necessary examinations, but considering that such examinations must be passed in England, and that therefore competitors in them must cross the ocean, many are debarred from trying to compete, by the knowledge of the social ostracism that will await them on their return from abroad.

Again, our merchants are quite ignorant of foreign countries and their ways, and the trade of the country is almost entirely dependent on foreigners. Even the internal trade of the country is nothing like what it might and ought to be, on account of the general ignorance of the mercantile classes and the want of enterprise on their part. When our merchants attempt to export goods on their own account to foreign countries, they are liable to loss in various ways through ignorance of foreign commercial customs. If those who wish to do so are able, without unnecessary let and hindrance, to go to foreign countries, many of these evils will gradually cease. When our people see for themselves how commerce is carried on abroad, they will be able to employ the same methods here, and increased prosperity will be the result.

Our artisans and workmen require to know about the improved tools and processes of manufacture used by the foreigners, and unless some of our people go abroad it is not likely that this knowledge will be gained for the country. It is humiliating to think of how many of the articles in daily use in this country by almost all classes are imported from abroad instead of being manufactured here. We do not use a single pin that has not been made in Europe, and even our paper—except the most common qualities—has to be made for us by foreigners.

Our cultivators are ignorant of the best and most economical methods of agriculture, and so our land is not as productive as it ought to be. On every account it is necessary

that some of our more intellectual men should visit England and other European countries in order to find out what means may be taken for the improvement of the condition of this country. We should remember the example of the Russian Emperor Peter the Great, who went to England and worked in a shipyard, and then went back to teach his own people how to work.

Until recently we have been comparatively indifferent to the condition of our own country. Now a spirit of inquiry and reform seems to be stirring, and the air is full of plans of reform and improvement. But if the existing prejudice against sea-travel is to continue, and those who are willing to go to England are to be deterred by the prospect of misery and persecution on their return, as is now the case, it will be found that the various schemes are likely to fail, on account of the ignorance of the country at large of foreign methods.

Our forefathers obtained thorough skill in various arts to the number of sixty-four. They were in a position to teach and instruct the mass of the people. Useful knowledge, says Manu (c. ii. 238, 240), must be obtained, even if from inferior classes. All sorts of arts and sciences may be received from all men. Spiritual knowledge may be obtained even from the lowest class of men. The commentator on Manu, Methathithi, describes the later education (after the Vedic education was complete) as *Anukalpadharma*, or the secondary education of a Brahmacharya. This passage shows that it is absurd to say that our people—the Brahmans—are prohibited from receiving instruction from Mlechchas, while at the same time they are taking part in all sorts of political agitation by holding national congresses and the like. If such measures are to be successful, it will be better for our people to go to England, where the matter must be finally decided, and lay their grievances before the English people in their own country. And how can this be done if sea-travel is prohibited? Many of us think that various high offices ought to be held by Hindus, but as

things are at present, it is not likely that such offices can be properly held except by those who have received a systematic modern training in Europe. Even among the Europeans foreign travel is considered a necessary part of education.

Our servants, our peons, our coachmen, are not prohibited from sending their sons to England to be educated, thus enabling them to gain good positions in life, while we, by our unfounded prejudices, cut ourselves off from enjoying similar advantages, and force—it may be—our own children to serve under those whose fathers served us. Is it not worse than folly to continue to harbour a prejudice that will cause the best of our children who may happen to go abroad, to be treated on their return with contempt and cruelty, to be no longer admitted to dwell in our streets, to break the most sacred ties of relationship, and treat them, in fact, as little better than brute beasts? Is there not something inhuman in the prohibition of such sea-travelled Brahmans to even see their wives, whom they so tenderly love? Have you any right to condemn the wives, etc., of those, who have travelled by sea, to beg from door to door while their husbands are occupying high posts and important positions? Such treatment seems to be nothing better than sin, and those, who commit it, cannot look for a blessing on their families. Such bigotry is indeed difficult to understand. Our Aryan forefathers protected our Dharmas, our literature, our religion, our philosophy, from century to century without any danger even from the invading foreigners. But now there is danger to our religion on many sides. Our children are growing up educated in new ways, and many of them forsake the faith of their fathers—not to exchange it for some other form of worship, but to become mere materialists and atheists. Nothing is so likely to prejudice the more intelligent among them against our religion as the keeping up of this foolish and cruel system of persecution against those who travel by sea for the sake of improving themselves and their countrymen. It

is the existence of abuses such as this that will cause our religion to decay, and unless we prune them away we shall be like men who inherited good houses from their fathers but let these houses sink into ruin for want of a little timely repair.

In the Vedas certain duties are described which were afterwards changed by the code of Manu and other sages. The duties laid down by Manu have been modified by Parásara and other modern Rishis. In the introduction to the "*Parásaramádhaviya*" (p. 2, Madras ed.), Mádhaváchárya gives his decision that, according to the circumstances of the country, the law should be changed from time to time. Therefore, if we arrange our duties according to the condition of the circumstances of the country, of the people, and of the time, without altering any main principles, without contradicting the authority of the Vedas, or Manu and other sages, we shall be acting in accordance with our own immemorial custom.

The time has now come when it is absolutely necessary for us to make an exhaustive review of our Shastras on this important point, and it is useless to delay so doing.

We learn from Mádhaváchárya, and other writers of digests on Hindu law, that many duties laid down in our scriptures become without force by mere declaration of some prominent man. Such alterations had to be made on account of the circumstances of the country and time. There are now eminent Sanscrit scholars among us who may be considered competent to hold a legal assembly and to declare the law on this point. Manu and other authorities sanction the holding of such assemblies of Brahmans to declare the law, when occasion may require. (See "*Gautamadharm*," i. 2 ; also the passage above mentioned from Mádhaváchárya, p. 2, Madras ed.)

We must examine what the Shastras themselves actually lay down, and not content ourselves with hearsay evidence or the prevalence of custom, for which no proper authority can be found. We must not avoid such examination on

the ground that our fathers came to certain conclusions that must be binding on us. Such decisions have been always liable to review when circumstances rendered such review necessary.

The points to be considered are, first, whether the sea-travel of the Hindus is prohibited ; second, whether such sea-travel was practised by our forefathers ; third, whether the Shastras allow residence in a Mlechcha country ; fourth, whether any penance is allowed in the Shastras for the purification of Brahmans who have travelled by sea, and who have resided in foreign countries ; fifth, whether such penance is possible or impossible to carry out at the present day ; sixth, whether after purification Brahmans may be allowed to re-enter the community.

## FORMOSA :

AN ISLAND WITH A ROMANTIC HISTORY.

BY COLONEL ALEXANDER MAN, F.R.G.S.

THOUGH it is only at long intervals that we hear of the Island of Formosa, yet no spot of equal size on the surface of the eastern hemisphere—certainly, no considerable island lying beside a busy highway of its commerce—can show a more dramatically chequered history than can this gem of the China Sea ; and our purpose, in the following pages, is to jot down such a brief register of former events as will at least assist in making evident how worthy of note is this remarkable portion of the distant East.

## I.

Situated under the tropic of Cancer, and separated from the continent of Asia by straits, the narrowness of whose northern extremity is neutralized by the dangers of their navigation throughout—nearly equal in area to the islands of Corsica and Sardinia combined—and traversed, lengthwise, by mountains which rise in rugged majesty from the Pacific, Formosa ("The Beautiful") is a striking object to the voyager making the modern "Grand Tour" on board one of those luxurious packets which ply periodically between Victoria, Hong Kong, and the far-off empires of the Rising Sun.

Speaking roughly, the whole western part of the island is Chinese, and is thickly peopled by descendants of settlers who came chiefly from the province of Fohkien. To their energy and resourcefulness Formosa owes what measure of prosperity it now possesses. But this, so to speak, civilized pale is bounded eastward by the lower ranges of those mountains to which we have above alluded, as dividing the country into two irregular, and not very unequal, portions. While one—the western—portion is chiefly a level plain,

and a garden whose varied produce of tea, sugar, indigo, and rice is carried over-sea by junk and steamer, the other—the eastern—half is a wilderness of hill and jungle, where the aboriginal inhabitants still hold a precarious possession. What manner of men are these? of what race are they? what are their customs and ways of life? On this much has been written, chiefly in pamphlet form. This can be safely said: all these points have fairly puzzled the few travellers who have essayed to visit them in their well-defended fastnesses. They bear, according to one account, a strong resemblance to the tribes of the Philippines; another author believes them to be of Malay stock; a third is content to class them, generically, as belonging to the great Polynesian family.

## II.

Previous to 1625 we know next to nothing of Formosa, save that the Japanese had some more or less shadowy claim to over-lordship on its northern coasts. It is in this year that European interest in Formosa may be said to have begun. Then, on a little islet lying just seaward of the modern city of Taewan, was commenced a fortress which the Dutch Company, whose tricolour was displayed upon the walls, fondly named “Castel Zelandia.” Completed in 1634, it was a fine brick-built structure, commanding an excellent harbour over 5 fathoms in depth. Large tracts of land had meanwhile been purchased from the natives; and Formosa was shortly afterwards proclaimed a colony and a dependency of Batavia. This act of the pushing Hollander was at once challenged by rivals from both north and south. The Japanese, very naturally, resented such a step, and the authorities at Manila met by force the claim to exclusive rights of possession. Not until 1642 did the Spanish opposition cease, after a bloody fight at Tamsuy on the 24th August. Then, for a brief season, the settlements flourished. Trade was developed with China, and with the older establishments in the East Indies; and Christianity, preached by missionaries from the mother-

country, rapidly spread far and wide amongst all classes of a simple-minded and ingenuous race. At this period one of our own countrymen resided for some time at the seat of Government, called after its guardian battlements Zelandia; and his account, taken in conjunction with that of a Dutch clergyman, named Candidius, presents an interesting picture of the state of matters in this isolated outpost of semi-commercial sovereignty.

But such quiet progression was not fated to be lasting. Troubles, far more serious than any that had attended its birth, suddenly encompassed the infant colony. The Chinese, aforetime friendly, appeared as enemies. The Dutch levies were worsted on several occasions; their more exposed stations to the south were first destroyed, and after a serious engagement, in which both sides suffered, but which resulted in the fall of the Pescadore Isles, Zelandia itself was invested by sea and land. For ten weary months the blockade continued, frequent sorties testifying to the spirit of the defenders, who were cheered by the confident expectation of relief from Batavia. In fact, Commodore Cawen, with nine ships of war, entered the roads, and opening communications with the besieged, succeeded in taking on board for despatch to a place of safety, 250 women and children whose presence was a serious drag upon the already straitened commissariat. Hardly, however, had this been done, when a sudden gale caught the vessels while embayed; a frigate and a large transport went on the reefs and were totally destroyed; and the weakened squadron, having lost no less than 800 seamen and soldiers, was forced to retire from the neighbourhood of the now superior Chinese forces. Reluctantly it made sail for Java, and this calamity was the death-warrant of Zelandia. Starving and abandoned, the garrison capitulated in March, 1661. The prisoners were treated with fiendish cruelty. Several Europeans were done to death; others were subjected to torture; and of the native contingent, scores were ruthlessly slain.



The fate of Zelandia seems to have paralyzed the defence at the remaining posts, for the strong works covering Tamsuy and Kelung almost immediately opened their gates. These places, however, were subsequently retaken by a second fleet from Java, commanded by Admiral Bort ; and the northern districts were not finally evacuated until seven years later. The Dutch East India Company had by that time resolved to give up the struggle. Continued ill-fortune in other directions, and the impossibility of making a business success of the cramped position they now occupied, decided the directors to accept terms from an enemy whose staying power was evidently greater than their own. They agreed, therefore, with the son and successor of the conqueror of Zelandia to withdraw their troops. The remaining 200 men were accordingly taken on board ship ; the flag was saluted for the last time, and then lowered from Fort St. Domingo ; and in the autumn of 1668, after a rule of 43 years, the Western stranger departed from Formosa. But his work remained. He had found in the low country a people, hospitable indeed and good-natured to a fault, but perfectly uncultured in the arts of peace. He left large portions of the island in a condition of comparative civilization—numbers of its inhabitants trained to agricultural pursuits ; and their language so far cultivated that it had been furnished with numerals, and could be expressed in writing. To this hour the Dutch name lives amongst the poor remnants of the Peppo tribes ; and although Europe has forgotten this short page in the history of its colonizing career, a fast dying-out primitive race—which was, in one of the very few instances on record, uplifted rather than degraded, on first contact with the white man—has not ceased to revere the memory of its former masters.\*

\* The Peppos were the predecessors of the Chinese in the low country, and it was with them that the Dutch had principally had to deal. They have gradually been pushed back, and inhabit to-day the deepest recesses of the lower hills.

## III.

To understand the next phase in the story of our island, we must go back a little. When the Chinese captured Zelandia they were commanded by one who is known to us by the name of Koxinga. This great leader's father was a Chinese Christian colonist, who, commencing life as a tailor, had accumulated an enormous fortune in shipping adventures under the auspices of the Dutch. He had married a Japanese lady, and afterwards entered with enthusiasm into the strife then raging between the maritime population of his fatherland and the advancing hosts of the Manchu invader. Taken prisoner in 1657, he had been conveyed to Peking, and there eventually poisoned. Koxinga, his sailor-son, had endeavoured to enlist the old patrons of the family in the cause which he, equally with his captive sire, held nearest at heart; and failing to move them from the judicious position of neutrality they had taken up, he swore dire vengeance and became their most bitter and relentless foe. Koxinga has been described as a pirate, much as such an epithet is bestowed on the valiant merchant-skippers who made the navy of Elizabeth the terror of the Spanish main. In 1660, the fleets carrying the badge of Tartar servitude along the coasts of Southern China had proved too strong for him. He was driven from the country he had vainly attempted to defend, and, refusing all compromise, put to sea and steered towards Formosa. His followers were still very numerous, and he was able to appear with more than 90 sail at the Pescadores, and to firmly establish his base there, before assailing the Dutch in their head-quarters. How fortune smiled upon him we have seen; and we have seen, also, that he did not live to consolidate his victory. He died within two years of the fall of Zelandia, having in the interval done much to advance the internal prosperity of his miniature kingdom, by the vigour with which he ruled, and by wisely governing in many things on the same lines as his predecessors. His eldest surviving son succeeded him;

but had not his ability. This weakling paid little attention to the cultivation of the country, and neglected the interests of those mercenary troops, through whose fidelity alone he could expect to retain his independence. The Tartars, who had in the interval consolidated their hold over China, were not slow to take advantage of a state of matters which seemed almost to invite their intervention. They made preparations for an expedition for the conquest of Formosa; and, as a preliminary, sent over, in 1682, envoys charged to convey secretly to the leading Chinese, promises including their retention of all moneys and prerogatives of which they might be possessed. These spies found the land in mourning for the son of Koxinga, and the reins of government held nominally by his youthful heir. This favoured their plans. The majority of those who had originally followed the patriot Admiral had left friends and connections behind them; and it is not astonishing, considering the circumstances, that they eagerly accepted the bait. Their Prince himself, after an ineffectual show of resistance, saw that his personal interest lay in submission. He despatched a vessel to China, carrying a memorial for presentation to the Emperor, and was in return commanded to quit his island and present himself at Court. He obeyed the summons in 1683; was rewarded with a pension and a title of nobility; and his inheritance thus passed, 15 years after the Dutch had left it in the undisputed possession of his father, to the control of that warrior dynasty which still rules over the vast provinces and territories, and over the vaster populations, which go to make up the so-called "Central Land"—the Chinese Empire of our day.

#### IV.

In 1703, the notorious George Poalmanaazaar took the European world of letters by storm with the famous forgery which will for ever connect his name with Formosa. The elder Disraeli has embalmed it for us; and, if only in tribute to the gifted pen that has handed down the memory

of this effort of misdirected genius, it here claims a short notice. Fitly is it ranked amongst the "Curiosities of Literature." It temporarily conducted its author to a kind of geographical and historical triumph; albeit a triumph scored on data, which strikingly illustrate the difference between then and now. For we are told that London and Amsterdam were captivated by a book built upon theories so completely mythical, that they map Formosa as not one island, but a group of many, and place it politically as a portion of the realm of Japan. This was, we must remember, when only 35 years had elapsed since all the resources of the Dutch Indies had been strained to hold this same Formosa; to hold it against the Chinese; and to hold it on behalf of the enterprising Republic whose capital vied with ours in eagerly swallowing such evident falsehoods. Verily it was a far cry to Cathay in 1703!

## V.

The Netherlands flag ceased to fly at Tamsuy in 1668; and for over a century the imposture we have just glanced at is the solitary instance we can find recorded of the word Formosa cropping up. It was long before the curtain which had hidden it was again lifted. Europeans had, we know, been absolutely banished; and, save stray storm-caught fishers from the southern outposts of Japan, no alien had, willingly, set foot upon these forbidden shores. The overflow of population from the mighty coast cities of China had streamed across the waters in the wake of Koxinga, and had spread over the flat country right up to the mountains. Fighting had, of course, been continual; and it had been accompanied by those atrocities which, given such combatants, were, equally of course, inevitable. The religion of the Dutchmen had been pretty well rooted out, its few surviving professors being driven to the hills bounding the plain and acting as a buffer between the untamed savages of the loftier chains and the new dwellers in the fertile lowlands. But though keel of square-rigged

craft might not plough the narrow sea on that side of the island where alone a safe landing can be ventured, one summer day saw a band of light-haired strangers—no Asiatics these—boldly leaping from their skiff upon the rugged strand where breaks the swell of the great ocean. On the 26th August, 1771, a leaky and otherwise distressed vessel, constructed of fir, and only 50 feet long by 16 feet broad, let go her anchor close in, on the north-eastern coast. She had on board 96 souls ; and 18 of her crew pulled ashore in search of water. They found a track leading into the interior, and commenced to ascend it. Needless to say, they were attacked, and, under showers of arrows, compelled to retreat without accomplishing their object. Covered by the fire of the ship, they succeeded in re-embarking, with a loss of 3 killed and 3 wounded. Who were these adventurers ? The answer opens for us a page in the narrative of a most remarkable voyage. They were exiles escaping from Kamtschatka, which desolate region they had left in the previous May. We do not propose to investigate what had befallen them in the early stages of their daring enterprise. Our business with them commences with the mooring of the *St. Peter and St. Paul* in a confined and rocky haven under the steep cliffs off North-eastern Formosa. Their leader, Benyousky, was a man of resource. When he found what was the temper of the islanders, he acted promptly. He poured upon the yelling and gesticulating crowd rapid volleys from his guns and small arms, and followed up the panic which ensued by landing immediately and attacking with every available hand. The result was that he captured the village, with its women and old folks, and from this vantage-ground was enabled to come to terms. These were not onerous, and the sudden foes as suddenly became friends. Within a short while a Spaniard appeared upon the scene, and thenceforward all went well. This castaway, according to his own belief, and according, also, to all probability, was the only specimen of Western humanity then living in

Formosa. He is represented as happy and contented. With him Benyousky made excursions in many directions, engaged in tribal fights, and pushed straight across the mountains to that debatable land which was then, as it is still, the scene of constant and bitter strife between the native inhabitants and the Chinese invaders. In volumes long since forgotten the Polish Count relates the history of his wanderings, and tells us a good deal that must be taken with due allowance for the tendency to hyperbole then pervading all works of travel. But he tells us likewise much which, under the light of modern research and consular reports, we have no hesitation in accepting, and which shows convincingly how shrewd and far-seeing this soldier of fortune undoubtedly was. Not only are his observations on Formosa the more valuable because they appear as a solitary rift in the darkness of about 150 years, but they are also of absolutely unique interest, because they give the impressions of the one traveller who has viewed the inland districts, coming to them by way of their eastern boundaries. He declares that the mountaineers called their country Paccahimba ; and it is very remarkable that he points out the certainty of coal existing in the north. He speaks, moreover, of the traditions of former Japanese intercourse, and of the ever-pushing sanguinary progress of the Chinese. The Spaniard, without whose aid he would evidently have been completely helpless, appears to have amused his leisure with dreams of conquest, to be brought about by the rush of a savage army upon the civilized plains. But though Benyousky fell in with this fancy so far as to draw out a scheme which he promised to submit to the authorities at Paris, he was not induced by its fascination to remain long upon the island. After having careened his vessel, he departed on the 11th September ; went round by the north passage ; and eventually reached in safety the Portuguese colony of Macao.

VI.

Another long interval elapses; and we are at the year 1842. China and Great Britain have been at war for over 18 months, and are still facing each other at various points on the Chinese seaboard. The Chusan Archipelago, near the estuary of the Yangtsze, has become the scene of operations, and the assailing fleet has bombarded and captured a few of the chief places in the immediate neighbourhood. We are in the days of sailing, in the literal acceptance of the word; and the British force is accompanied by but a few small and, as we should now consider them, inefficient, paddle-steamers. When, therefore, despatches require to be sent off, Admiral and General are alike glad to avail themselves of the departure of a smart well-armed clipper, flying the red merchant ensign, and the St. Andrew's-cross burgee of a noted firm.

The ill-fated *Ann* weighed anchor and parted company from the fleet on the morning of the 8th March, being, to use the words of her junior mate, "crammed with boxes and parcels, and with lots of letters to be sent to England." She carried, also, at least one English passenger, in addition to a crew of 56 all told. The dangers of the Formosan channel, and more especially the set of those strong currents which render its navigation so difficult, were then imperfectly known. Almost as soon as she was clear of the islands, the brig encountered a very heavy north-east gale, and in a few hours had run into thick weather, while still steering to pass through the straits. Naturally anxious to make what in nautical parlance is called "a passage," her master held on his course longer than prudence dictated. Too late he determined to ease his gallant craft, to heave her to, and to await a break in the rolling wall of mist by which she had become perilously enveloped. But while the necessary orders were in his mouth, the roar of breakers told the fatal news that rock-bound Formosa must be close aboard. A few minutes of terrible suspense, of skilful but

unavailing effort, and the brig struck and struck again. Miraculous to relate, she was then lifted bodily over the reef, and was cast high and dry upon the shingly beach by the huge wave that, while causing her destruction, at the same time effected the salvation of her crew.

When the morning of the 11th March dawned, the *Ann* was abandoned. All on board landed; and, after a march of an hour or two, reached the town of Tamsuy in sorry plight but in bodily safety. Their already sufficiently miserable condition was immediately aggravated. They were seized by order of the senior magistrate, were chained together, and, after the lapse of a few days, were driven forth, half-naked and starving, and conducted as prisoners along the coast-road leading to the island capital. On arrival there they were cast into the common goal, and had a dismal surprise in finding fellow-subjects with whom to share their captivity. When the massive doors of the old Dutch fortalice, aforesaid called by its builders Constantia, were opened to receive these representatives of a kindred nation, the shipwrecked crew of the *Ann* were added to a community already numbering nearly 200 souls, who, like the newcomers, owed natural allegiance to the British Crown. They were survivors from the hired transport *Nerbudda*, which had stranded some time previously, whilst proceeding northward to join the fleet.

We pass over the weeks that elapsed until the 10th of August. On that day a dark tragedy was enacted at Tawwanfoo. The "City of the Terraced Beach" witnessed a case of wholesale murder, for a parallel to which—to the credit of human nature be it said—the records of modern history may be searched in vain. Over 160 of our fellow-subjects—mostly Indian coolies, but including several whites—were led out, were ranged in convenient lines, and, after hearing sentence pronounced and formally recorded, were delivered over to the sword of the executioner. One's blood curdles when we write of the horrid butchery! For what reasons any of the prisoners were spared, we know



not. We only know that some did obtain grace; and that these, after seeing the heads of their companions stuck on pikes and exhibited to a mob which displayed at least as much pity as ferocity, were taken back to their dungeon, and shortly afterwards sent over to China. The news of the Treaty of Nanking had reached Formosa; and these eye-witnesses of an atrocious crime, disembarking at Amoy, there at last found succour at the sympathizing hands of their victorious compatriots.

Ludicrous in some of its circumstances, an individual escape from the Taewanfoo shambles is worthy of detailed mention. A quartermaster of the *Nerbudda*, named Newman, was amongst those who, on that fatal morning, were marked for slaughter. When brought out, he was handcuffed like the rest, and tied down in a sedan. On the way he prevailed on the good-natured soldier in charge of him to procure sufficient raw spirit to ensure his stupefaction; but, being of the habit which is rendered wild by drink, the stuff made him furious. After a hot ride in the sun, no sooner was he set down on the field of death than he burst his frail bonds, snapped his handcuffs asunder, and, felling with their iron fragments all who opposed him, ran to the foot of the daïs whereon sat the presiding dignitary. With screams for mercy, he commenced to tumble and throw somersaults, and finished up by standing on his head! Believing him to be insane, the guard did not molest him, and the Mandarin pronounced his reprieve. He was then quieted and taken back to his quarters.

To superstitious races, such as that which was native to the soil of Formosa, and, in lesser degree, that which had immigrated to the island, it required only what followed close upon the tragedy we have recorded to burn the memory thereof deep down into the very hearts of all. On the 11th August a terrific hurricane burst over the still blood-stained city. Its massive wall was broken down; hundreds of the magnificent trees which embellished it were up-rooted; many temples and houses were levelled to the

ground; and, more appalling than all else, no less than 2,000 of its citizens perished in the ruins of their homes. After a lapse of 35 years, another generation of these people was led into collision with the countrymen of the victims of 1842. An earthquake which strangely chanced to follow, and which, in the damage it wrought, recalled the calamity of that dread year, was almost universally looked upon as a manifestation of the displeasure of "The Unknown God," who had surely been reminded of an event which priests and elders had been wont to speak of with bitter condemnation and with dire foreboding of future evil.

## VII.

We now drop down the stream of time to 1858. Another series of treaties has been negotiated between the Celestial Empire and the Christian Powers. The original instrument, signed at Nanking in 1842 by the plenipotentiaries of China and Great Britain, has been supplemented by a much more comprehensive Convention, to which France and the United States are parties. Formosa is to be opened to trade; and a British Consul has been appointed to superintend the operation. His arrival, early in the sixties, marks the commencement of a new era in the island's history; for, with the first report made by the learned ornithologist who was commissioned by Her Majesty to the city of Taewan, we commence a series of papers which, though locked up in Parliamentary blue-books and in the yellow-bound publications of the Chinese Customs Service, yet form a fairly complete summary of political and commercial doings within its coasts. When the late Mr. Swinhoe began his official labours, he found the interior of the island cut off entirely from the fluctuating fringe of Chinese settlement, and the ever-recurring frontier wars causing ruin and misery in all directions. Things had long been drifting; and in the south and centre a kind of Heptarchy had been formed, in rude opposition to the regularly organized Chinese governorship. The ideas of the latter as to the proper mode of conducting

what was in fact an essay in colonization may be judged by reference to our Consul's statement, that the tariff for native scalps at the various prefectures was 7s. 6d. in 1863; and that only a few months before it had been as high as £1. The reason for the improvement (!) was that this very liberal bounty had answered beyond expectation in stimulating the energies of the border guards.

For a few years after the opening of outside trade, considerable business was done at the four places where foreigners resided. The land-locked mouth of a picturesque lagoon on the south-west coast called Takow became frequented by small vessels; and an energetic officer, Mr. Adkins, who had succeeded to the consular charge, penetrated from his station into the back country, and added largely to our knowledge of its resources and its topography. But a wave of depression passed over mercantile enterprise in the Far East, and there were whispers of closing our establishments in Formosa. The planting of tea near Tamsuy and of indigo in various districts arrested for the moment any such retrogression; and the discovery of extensive coal-fields at Kelung confirmed those second thoughts which had pleaded for remaining. Meanwhile, there had been intermittent trouble with the inhabitants, both aboriginal and immigrant. The former, elated probably by the successes against their natural enemies which had followed the swelling of the Heptarchy before mentioned into a formidable confederacy of 16 clans, had brought themselves into frequent and obnoxious evidence. In the spring of 1867 the American barque *Rover* was lost near Takow, and her crew and passengers, after reaching the shore, were set upon and massacred. The United States Minister promptly called upon the Imperial Government to either assert its authority, or to admit that it was unable to enforce its jurisdiction; and a squadron under the Stars and Stripes anchored off the scene of the murder. Parties were landed under the gallant Lieutenant McKenzie, who was himself killed in action. Some sharp fighting with the

tribes ensued; and some disciplined Chinese troops were also employed in not very successful co-operation. But all who were on the spot felt that, unless the savage confederacy could be made to understand that the Western strangers were in no way desirous of taking part in the struggle between the two races, there could be no lasting security for the vessels engaged in the local trade. Accordingly, in outcome of this feeling, a peaceful expedition was projected, and finally started from Takow in February, 1869. It was led by General Le Gendre, the United States Consul, who had with him Mr. Pickering (now a C.M.G., and the deservedly respected "Protector of Chinese" in the Straits Settlements), the writer of this paper, and six half-caste hunters. After a series of adventures—somewhat of the Robinson Crusoe type, and pleasanter as a remembrance than as an experience at the time—the party was successful in concluding a treaty with Tanketok, the supreme ruler of the tribes. This informal document was subsequently approved of and published by the Washington Foreign Office. Its provisions have been loyally kept by the Formosans; and from the day when, in council assembled with his people, the King spread his hand upon a sheet of paper and requested his youngest guest to pencil round it by way of signature, no shipwrecked European has received aught but kind treatment and safe conduct to their ports. Tanketok was gathered to his fathers in 1873; and the press of Hong Kong, in taking notice of his death, cordially acknowledged our indebtedness to him.

With the immigrant population, the troubles which beset the foreign community were perhaps even more difficult of adjustment. Differing in this respect, as in others, from those we have already touched on, they affected, not the mariner, who is here to-day and there to-morrow, but a class which, being stationary, is keenly sensitive to the effects of untoward relations with the population which surrounds it. Taking their cue from a particularly reactionary

governor, many of the underling Chinese officials entered upon a course of irritating conduct which produced corresponding irritability in the minds of the British residents, and eventually brought about a collision between the armed forces of the two countries. This is not the place to speak of the measures which that trusty sailor, Sir Harry Keppel, proposed to take, when, patience being exhausted, the matter was placed in his hands. Suffice it, a total denial of justice and of protection was charged against the Chinese Island administration; and, but for the occurrence now to be narrated, it is more than probable that things in Formosa might have been somewhat different during the next decade.

On the 25th of November, 1868, one of our gunboats, then lying just outside the coral reef which has grown up since the Dutch days and at present denies the harbour to anything of deeper draft than a junk, opened a slow shell fire upon the crumbling ruins of Fort Zelandia and upon the earthworks encircling the village of Anping. She was the pioneer of the expected British force, and was "in observation" off this outlet of the capital. Her attack did not draw any reply. During the following night, however, the Lieutenant in command landed with an officer and 23 men, found his way over the ramparts just as day was breaking, and obtained possession of the place, after inflicting severe loss upon a body of local "braves" by whom it was garrisoned. On the 27th, he was reinforced by another officer and 13 men, had a second skirmish with the militia, and proceeded to blow up the magazine and to destroy the stores discovered in Zelandia. In the end our little force was got again afloat without further molestation, thanks certainly to prudent counsels on both sides, and notwithstanding that the Chinese had had time to mass their regular troops in the immediate neighbourhood.

Whatever may be thought of the above proceedings, from an arm-chair or from a diplomatic point of view, it is, in a sense, refreshing to read—in fact, and not merely in the

pages of a lady novelist—of such dare-devilism. We cannot but admire the boldness that rushes into an act of war, thereby forestalling the dignified movements of those who were supposed to be dealing with the quarrel; and, in amplification of the feat, takes a handful of blue-jackets through a raging surf (wherein the boat is smashed to pieces and the men half drowned) and into a town held by an unknown number of well-armed enemies. Those who care for the whole story will find it in the Blue-book; and it will repay perusal. It shows, on the one hand, how a subordinate of strong individuality may well-nigh embroil two great nations; and it proves, on the other hand, that the grit which made the cuttings-out and naval inshore work generally so successful during the great war is yet to the fore amongst the modern generation of our Royal seamen.

## VIII.

Our tale is now told:—told, that is to say, as far as we have proposed to tell it. During the 22 years that have elapsed since the bombardment of Anping, much has happened in Formosa. Those years, however, have seen that wonderful expansion of newspaper enterprise which is one of the lesser marvels of nineteenth-century civilization; and we can record nothing which has not been already set out for the use of all and sundry, who take their daily dose of the world's doings, just as our ancestors took their weekly dole of local intelligence.

The descent of a Japanese force sent to punish the aborigines for an affair in which Loochooans were the sufferers—the acts of this force—the counter-despatch of a Chinese army to back up China's stern contention that the island was, wholly and entirely, under her sway—the eventual embarkation of the Japanese—would make an article by itself. International law was discussed at great length and with much asperity, and the relations of the disputant Powers were strained to breaking point, ere the end was attained.

Again, the operations of the French during the seaboard warfare which followed the Tonking entanglement with China are, in connection with our subject, of more than passing interest.

But both events have had full justice done them by competent writers, and are still fresh in remembrance. We leave them, therefore, and conclude; simply here expressing the thanks we owe for a bright passing glimpse of "The Beautiful" Island which has been accorded us in a recent book of travel.

We open "The Cruise of the *Marchesa*" at the chapter where, enumerated in order, the Penha D'Agua Cliffs of Madeira, the Yosemite Valley of California, and the Hoy Sea-wall of Orkney are finely compared with "the giant precipices of Formosa," and the verdict given that, before the last-named, the others "fade into nothingness." Such a description not unnaturally calls up a flood of memories—a feeling akin to regret. Would that we could have clothed our imperfect sketch of seldom-trodden paths with something at all approaching the eloquence of this charming author!

## MY RUSSIAN RECORDS, OR A STROLL THROUGH MY LIBRARY.

(*Conclusion.*)

THE XVIIIth century is the opening era of Russian Scientific labours and explorations. Peter begins a geodesic survey of Russia and while founding Academies he encourages the accumulation of geographical knowledge.

Thus Dr. Schober explores the region of the Terek; Herber passes seven years in travelling south of the Caucasus. The Greek Levendiani goes to Tomsk to inspect mines. Blüger explores the old mines of European Russia, discovering mineral wealth, and is followed up by Hennin. Messerschmidt by invitation of the Tsar Peter devotes seven years to study and travel in Siberia, resulting in a work on the natural history of that region. Strahlenberg also at this period establishes for himself an authority in this field which lives to the present day, and other mostly German luminaries too numerous to mention shed their lights in the reigns of Peter, Elizabeth, and Catherine. Pallas at this period enriches the world with the results of these and of his own researches. Behring is re-enlisted into Peter's service to learn whether Europe is connected with or disconnected from America, and the results of this voyage of discovery eclipse all attempts made by Russian officers alone in those high latitudes.

As regards the survey of the Caspian by Peter and his purely Russian coadjutors, the work was superficial and scamped; quarrels ensued between the Russian officers (Bekovitch and Kojin), and only so much of the work was attempted as was thought necessary for furthering the safe passage and the disembarcation of the Russian troops sent to Khiva. The accomplishment of this work was left to after ages, by Dandevil, 1849, and by Ivaschinsouf.

For more than a century after Peter's death there was a complete suspension of political relations between Russia



and the Central Asiatic States of Khiva and Bokhara. Kokand, until the planting of the first Russian garrison on the Jaxartes, does not appear to have been even heard of. From Baber's time to the date of Prince Gorchakoff's first circular despatch,\* the Kokandians remain unnamed as factors in the matter of the political geography of those regions; nor, indeed, until the nineteenth century is there any mention in Russian records of Kokand; and no mission from a Khan of Kokand ever came to Muscovy.

I have under my hand a Russian work of 1763 giving an account of Peter the Great's operations on the Caspian, and including the results of a survey of the Caspian made by Soimonof prior to the Khivan Expedition.† This work contains, among other things, extracts from Jenkinson's narrative, wherein attempts are made to identify some of the places mentioned by our fellow-countryman, and explanations are given of the errors into which he fell. This was a work compiled by the then historiographer Miller, and is, like some others, a great rarity in Russia. No wonder, then, that the Hakluyt Society, in republishing Jenkinson's travels in 1886, failed to benefit by any light that a reference to Russian writers could possibly throw on some of the enigmatical parts in Jenkinson's narrative. The work to which I here refer is a literary curiosity, and it is only by dint of very diligent and well-directed inquiries, coupled with an ability to appreciate and take advantage of opportunities, that Russian sources can be opened and dipped into.

This work, with its long title, is one of the small series of purely Russian works resulting from Peter's enterprises in the south-eastern corner of his Empire.

"Rychkof's Topography of Orenburg, with maps, 1755,"

\* I make reservation here on account of Nazarov's "Notes on Certain Peoples and Countries of the Central Part of Asia." Nazarov, an interpreter, was sent on a mission to Kokand from Siberia in 1813. This narrative, comprising 97 pages, 8vo., was first published in 1821.

† "Opisaniye kaspiiskago Moria i chinënnnykh na onom Rossiiskikh Zavoevani, yako chast Istoria Gosudaria Imperatora Petra Velikago trudami, etc. . . . Fédora Ivanovitcha Soimonova. . . . S'dopolneniyami . . . G. F. Millera."

another production of this period, republished in facsimile at Tiflis in 1880, followed by his "Topography of Astrakhan," with the separate publication of his "Introduction thereto, 1774," which I prize no less. Nor am I less concerned in Rychkof's volume of notes on the Cossacks of the Yaïk, embracing also his description of Orenburg and of the province of that name, which is not found in the facsimile. Rychkof's "*Opyt Kazanskoi Istorii drevnikh i srednikh Vremën*" (1767),\* is another rare Russian work on which Russians may pride themselves as being one of the series written at that period. Valuable, among others, are the works on the origin of Novgorod and on Siberia by Professor Miller, and on Kamchatka by Professor Krashenninnikof.

This period teems with the names of foreign professors, scientists, diplomatists, and others who aid Russians, or take a leading part, in acquainting the civilized world with the mysteries of Inner Asia, and far into our own times we take note of this phenomenon. The results, however, are fruits which Russia can herself fairly claim credit for. Thus, without being too particular as to chronological order, we have the journal and correspondence of Florio Beneveni, who was seven years in Bokhara and Khiva. We have Negri and Myendorff, Basiner and Blankennagel, all of which, including a French translation of Benjamin Bergmann's "*Voyage Chez les Kalmuks*," 1802, I regard with esteem and affection on my book-shelves.

Having done with that period to which so strictly applies the taunt which Purchas, enumerating all the new and striking natural objects to be found in Asia, levelled at the "Muscovites" as "negligent searchers into such things," who care "for nothing but gain," we reach that of systematic and intelligent Russian scientific research, and of the discovery and publication of earlier Russian travels, however meretricious.

The Imperial Russian Academy of Sciences now steps in

\* This copy seems to me to be a great literary curiosity by reason, too, of a transcript made in Orenburg of an article which appeared in the *Göttingische Anzeigen* of the 14th December, 1769, by the hand mayhap of Rychkof himself, and bound up with the volume, which has likewise some corrections and notes in the same handwriting of the style of his period.

to encourage and promote the works of Pallas, Schrenk, Gmelin, Müller, and many others, and whilst private individuals give publication to Rukafkin's account of his journey from Orenburg to Khiva in 1753, to Efremop's travels in 1763 (in three editions), to Danibeg's account of eighteen years' wandering in India from 1795, the journals of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, founded in 1845, become replete with matter of the greatest value.

Professor W. Grigorief now begins to distinguish himself as a great Oriental scholar, geographer, numismatician, etc. ; the works he published and annotated are numerous as they are of the first order of excellence. Muravief's "Travels in Turcomania and Khiva" came out as a separate work, with an album, in 1822, and, as already observed, it is a literary rarity which "no one can now obtain who did not long ago possess himself of a copy," as a Russian authority on Central Asia observes. Baron de Bode's notes on the Turcomans appeared, however, in one of the Society's journals, as did notices of other Russian wanderings of which we have as yet no complete versions, *e.g.*, Lebedef's notes and itineraries, completely lost, like many others. Gerasim Lebedef passed about fourteen years in India, from 1782 to 1796 ; built a theatre in Calcutta, and played, with a troupe of natives, some of Dryden's pieces which he himself translated. On his return he published in London "A Grammar of the pure and mixed Indian Dialects," etc., which is little, if at all, known in England, although a copy exists in the India Office Library, where I found it some years ago in hunting for English traces of Lebedef.

Is it utterly impossible even yet to publish the account which Demaison must have rendered in St. Petersburg on his return from Bokhara, where he resided in disguise when Burns was in the same place ? Or like other Russian Records is all trace of this document long lost ? Father Hyacinth, of the Russian-Pekin Mission, published all his works independently of the Geographical Society ; and what more excellent in their way than his "Notes on

Mongolia," 1828, with map; his three vols. on the ancient population of Central Asia, 1851; his translation from the Chinese of "A Description of Thibet, with map," 1828; his "History of the first four Khans of the House of Jenghiz," 1829; his "History of Thibet and Khukhonor," two vols., 1853; and his "Description of Djungaria and Eastern Turkestan"? The labours of Father Palladius of the Russian-Pekin Mission were of no mean order. His treatise on the origin of the Manchur dynasty, etc., was a masterpiece of good work; his itineraries are now published in the latest issue of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, which can also display a capital work in Nebolsin's exhaustive treatise on the Russian trade with Central Asia, a classical work, and improved upon by Grigorief's critical review of it in another journal; and we find in the journal for 1851 the distinguished Khanykof's Explanatory Note to the Map of the Aral, and of the Khanat of Khiva, with Maksheyef's admirable description of the Aral. We might here almost conclude with a reference to M. de Semenof's travels and elucidation of the intricacies of the systems of the Thien-Shan and Altai mountain systems, for to name one were now a work of supererogation.

I cannot, however, conclude these brief notes without at least an allusion to my friend, the late Mr. Fedcheuko, who met an unfortunate death in Switzerland while training for further alpine travelling over the Pamirs. His labours are so recent and their result so well known that we can but deplore the loss sustained by the world of science by the death of "that young, ardent, enterprising, and capable explorer."

Since the Russian occupation of Turkestan, Russian geographers have raised monuments to their own memories in independent travels and in their annotated edition of Ritter's Asia. They may now well-nigh claim all the credit for the elucidation of the great Pamir problem, even as Colonel Webel's ride through the whole length of Korea to Seoul in 1889 has solved the mystery of Korea.

R. MICHELL.

# SOME FURTHER NOTES ON THE EXISTENCE OF DWARF TRIBES SOUTH OF MOUNT ATLAS.

BY R. G. HALIBURTON, Q.C., F.R.G.S.

*"With the precision of Herodotus before us . . . we must admit that the little race of men seen by the Nasamonians exists to-day to the North of the Niger, but has not yet been discovered, or that it has disappeared from those regions."*—Quatrefages, *Les Pygmées*, p. 25.

ON the 2nd September last a paper on "Dwarfs and Dwarf Worship," referring to some of the proofs that had come to light that there must be dwarf tribes in Southern Morocco, was read by myself at a meeting of the 9th Oriental Congress in London. It excited very general interest, and the paper was noticed editorially, *pro* or *con*, by nearly all the leading London newspapers, and was awarded a medal by the Congress. In October last, a pamphlet embodying the paper read before the Congress, with statements of numerous informants (three of them dwarfs\*) as to the localities in which they reside, their probable numbers, etc., was published by Mr. David Nutt, Bookseller, London, and a few weeks afterwards was specially reviewed in a paper by the President of the Khedivial Geographical Society, H.Ex. Abbate Pacha.

A new light was subsequently thrown on the subject of dwarfs by Sir George Humphrey, Professor of Medicine in the University of Cambridge (see "British Medical Journal," Dec. 5, 1891). Dealing merely with European, *i.e.*, *non-racial* dwarfs, he divides them into two classes, "*true dwarfs*," who only differ from their race in size, and "*dwarfs from rickets*," who are stunted, and generally malformed and feeble. His statement that neither of these classes transmits its small size to the children, disposes of the theory that the dwarfs met with in Morocco are merely a few families of ordinary dwarfs. Far from being stunted and deformed

\* See "Dwarfs of Mount Atlas" (David Nutt, Lond. 1891), pp. 14, 18, 24.

through rickets, they are very strong, extremely courageous, and wonderfully active, and are, it is stated, feared by the other Moors. Nor can they be "true dwarfs," a class so rarely met with that though for more than half a century medical and other museums have been multiplied in France and England, those of the former country only possess one skeleton of a "true dwarf," while the only one to be seen in England is that presented to the Medical Museum at Cambridge by Sir George Humphrey himself in December last. The chances of course of meeting with a "true dwarf" in a very sparsely populated country like Morocco would be infinitely more remote than among the many millions of inhabitants of France and Great Britain. If, then, a dozen dwarfs, not stunted or deformed by rickets, have found their way to Northern Morocco, the inference is conclusive that they cannot be what Sir George calls "true dwarfs," but must be *racial*, and connected with some dwarf tribe.

But any doubt that might at first sight seem to exist on this point is settled when I mention that the dwarfs seen in Morocco are not diminutive Moors, resembling their countrymen in everything except size, but are so strikingly distinct from the other people of Morocco, that even if they were not dwarfs we should have to set them down as belonging to a different and peculiar race. Among the points which distinguish them from the Moors, Arabs, Berbers, Jews, Negroes, and Mulattoes, of Morocco, are the following—their wonderful agility; a reddish complexion which is characteristic of almost all dwarf races, and which one of my informants describes as "like that of the Red Indians of America," or according to Schweinfurth in his account of the Akkas of the Albert Nyanza, "resembling the colour of slightly roasted coffee"; and the peculiar woolly hair growing in tufts which distinguishes nearly all dwarf races and their offshoots.\* They differ even in dress, etc., and shave their faces,—an abomination to

\* I made no note of, as I did not credit, the statements of several natives of Morocco, that the bodies of the dwarfs are covered with hair, a peculiarity which I have since found is a characteristic of the dwarfs both of Central Africa and of Keltic tradition.

Moslem Moors. In all these particulars as well as in size they are precisely similar to the dwarfs of Equatorial Africa.

Should we meet in Europe with Mongolian-looking dwarfs, only about four feet high, with a yellow complexion, flat, broad faces, high cheek bones, and "pigtailed," we should be disposed to suspect that a race of Chinese dwarfs must have found their way West, and that these peculiarities could not possibly be the result of ordinary European dwarfism.

So far at least as early ages are concerned, the idea is not a new one that dwarfs once existed south of Mount Atlas; for it has for some years been a subject of contention between French Geographers and some French Anthropologists. The former maintain that the place described by Herodotus where the Nasamonian explorers were captured by dwarf Troglodytes must have been an oasis in the North-Western part of the Sahara, not far to the South or South-East of Morocco. French geographers, the highest, if not the only, authorities on the ancient and Modern Geography of Northern Africa, have for over half a century devoted much attention to the subject, and are therefore the best guides we can have as to the accounts given by Herodotus of the sandy region extending westwardly from the Nile to the Atlantic, and of the races that inhabited it. One description\* starts from Thebes, and includes what is now called the Libyan desert, the Sahara, and the Sahel, the term "the Pillars of Hercules" being used for "the Atlantic," or rather for "the farthest West."

The country of the Nasamonians, called by Procopius Zaba, is now known as the Oasis of Mزاب. West of them were the Garamantes, now known as the Touaregs, who, he says, fought in four-horse chariots with the swiftfooted Ethiopian Troglodytes. The Cave-dwellers must have inhabited that rocky region, the Southern flanks of the Atlas, which forms a barrier to the sands of the desert, and many of the spurs of which jut far out into the Sahara, and

\* B. IV., ch. 181, 170, 43, 44; B. II., ch. 31, v. 32.

are sometimes called "the Saharian Atlas." These cave-dwellers no doubt belonged to the race of swift-footed Troglodytes seen by Hanno on the Western coast of what is now called Morocco. The numerous chambers cut in the face of inaccessible cliffs in Morocco, and especially to the South of the Great Atlas, were probably made by these Troglodytes.

Another description\* which Herodotus gives us of that region begins at Cyrene, or rather at Mزاب, and tells us of "the sandy ridge" lying to the south of the wooded country inhabited by wild beasts, and extending westward to Cape Solois, now known as Cape Cantin, on the west coast of Morocco. He in fact describes the present Timbuctoo Caravan route from Tripoli to Dra. According to him some young Nasamonian explorers went *west* for many days until they reached an oasis where they were captured by a dwarf-race of Troglodytes who were all necromancers, and lived on a river which ran from West to East. Three large rivers, that rise near each other in Mount Atlas, run for a great distance in a south-easterly direction, the Ghir, the Zis, and the Dra. Though the exact locality in question must remain a matter of conjecture, it must have been situated on one of these rivers, and must have been to the south or south-east of Morocco. It will be seen in "The Dwarfs of Mount Atlas" that several natives of that country describe a race of dwarf ostrich-hunters living in that part of the Sahara,† who are Marabouts, astrologers, magicians, and finders of hidden treasures, and who own a very small breed of remarkably swift ponies, and are called Teata Tajakants to distinguish them from the larger Tajakants living farther west, near Tinzint.

The dwarfs mentioned by Aristotle cannot have lived in Equatorial Africa, as they possessed a remarkably small breed of horses.

The rock-cut chambers in the Atlas, whether intended

\* B. II., ch. 31.

† According to Herodotus, Sataspes, while sailing south from the Pillars of Hercules, saw "a nation of little men."



for storehouses or for residence or refuge, are so uniformly about 5 feet high that they most probably were made by dwarf Troglodytes.

Quatrefages says\* that "with the precision of Herodotus before us, and the agreement which his narrative shows with material facts of a permanent nature, we must admit that the little race of men seen by the Nasamonians exists to-day to the north of the Niger, *but has not yet been discovered*, or that it has disappeared from those regions."

The views of French Geographers on this point have been contested in an able article on the Pygmies of Antiquity in the last October number of the "Revue Historique" on the ground that we can find no trace of there ever having been dwarfs north of the Sahara.† By an odd coincidence a letter was received by me in that very month from Mr. Thomas Martin, now living at Crowborough, England, in which he said that having become familiar with the peculiar clicks in vogue in the speech of South African tribes, who have inherited or borrowed them from the dwarf Bushmen, he was surprised in 1888 at hearing at Mogador, a port on the south-west coast of Morocco, some natives from Sus and the Sahara using clicks similar to those of South African races. He naturally came to the conclusion that the Bushmen must have in early ages found their way as far north as Mount Atlas.

The President in the course of his paper on my pamphlet drew attention to the peculiar indentation in dwarf skulls at the base of the nose. If this is confined to the skulls of African dwarfs, it would seem to indicate that it may possibly be connected with South African clicks, either as a

\* Les Pygmées, p. 25.

† The learned writer of that article, M. Paul Monceaux, on the 9th June, 1892, wrote to Mr. David MacRitchie as follows: "La brochure de votre ami, Mr. Haliburton, est une contribution très curieuse et très neuve à la question des Pygmées. . . . Après avoir pris connaissance des faits précis et des témoignages consignés dans *The Dwarfs of Mount Atlas* il me paraît difficile de contester les conclusions de l'auteur; et je ne doute pas qu'un jour une nouvelle exploration méthodique du Maroc ne vienne les confirmer."

cause, or as an effect.\* He also very properly connected the dwarfs seen in Morocco with the Akkas of the Mombutto Country. There cannot be a doubt that there is an extensive district to the south of Morocco, bounding southerly on the Sahara, which is called Akka, and is said to be the head quarters of the Atlas dwarfs; and also that there is another Akka on the shores of the Albert Nyanza, which is also inhabited by a dwarf race called Akka. Which was the original Akka? Quatrefages mentions a tradition among some dwarfs of Equatorial Africa, that the ancestors of their race came from the North-West, *i.e.*, from the direction of Morocco!

When Schweinfurth, and after him Miani, described the dwarfs of the Mombutto Country, and were denounced as impostors, they had but little confirmatory evidence which they could rely on. As respects the question of the Atlas dwarfs, it is fortunate that sixty-five informants have testified to their having seen one or more of them, thirty-two (some of them dwarfs) having been able to describe dwarf tribes and villages south of the Atlas. Before a year elapses further definite information will, I hope, be obtained that will put an end to all question on this point. I may, meanwhile, mention that a few weeks ago I received from the Rt. Honble. Sir John H. Drummond Hay some notes in Shilhach (the Berber dialect, spoken generally south of the Atlas), written by a Sus Taleb of Saffi respecting the localities in Sus and the Sahara where ancient ruins are to be found. Of several of them the Taleb says "these are places where the *little people live*. Their occupation consists in making mats from Esparto grass."

\* A resident for some years in the Andaman Islands says the natives have neither this indentation, nor clicks in their speech; and that they shave their faces and heads with sharp-edged shells. It is worthy of note that the names of their tribes are prefaced with *a-ka*. Why was the Sphinx (so venerably ancient a monument that it seems to connect the present with the dawn of Creation—the era of the dwarf-God, Ptah, the Creator, and of the "first-created," half-animals, half-men) called *Akka*? Some of my South Morocco informants say that in the Dra valley the name *Pataiki* (=fathers of our fathers, or ancestors), is applied both to dwarfs and to little monstrous images, part animal, part man. May not *Akka*, like *Pataiki*, have once been applied to both?

## EUROPEAN INTERESTS IN AFRICA.

By C. H. E. CARMICHAEL, M.A.

WHETHER for good or for ill, European influence is dominant throughout all such parts of the Dark Continent as can fairly be termed habitable by Europeans. This is, indeed, the capital fact in connection with Africa in our day, and it is the chief factor in that African problem which still awaits solution.

It may be well to consider for a moment what are, or should be, European interests in Africa, and how far they are rightly apprehended by Europeans generally.

Speaking broadly, our interests in Africa should be identical with those of Civilization. But then, Europeans must not imagine that the native of Africa is at the pitch of Civilization when he has put on a swallow-tailed coat and a pair of Hessians, perhaps crowning the edifice with a "stove-pipe" hat. Nor is "Fire-water" one of the essentials of Civilization. Others, again, would rest everything upon the work of the Missionary. But although the Missionary may well be, and often is, a pioneer of Civilization, his very advent is sometimes the cause, or the forerunner, of discord, and of intertribal conflicts which can only hinder the progress of Civilization and Christianity.

In his zeal, moreover, for the spreading of the Christian Religion, the Missionary sometimes wants to hurry on the progress of Civilization at too great a pace, and is apt to insist on the instantaneous adoption of practices which the native does not understand, and the equally instantaneous rejection of practices which have come down to him from his forefathers, and which are not always, or necessarily, contradictory to the profession of Christianity.

In any of these cases, and they are all apt to occur in Africa, there comes about a lamentable misunderstanding between the European and the Native, and the march of Civilization is delayed.

This is greatly to be regretted, and another equally regrettable circumstance is the jealousy so apt to reign between the various European nations which are, it may almost be said, with scarcely any exaggeration, partitioning Africa among them.

The "Scramble for Africa" has become a by-word for one of the least lovely aspects of the growing European influence in that Quarter of the Globe. The phrase is not at all an inapt description of what has taken place. All the principal, and some of the lesser, European Powers have seemed to be suddenly smitten with a mania for the possession of some portion of African soil. Some of these Powers were already in various ways interested in the Dark Continent, while others are absolutely new-comers, whose only title to share in the "Scramble" would seem to be their own intense desire to share in it.

Of all the new-comers, Belgium seems to us to have adopted the course best suited, alike to the development of the country under its influence, and to the moderation of International jealousies. For instead of creating a mere Belgian Colony, the wisdom of the King of the Belgians, combined with his philanthropy, has added a new State to Africa, from which, it may well be hoped, the light of Civilization will shed its rays over the entire basin of the Congo, and the yet unknown lands which may be reached from that basin, and which will, sooner or later, fall under the influence of the Congo State. This seems a more solid conception of the mode of developing the native of Africa under European influence than that which we are able to trace in most of the newer settlements of the White man in Africa.

The native who inhabits the Congo State, or who takes up his residence there for purposes of trade or cultivation of the soil, does not cease to be an African, but he comes under European influence, and under a special system of Law administered for his benefit by European Judges, who are not to be bribed or coerced from the paths of a natural

Equity more or less resembling that which the *rerum domini* of Western Europe developed, so many centuries ago, under the fostering care of the Prætor.

Such a system of Administration, outside the petty rivalries of the various European nations, and carried out by officers of various European nationalities, under a Sovereign who is himself, in Europe, the ruler of a Neutral State, seems to offer some of the best possible guarantees for the development of an African State under European influence.

Perhaps the next best system may be that of the Chartered Companies, which have been founded, in more than one European State, to carry out the work of settlement and civilization. The danger, perhaps, of most of these Companies is likely to be that of ceasing to be settlers and traders, and pioneers of Civilization, and aiming at becoming African Powers, while yet themselves but Trading Companies, chartered under the Laws of a given European State. What is wanted, however, is not the creation of an *Imperium in Imperio* like the old East India Company, for the successful imitation of that very remarkable body is hardly to be looked for.

The object of a Trading Company should be trade, not fighting, or setting up as a sort of Free Lance State.

Companies established, ostensibly at least, for the development of Commerce in Africa, exist under the auspices of several of the principal European Powers. In the existing relations of those Powers themselves, however, most of which are sufficiently jealous of each other even within the limits of Europe, it is, unfortunately, scarcely to be expected that their African Commercial representatives should not feel themselves called to a Semi-Political mission, to which, nevertheless, they have probably, in most cases, no official, or even quasi-official, pretension. It seems unavoidable, for instance, that a German Company, when once it has acquired a tract of land in Equatorial Africa, should consider itself as bound to extend the Empire and its influence to

the snows of Kilimanjaro, and endeavour to thwart any other European influence, whether French or English, which it may find on its borders. It seems equally unavoidable that French Missionaries should, too often, consider themselves agents for a French propaganda as well as for the introduction of Latin Christianity.

These things are much to be regretted, but it is easier to admit this than to point out the remedy. Of course, one remedy would be that the Lion should lie down with the Lamb; that the German should admit that the Frenchman has not been improved off the face of the earth by the mere accident of getting the worst in a War, and that he has a right still to existence, and to a share in the European Concert; while the Frenchman should admit that a man may be a German without being his born enemy, and that, at any rate, it is very absurd to carry old European rancours into the heart of Africa. It would be well, too, if Portugal could be got to recognise that a non-Portuguese European in Africa is not a person to be gratuitously suspected of evil designs upon Portuguese territory in Africa, as if he could have no other purpose in view. And it would be well, also, if Portugal were to wake up to the conviction that property has its duties as well as its rights, and that if she is so zealous and so untiring in her assertion of rights of suzerainty and Sovereignty by olden Conquest and olden Treaty, she must throw open her ports and her rivers to the free commerce of the Nations, and not hug her solitary grandeur in a dilapidated Fort, guarded, perhaps, by a few native soldiers, and arrest Foreign Traders when they attempt to sail up the rivers which should be the highways of Commerce.

There is no use, in these days, in thinking that doubtful claims to having built labyrinthine Zimbabwe stone Forts will avail any nation in the "Scramble for Africa." Those who take the most eager part in the "Scramble" are the least likely to be influenced by such claims. It would be idle, as a matter of history, to deny that the Portuguese opened up

Africa to the knowledge of Europe in the fifteenth century, just as it would be idle to deny that Spain opened up the New World to us about the same time. Columbus, Magalhaens, Vasco da Gama, and their fellow-explorers of world-encircling ocean, are amongst the world's heroes. To Columbus both worlds are now hastening to do homage, on the occasion of the fourth centenary of his discovery. But even as Spain and Portugal shared the glories of maritime discovery with England, France, and Holland, so they came to share the lands of the New World with men of those other countries who shared in the discovery of the Western Hemisphere and of Africa. This has been done and it cannot be undone. It must be recognised as a fact. Politically, indeed, Portugal has fared better in Africa than Spain has either in Africa or in the New World, for she has retained the direct sovereignty of considerable portions of the coast, with undefined claims to inland rights of lordship, or over-lordship, *i.e.*, suzerainty, which she has not been slow to set up in opposition to Europeans of other nationalities. In the New World Spain has retained nothing directly, though indirectly, of course, she is the parent of the various Republics of Spanish origin from Mexico to Chili, and of several States of the United States of America, as Portugal is the parent of Brazil. In Africa, however, Spanish influence can hardly be said to exist at the present moment, since her islands, lovely and interesting as they are from various points of view, are not in a geographical position which can enable her, through their possession, to influence the mainland.

That Spain thinks she ought to have a footing on the mainland of Africa is commonly rumoured, and probably no amount of official denials would induce the average student of European Politics in Africa to doubt that Spain has an eye upon Morocco. Whether she would develop the Shereef's country if she got possession of it, is quite another matter. That Morocco is a very undeveloped country need scarcely be said. The innocent British tourist who,

guileless of Moorish ways, talked in the boat, as he was landing at Tangier, of taking a cab up to his Hotel, probably came to the conclusion, somewhat hastily, that Morocco was a "take-in." It is true that there are no cabs in Tangier, and nothing that can be called a carriage road. Yet there is, we believe, a Spanish Electric Light Company, whose sphere of operations, however, is very limited. Supposing Spain to desire the acquisition of Morocco, would European Interests in Africa gain or lose by her successful attainment of such a desire? Probably they would gain, but it should be remembered by Spanish Politicians that the extension of a country's influence has sometimes to be paid for rather heavily. We have ourselves often paid very heavily for what was at least supposed to be an extension of our influence. If Spain were to obtain possession of Morocco to-morrow, she would have a long period to pass through in which nearly all would be outgoing, and there would be no incoming worth speaking of. Everything has yet to be done for the development of the products and the commerce of Morocco, just as France, undoubtedly, found to be the case in Algeria, and now finds to be the case in Tunisia. It is said, and it is denied, and the denial is perhaps worth about as much and as little as such official denials are usually worth, that if Spain has an eye upon Morocco, Italy has an eye upon Tripoli. We do not profess to be in the secrets of either Spanish or Italian Statesmen, but we think it quite likely that the idea exists, though we may not be able to say whether it can be called any part of either Spanish or Italian Policy to transmute the idea into a fact. We do not suppose that either Power would take any active steps towards the realization of these projects, if projects they can be called. We only suppose that if the Morocco or Tripoli pear were to become so ripe as to fall into Spanish or Italian mouths, those mouths would not be closed against it.

The actual Italian occupation of Massowah seems difficult of explanation on any other ground than that of wishing



for a *locus standi* to be heard on any point arising in connection with European Interests in Africa. Of itself Massowah can be of no particular value to Italian trade or navigation. The grounds on which that station has been acquired must be otherwise explained.

The development of any portion of Africa by a European Power must be a work of time and patience. Whoever wishes to succeed in establishing a sound influence in Africa must be prepared for many trials and many disappointments, and he must also be prepared to give time to time. The saying, 'Rome was not built in a day,' applies with equal force to Africa. An African Power under European influence is not to be built up in a day. Centuries of inert Paper Suzerainty have done nothing to consolidate Portuguese power in Africa. If Portugal wishes to maintain her footing among the various European Interests in Africa, she must be up and doing, and show that her interests are living interests, and that she is ready to Christianize, to civilize, to trade, to open up new routes for the advance of commerce and of civilization. Those who will neither take part with their European neighbours in the work which has to be done in Africa nor willingly allow them to do it, will be hopelessly distanced in the race for power in Africa. There is room enough for all in the vast, and even yet but little known, regions of the interior of Africa. Behind the coast ranges there lies a "Hinter-land" which should amply suffice for the ambitions of all Europe, be the nations of Europe never so ambitious. Much of this land has been proved to be fertile, and capable of being inhabited by Europeans. Much of it has been the seat of ancient African civilization, for it cannot be doubted that in some parts of Africa there has existed a fairly high native civilization. The impulse may have come from Phœnician or from Arab in the olden days, just as it may now come from Englishman, German, Frenchman, Belgian, or Portuguese. What has been may be again. There has been an ancient African Civilization. Let us hope that there will be, ere long, a new African

Civilization, under which the highest and best African Interests shall be conciliated with the highest and best European Interests in Africa.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

THE recent questions in the House of Commons on the Uganda troubles only serve to bring out in relief some of the points upon which we had already insisted.

We have here all the elements of a very pretty international paper war, if not something more. France and Germany and a British Company recently chartered for African exploration and African commerce, are on the stage, and the actors are both missionaries and traders, as well as an African potentate whose dominions missionary and trader are alike anxious to make the most of for their respective purposes. There is the additional complication of officers in the British army taking temporary service under a British Trading Company in Africa while on leave. The point whether these officers were commissioned, or purported to be commissioned, by the Company under which they were serving, was left in doubt in the House of Commons, and on that aspect of the question we do not profess to know more than the Government itself.

The story, as it is at present before us, is obviously incomplete, and only versions hostile to British interests in Africa seem as yet to have been brought to the notice of Parliament. The religious element appears very strongly on the scene as an element antagonistic to peace, most unfortunately. It is difficult to suppose that a British officer's religious convictions would so master his general sense of humanity, not to say Christianity, as to lead to his calmly witnessing massacres of natives of a different Christian confession from his own, as is alleged against Captains Lugard and Williams. It is, moreover, perfectly possible that either or both of these officers may turn out to belong to the Roman Catholic Church, in which case the ground of some of the allegations would have to be shifted.

What is the precise value to be attached to the somewhat recent conversion of the Royal hero of sable hue to the obedience of the Holy Father, is probably very doubtful. He is, we believe, a gentleman of some experience in the somewhat double-edged art of spearing missionaries.

As far as the Uganda affair is as yet intelligible, it seems to strengthen what was said in the body of the present article against making the new Companies chartered for African trade and exploration anything like what the old East India Company gradually became. No doubt it is difficult, and may even prove to be impossible, to prevent this altogether, and it may be that a real rival of the greatness of old John Company will some day arise in British South Africa. If the time and place should really require this, the men will doubtless be forthcoming. But it is not a thing to be lightly encouraged, and, indeed, it must be admitted that if old John Company grew to be what it became, a practically sovereign power in India, it was alike against the will of the home Government, which granted and renewed the Company's charters, and against the will of John Company itself, as expressed by its Court of Directors.

## UGANDA.

DURING the last few years Central Africa has claimed a large share of political, philanthropic and popular attention, and it is perhaps just that it should have done so. We have been almost satiated by the number of books and magazine articles with which the British Press has been flooded, and it might appear unnecessary to add a line to what has been already written on the subject, were it not for the sensational rumours which have recently reached Europe concerning the critical condition of matters in Uganda.

It is not my intention to give a detailed account either of Uganda or of its vicissitudes during the past ten years; the limited space at my disposal precludes this. All I can venture to offer is a brief summary of the more important events which have led up to the present crisis. I write at a disadvantage, because up to the date of writing the information which has arrived is one-sided and probably biased in character, and I am well aware that before these pages are in the reader's hands Captain Lugard's eagerly looked-for report may have come to hand and may place a different complexion on the aspect of affairs.

Since Speke and Grant visited Uganda in 1860 a halo of romance has surrounded that country. The interest in it was greatly stimulated by the publication of Stanley's account of his visit to the country in 1875, and his appeal to the British public for missionaries to be sent to instruct the king and people, an appeal which met with a generous response and resulted in the despatch of a party of well equipped missionaries by the Church Missionary Society in 1876. From that time onward interest in the country has been growing and the Uganda Mission has furnished a startling series of events, calculated from time to time to

encourage and depress the friends of mission work. The heroic work of Mackay and his fellow missionaries in Uganda, the martyrdom of Bishop Hannington and the death of many of the missionaries have fired and stimulated the imagination, and the recent persecutions and civil wars have kept alight a vivid interest in the future of the country.

The geographical position of Uganda, the character of the people, their intelligence, their capacity for imitation, their aptitude for acquiring knowledge, their warlike nature and their fertile country, all point to the importance of making the country a centre of civilization; but on the other hand these very same factors have, as will be seen, been capable of leading to bitter strife and dissension.

In order to understand the present position of affairs in Uganda it will be necessary to rapidly summarise the incidents of missionary activity which have occurred since the 2nd of July 1877, when the Rev. C. T. Wilson and Lieutenant Smith of the Church Missionary Society were first received by King Mtesa. Until this time the Mahomedans had been working, but with little success, to impress their tenets upon Mtesa and his chiefs. When however the British missionaries arrived Mtesa took them into his favour and, notwithstanding the warnings of the Moslems, outwardly at any rate, conformed to their desires. His flag was hoisted upon Sundays and services were held within the precincts of the royal palace. Soon however a disturbing element was introduced into the country by the arrival on February 21st 1879 of two French priests, Père Lourdel and Frère Delmonce, who had been sent by the Archbishop of Algiers to found a mission in Uganda.\* They were well

\* In the "Church Missionary Intelligencer," December, 1879, reference is made to an agreement which Mackay had made on the coast with Père Horner that neither Protestants nor Roman Catholics should intrude upon each others' missions, but the French missionaries who came to Uganda said they did not hold themselves bound by the agreement, as they were of a different order from that to which Père Horner belonged, and they proceeded to make the grievous mistake of beginning work where Protestants were already in the field.

received by Mtesa, as had been the Protestant missionaries, and here perhaps one may venture to say that in all probability Mtesa's action with regard to these and subsequent missionary parties who arrived in Uganda was influenced, not by his wish for a new religion so much as by his desire to benefit his country and to increase his personal prestige by the presence of many Europeans at his court. At any rate this view of his character explains his apparent changes of religion and the fact that the new comers, provided that they brought him a handsome present, were the favourites of the hour; whether they were Protestants, Roman Catholics or Mahomedans, was all the same to him.

Space forbids me to enlarge upon the vicissitudes of the missionaries, but it should be remembered that from the very first both the Mahomedans and the Roman Catholics had impressed upon Mtesa and his chiefs the warning that if he permitted the Protestant missionaries to remain in his country, sooner or later they would be followed by an army which would annex the country. An ancient Waganda tradition must also be borne in mind, namely, that if strangers were to enter the country from the east across the Nile the power of the Waganda would come to an end and they would become the strangers' vassals. It was in all probability the recollection of this tradition which prompted Bishop Hannington's murder.

After Mtesa's death he was succeeded by Mwanga, one of his sons, a youth without his father's power and with a brutal and despotic disposition. All one hears of him bears out the belief that his election to the throne was a grievous mistake, and from that time the residence of the missionaries in Uganda has been one of extreme danger, difficulty and hardship. Notwithstanding this however, both British and French missionaries have had wonderful success and that success has been proved deep and lasting by the fact that their converts went cheerfully to the stake, to mutilation and to banishment rather than give up their allegiance to their new-found faith.

Passing on to the civil wars which have occurred in Uganda, the first outbreak took place at the instigation of the Mahomedans. Mwanga was driven from the throne, and, escaping to the south end of the lake, he sued for the protection of Mackay, whom he had previously driven from the country, and it was generously accorded him. With the help of Mr. Stokes, he subsequently returned to Uganda, defeated the Mahomedans and regained his throne. The missionaries returned and peace reigned for a few short months. It might have been expected that Mwanga would be grateful for the aid given him; gratitude however is not one of his characteristics and he appears to have vacillated in his allegiance between the two missions, and, following his father's footsteps, he seems to have taken into favour the newest arrivals of one Society or the other. At length we find that religion and politics become inextricably mixed and two fairly well defined parties are formed amongst the people, a Protestant and a Catholic party, each striving for temporal supremacy. It had been arranged that the high posts in the kingdom should be equally divided between the two parties, but this was too fair for frail human nature; and although we surely must acquit the missionaries themselves from fanning the flames, yet their hot-headed native adherents undoubtedly fought for supremacy; and we must leave them fighting for a time whilst we recall what had happened in Europe and upon the coast, events which will lead us to the present crisis.

The friendly rivalry of Germany and Great Britain upon the East Coast of Africa is a matter of common knowledge. For a time it was doubtful which would gain the upper hand or how a *modus vivendi* could be brought about. While the Imperial British East Africa Company and the German East Africa Company were strenuously endeavouring to secure as much territory as possible, the Foreign Offices of both nations were seeking to settle this knotty question by diplomacy. A German expedition headed by Dr. Carl Peters ran the blockade and, ostensibly carrying

relief to Emin Pasha, made rapid progress towards Uganda. The British Company, not to be behindhand, despatched an expedition, with a like object in view, under Mr. Jackson. Both expeditions arrived at approximately the same time at Kavirondo to the east of the Nile near Uganda. Dr. Peters entered the country and made treaties with Mwanga on behalf of Germany. Then, hearing that Mr. Stanley with Emin Pasha was on his way to the coast, he left the country with his treaties in his pocket and after, as he imagined, having made peace between the factions which he found in Uganda. Thereafter Mr. Jackson paid a visit to Mwanga and also made various treaties.

When Dr. Peters arrived at the coast he found that his endeavours to gain Uganda for the German sphere of influence were rendered null and void by the Anglo-German agreement, which, giving Heligoland to Germany, left Uganda within the British sphere of influence in Africa. During the past two years the British East Africa Company has been making rapid strides upon the coast, and, knowing that Uganda had come under their sphere of influence, they naturally enough sent an expedition to that country, commanded by Captain Lugard, who had had considerable experience of Arab and African intrigue during the fighting which took place three years ago on Lake Nyassa. He was accompanied by Captain Williams, an officer of experience. They had instructions to report on the condition of Uganda, to gain information regarding its commercial capabilities and were enjoined to hold the balance even in respect to the religious difficulties which were known to exist in the country. It is no light matter to send expeditions through the Masai country to Uganda, and last year the directors of the Imperial Company came to the conclusion that it was impossible with the funds at their disposal to keep Captain Lugard permanently in Uganda. They offered however to subscribe out of their private means £10,000 if other philanthropists would aid them in supplying the necessary funds for that purpose. At a meeting

which was held in Exeter Hall by the Church Missionary Society in November, 1891, Bishop Tucker made a vigorous appeal to the friends of the Society to come to the Company's assistance and £16,000 were immediately forthcoming, upon which the Company agreed to retain Captain Lugard in Uganda until next December. It will be remembered too that Parliament voted a grant of £20,000 to aid in a survey for a railway from Mombasa to the Victoria Nyanza. This brings us to the startling dénouement of the last few weeks, and first—we are informed in the public press that the British East Africa Company has felt itself compelled to send orders to Captain Lugard to withdraw from Uganda. This is of itself a serious and regrettable step, and all the more so as at the same time the most startling and almost incomprehensible charges have been made by the Roman Catholic missionaries in respect to the action of Captain Williams in the most recent civil war which occurred in Uganda at or about the commencement of this year. From the vague information which we possess, it seems to be likely that Captain Lugard himself was not in Uganda when the civil war broke out. He was, we imagine, exploring Unyoro and the district to the south of the Albert Nyanza Lake, Captain Williams being left in charge of the Company's station in Uganda at Kampala.\*

It is extremely difficult from the information at present to hand to give anything like an accurate account of what has happened, and the report from Captain Lugard and Captain Williams must certainly be received before the tangled skein of events can be unravelled. We have at present the accounts sent by Monsignor Hirth, Père Guiller-mann, Père Gaudebert, Captain Langheld, Sergeant-Major Kühne and Père Conillaud, all Roman Catholic missionaries with the exception of the two German officers, and we have information from one of the Church Missionary Society's

\* Since these lines were written, reports placing in doubt this assumption have reached us, but it is impossible to gauge their trustworthiness.—Ed.



agents, written just before the fighting took place. In referring to these reports, it is necessary to write with extreme caution, as it is only too evident that the writers are, and perhaps necessarily, influenced by prejudice and religious partisanship. The Church Missionary Society's agent, the Rev. G. K. Baskerville, writes in his journal, dated December 4, 1891: "We are living in a volcano—the whole country is in a ferment. The Roman Catholics started all the trouble by sending men to destroy the Melondo's place in Kyagwe. He is one of our biggest and most respected chiefs. Wisely, he, before taking any hasty measures, went to consult Captain Williams, who told him to go and defend his property. Accordingly yesterday he went, and the king (*i.e.*, the Catholic party) has sent four Roman Catholic chiefs after him to kill him. . . . Our people have acted nobly and kept from violence; we went to see one chief who was for fighting at once, but he promised to refrain out of respect to our opinion and advice. If the Protestants throw themselves upon the Captain (Williams) and do nothing rash, they will win; but if they act independently they will lose. They are now waiting to hear from the messengers sent after the chiefs who had gone to fight the Melondo. If he has been killed there will be war and it will mean the expulsion of the Roman Catholic party, for Williams will aid the Protestants as being the aggrieved party. . . . Captain Williams has been this evening and expressed himself greatly pleased with the conduct of the Protestants."

The Roman Catholic missionaries state that fighting commenced and they lay the blame upon the Protestants, and go on to charge Captain Williams not only with having instigated the Protestants to fight, but with having supplied them with arms and ammunition and subsequently aided them himself and taken five of the Roman Catholic missionaries prisoner, treating them disgracefully. They further state that Mwanga and the Catholic party were driven from the country, some five or six hundred being

drowned in their endeavours to escape, and, had it not been for the arrival of Sergeant-Major Kühne of the German Expedition who hoisted the German flag upon the boats conveying Mwanga and Bishop Hirth, they would also have been captured by the Protestant party who were hot in pursuit. According to the accounts we refer to, the fighting must have been very bitter, for Père Guillermand says that Msaji, the chief of the Catholic party, repulsed the Protestants five times, and it was only when the Maxim gun literally mowed down the Catholics, men, women and children, that they were obliged to flee. The most recent information which has come to hand was given by the Marquis of Salisbury in the House of Lords a day or two ago. He read a telegram which was dated, at Bukombi or Bukoba at the south end of the Victoria Nyanza, the 31st of May, saying that Captain Williams had arrived there bringing with him the news that the fighting in Uganda had ended and that hopes were entertained of coming to terms with Mwanga and his followers. In any case, whoever were the aggressors, this brief history is sad enough and it is likely to lead to many difficulties and far-reaching results. Already the French Government has protested against the action of the British; and the Roman Catholic missionaries, supported by the Holy See, have claimed compensation from the British Government and have demanded the re-establishment of a Roman Catholic Mission in Uganda.

The affairs in Uganda having reached this terrible climax the question presses itself upon all minds as to what the result will be and what action should be taken by this country in view of the serious issues involved. Some no doubt would counsel the withdrawal of the British from the country and would recommend the Waganda being left to settle their own disputes. On consideration however it must surely be apparent that this way out of the difficulty cannot be taken, for, although the Waganda are a warlike people, and although they are accustomed to copious blood-

shed, it must be admitted that British action has been the indirect cause of the troubles into which the country has been plunged. Again, the importance of Uganda, from its being the geographical and political key to so much of Central Africa, precludes the idea of Britain relinquishing that country to the various possible European claimants who would certainly step in should we retire. Uganda needs and must have a strong and settled government. It is easy to estimate the result of abandonment. The Arabs would regain supremacy, the slave trade would flourish, the civil war would continue, the country would be decimated and the Europeans would be driven out of the land. It therefore would seem to be of pressing importance that the hands of the Imperial British East Africa Company should be strengthened, and that they should be enabled to retain the footing which they have gained and, by taking to heart the bitter lessons of the past, to ensure to the Waganda the blessings of peace and prosperity in the future. As to whether the Government should aid the Company or whether the duty should be left to private individuals, I do not feel called upon to express an opinion, but that one or other should act, and act promptly, I can have no doubt whatever.

I cannot conclude this brief article without expressing my firm belief that in Africa everything should be done to prevent different missionary Societies from working in the same place. The inevitable result is to confuse the people and to engender strife. The country is so large that there is room for all, and in the interests of humanity and the progress of civilization no more useful feat could be accomplished than to bring about an international agreement which should render impossible such overlapping in the future.

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THE  
FINANCIAL POSITION OF AUSTRALASIA.

BY GEORGE COLLINS LEVEY, C.M.G.

THE announcement that the Melbourne Board of Works will take advantage of the low rate of interest now ruling, and will place upon the London money market a loan of two millions sterling has again raised the whole question of Australasian indebtedness. The proposed loan would be about as well secured as it is possible that any municipal loan can be; for it not only has a lien upon the rates raised in the Victorian metropolis and its suburbs, which contain a prosperous population of half a million, but it has the especial guarantee of the Yan Yean water system, from which the chief city of Victoria obtains its supply, and which returns a large profit after paying interest upon the cost of its construction. But the attempt to raise money at the present moment for any Australian public work, however necessary in itself or however ample the security offered for the proposed loan, is likely to prevent or at any rate delay that advance in the value of every description of Australasian Government stock which was so noticeable during the whole of the month of May.

The total of Australian indebtedness is larger than is generally supposed, for it is not confined to the sums owing by the various governments. These amount in round figures to 185 millions sterling, and to them must be added the liabilities incurred by the municipalities, which in the aggregate reach to about 15 millions sterling. But these items do not represent the whole debt. In estimating the financial position of Australia and its ability to remit to this country the large sum necessary for the service of the public debt, it is necessary to take into consideration the amount of European capital invested in various Australian

financial and industrial enterprises. In round figures this is as follows : Capital of Anglo-Australian banks £6,000,000; ditto on English share register of Colonial banks, £1,250,000; deposits in the British branches of Anglo-Australian and Australian banks and invested in the colonies £35,000,000; investments by British insurance companies in Australia, £7,000,000; British Companies advancing on Land and Stock in Australia—paid-up capital, £11,000,000, debenture issue, £20,000,000; money deposited in the British branches of colonial land mortgage and trust companies £12,000,000; land, shipping, railway, mining, gas and other companies, £12,000,000; private property in Australia owned by residents in Great Britain, £80,000,000; or in all nearly £200,000,000, a sum about equivalent to the total of the public and municipal debt. Assuming that the average rate of interest is 4 per cent., and that no more loans should be contracted in this market on Australian account, an annual remittance of sixteen millions sterling would have to be made to this country, and the recent investigation of the Governments of New Zealand and Victoria which contemplate levying or actually have levied a tax on absentees would serve to show that the actual remittance is larger than the sum we have estimated.

Fortunately there is another aspect from which the financial position of Australasia can be regarded. If the colonies have borrowed much, the borrowed money has been honestly and judiciously invested. No great financial house has retained one large portion of the loan in its own coffers; no dishonest officials have intercepted another. The whole sum borrowed, less one or two per cent., has gone to swell the amount raised from taxation, the rent and sale of Crown Lands and the income from public works, and has been expended for public purposes. Ninety per cent. of the money borrowed is represented by railways, water works, harbours, docks, tramways or electric telegraphs. The first loans were contracted during the early fifties and the

following figures, which were given by Sir Edward Braddon in the paper recently read by him at the Society of Arts will show the solid progress made since that date :—

	1850.	1890.
Debt - - - - -	£57,917	£184,912,804
Population - - - - -	648,133	3,532,050
Wool exports - - - - -	£2,836,514	£23,734,332
Total exports - - - - -	£4,763,594	£70,901,685
Total imports - - - - -	£4,619,930	£68,495,581
Number of horses - - - - -	183,892	1,613,585
Number of cattle - - - - -	2,302,327	10,346,661
Number of sheep - - - - -	22,186,833	114,141,893
Shipping, inwards and outwards (tons)-	1,209,515	15,395,186
Bank deposits (say) - - - - -	£6,000,000	£110,855,571
Savings (approximate)- - - - -	£1,500,000	£17,312,795
Minerals exported - - - - -	—	£14,122,117
Revenue - - - - -	£1,201,068	£29,306,217
Railways (miles) - - - - -	—	11,600

It would be absurd to suppose that the productiveness of Australia has reached its limit. The exports in 1891 were nearly three millions more than in 1890. The export of wool will grow larger and larger ; that of grain is capable of almost indefinite increase. The British farmer who is accustomed to a yield of 30 bushels to the acre may wonder how his Australian rival makes less than eleven bushels pay expenses, and yield a living profit. But the circumstances of the two countries are entirely different. The Australian farmer is usually a peasant proprietor owning his farm, and doing the greater portion of the work by himself with the members of his family. With the aid of labour-saving machinery, an economical system of farming, and the low value of land, an acre of wheat can be farmed, including the purchase of seed corn, at a cost of 28s. per acre, in Victoria, New South Wales and Tasmania, and at much less in South Australia. With wheat at 32s. a quarter in the colony, the small returns of Australian harvests give a fair profit to the grower. The export of butter, cheese, fruits and wines is becoming larger, and the proposed introduction of Kanaka labourers to the far North of Queens-

land and of Coolies to the Northern Territory of South Australia will revive the sugar industry which has lately languished, and will probably increase the output of minerals.

The doubts which have been expressed about the ability of the Australians to pay the interest upon their debt without fresh borrowings have little foundation in fact. An annual remittance of sixteen millions sterling is no doubt a heavy burden and can only be met by a diminution in the imports and an increase in the exports. Both these results can be easily produced. A large proportion of recent imports consists of railway appliances, steel rails and locomotives, which will not be required after the various schemes for internal communication have been completed, while another consists of luxuries, the consumption of which must necessarily be considerably reduced in the present circumstances of the colonies, and as the local manufactures increase. Colonial wine will have to be substituted for champagne and Burgundy; the ladies will have to curtail their expenditure in lace and diamonds; the theatres will no longer be able to induce Sarah Bernhardt to attract audiences with her silvery voice. Nor is it only possible to diminish imports; the exports will expand, and a steady growth will follow the gradual development of Australian production. The imports of New Zealand in 1886 were valued at £6,759,000, and the exports at £6,672,000. But as soon as that colony ceased to borrow money and looked its position squarely in the face the imports declined, and the exports grew, until in 1890 the former were only £6,260,000, while the latter had grown to £9,801,000.

The ability of Australia to repay its debts, as evidenced by the solid basis of assets which it can offer as security, is undoubted. The various Government statisticians have estimated that the private wealth of Australasia reaches 1,152 millions, so that there is ample security for the 200 millions owed by the inhabitants of the country to their

European creditors. Some of the items which make up the 1,152 millions may be slightly exaggerated; others are capable of exact proof. The capital invested in grazing is 375 millions, and 250 millions have been expended upon purchasing, improving, stocking, and working tillage farms. The returns from these two great sources of wealth reach 60 millions per annum, and wool, grain, meat, leather, hides, tallow, etc., valued at about 40 millions, are exported. The railways have cost in round figures £130,000,000—for in addition to the sums borrowed, most of the colonies have devoted a portion of their revenue to these works—and they return a net profit of 3·08 per cent. upon that sum, while about £50,000,000 have been devoted to harbour improvements, water-supply, and other public improvements, most of which may be expected to pay eventually a fair interest upon the cost of their construction, and some of which already return considerable profits. Another important asset is the public estate, which even in the smaller colonies is of great extent. Tasmania has 12,000,000 acres of land belonging to the State; Victoria has 32,000,000; New Zealand has 33,000,000. In the larger colonies the extent of the public land is enormous. In New South Wales it comprises an area of 155,000,000 acres, which yield an annual revenue of £1,152,000. South Australia has more than 500,000,000 acres of Crown lands, of which 291,948,000 are occupied by graziers. Queensland leases to her pastoral tenants 290,948,000 acres; and Western Australia, with an unsold estate of 675,684,000 acres, has 105,057,000 in the hands of so-called "squatters." About the value of these Crown lands much difference of opinion exists, but leaving out of the calculation the large extent of country which at the present moment is not leased or occupied in any way, and assuming that it possesses no value whatever, there would remain an area in New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, and New Zealand, which at the moderate rate of 10s. per acre would be worth £105,000,000, while the 689,476,000 acres of occupied Crown lands in Queensland,



South Australia, and Western Australia would at 5s. per acre amount to £172,000,000. And this vast estate in land and in revenue-yielding public works, amounting in the aggregate to £467,000,000, may be regarded as the collateral security for the public debt offered by the governments of countries inhabited by 4,000,000 of people which possess a revenue of £29,000,000 per annum, not more than a third of which is raised by taxation. Most States have only their revenue, obtained from the pockets of their people, to offer as security to the public creditor. Australia has in addition a vast national wealth which is every year by leaps and bounds expanding, until it attains a magnitude beyond the dreams of avarice.

A perusal of these figures and facts should relieve the holders of Australian Government securities from any doubt about their value. Nor have private investors any cause for apprehension except the small number who tempted by high interest embarked their capital in risky ventures. Some of the newly established land and mortgage banks have lately gone into liquidation. But in every case these insolvent concerns were of recent origin, had been formed to assist in the inflation of real estate in and near the Australian capitals, and especially Melbourne, and had nothing in common with the more cautious and longer-established institutions, English or Australian, which either transact the ordinary business of banks of issue and deposit, or lend money on mortgage to graziers and farmers.

There is a large school of financial writers who are of opinion that although there may be ample security for the principal and interest of existing Australian loans, they should now cease, at any rate for the present. The example of New Zealand has been cited to show the good effects, which as was shown by the Agent-General, Mr. Perceval, in the paper recently read by him at the Royal Colonial Institute, result from "a phase of economy and abstinence from borrowing." Many colonists entertain similar views. In his annual address to the Melbourne Chamber of Com-

merce, of which he was President, Mr. H. G. Turner attributed the land-boom in that city, and the mass of evils which followed from its collapse, to the cheap money caused by excessive importations of British capital. But Mr. Turner is the General Manager of the Commercial Bank of Australasia, and cheap money is not favourably regarded by bankers. Other authorities entertain different views, and consider that the policy of relying upon external loans cannot, and should not, be stopped at short notice. The mainland of Australia has no great navigable watercourse, with the exception of the Murray and its tributaries; the same want is felt throughout New Zealand and Tasmania. The territory has been opened up by railways; without them agriculture must have been confined to localities within a short distance from the sea-coast. But for the iron horse, the wheat-growing districts in the Northern areas of South Australia and the fertile farms of the Wimmera and Gippsland, in Victoria, would have remained in a state of nature. Nor would sheep-farms have paid in the distant interior of New South Wales and Queensland if the wool had to be conveyed to the port of shipment by the old-fashioned bullock-drays. It would be impolitic to at once stop railway making, even though the greater part of the work is completed, and the branches which remain to be constructed are of minor importance. For the existing lines cannot be profitably worked, until the whole system as originally proposed has been completed.

While therefore borrowing, both by the Government and by private individuals, should be much more restricted in the future than it has been in the past, British capitalists would depreciate the value of their own security, if they were suddenly to close their purses. All that is necessary is that Australian governments should take their creditors into their confidence, should let them know the purposes to which the money it is sought to obtain will be applied, and should undertake that henceforth lines should be built for national and not for political purposes. In the construction

of railways Australia should be regarded as a whole, and every colony should, as far as practicable, sink its individuality, and act as if Australian Federation were an accomplished fact. This advice does not apply to New Zealand and Tasmania, which are islands, and whose railway systems are complete in themselves. An unwise policy has frequently guided the construction schemes in the past. Some of the lines in the Southern districts of New South Wales were built in order to divert traffic to Sydney, which for geographical reasons would otherwise have gone to Melbourne. Victoria even now proposes to construct a railway in order to bring to Melbourne produce which now finds its way easily and cheaply to South Australia by the river Murray. The south-eastern district of the last-mentioned colony bristles with lines whose principal object is to bring goods to its own ports which otherwise might have been forwarded to those of Victoria. In Queensland, New Zealand, and Tasmania, the interests of districts were advanced to the injury of the colony as a whole, and politicians were rather anxious that each locality should obtain its full share of the Government expenditure, than that railway construction should pay its way, or open up country otherwise inaccessible. Above all it is essential that more attention should be directed to immigration. The greatest additional safeguard for the British investor would be increased population. There may, at the present time, be considerable depression throughout Australia, and consequent difficulty in procuring employment. But it is impossible to believe that Australasia with a far larger territory than the United States of America should remain with less than four million inhabitants, or should be contented with the slow and gradual increase which comes from the excess of births over deaths. The great want of Australia is population; and the sooner that fact is realized, and an immigration policy initiated, the better for the colonists themselves, and for their friends and creditors in Europe.

## BENGALI PHILOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY.

*(A Paper read before the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists.)*

IN this paper, "On the Necessity of Ethnographical Studies to Philological Research: as illustrated by the Bengali Language," I cannot claim to put forward a fully established case based on quite conclusive evidence; for to do this would necessitate an exhaustive ethnographical study of the seventy million inhabitants of Lower Bengal, a study that no one individual could hope to carry out.

I believe, however, that, in the restricted studies I have personally been able to make, I have disclosed certain linguistic facts of great interest, and have been able to deduce from them a philological principle of considerable importance and far-reaching effect: a principle which does not appear to have been adequately recognised in the past.

It is chiefly with the desire of subjecting this principle to the fullest investigation, and to point out the direction in which facts likely to illustrate it are to be sought, that I have put forward researches which are still unfinished; the results of which, consequently, cannot as yet claim to be fully demonstrated facts.

In following up the line of inquiry which I have laid down, I shall try, first, to make clear the character of the Bengali language, with special reference to the old metropolitan District of Murshidabad, the language of which I have particularly studied:

Secondly, I shall attempt to explain the ethnographical relations of this District as far as I have been able to understand them:

And, lastly, I shall put forward the conclusions I have been led to form, from comparing the philological with the ethnographical facts.

In discussing the character of the Bengali language, I

am met at the outset by a difficulty of definition. One grammarian wishes to exclude from Bengali all words borrowed directly from the Sanskrit; another would ignore all the colloquial or so-called "low" words; a third would set aside all loan-words from Persian and Arabic. At this rate very little of the Bengali language would be left to discuss.

I believe this confusion arises from the fact that there are, in Lower Bengal, three distinct forms of the Bengali language, which I found side by side in the District of Murshidabad.

The first of these, the literary dialect of Sanskrit-Bengali,\* is the language of the Brahmans, and the classes directly under Brahmanical influence. In the passage I have selected to illustrate this Sanskrit-Bengali literary dialect, fifty per cent. of the words are, in form, pure Sanskrit; while the rest are of the same origin, but have been subjected to the softening and weakening process which may be called "Prakritizing."

The second form of the language is the Mussulmani-Bengali,† the literary dialect of the learned Muhammadans, and also the language introduced by the Muhammadan doctors in the legal forms and technical phrases of the law courts. In the illustrative passage I have chosen, fifty per cent. of the words are pure Arabic or Persian, twenty-eight per cent. are Prakritized words, while only twenty-two per cent. are of pure Sanskrit form.

These two literary dialects—the Sanskrit-Bengali and

\* *E.g.*, "Âmarâ ye dike, jnânanetronmilana kariyâ, dekhi, she-i dike-i dekhite pâi, ye kono vastu nutan utpanna haite-chhe, kono vastu vâ bhinna bhinna bhâva paramânute lina haite-chhe; adya ye vastu ekrûpa dekhâ yâ, kalyatâhâr bhinna bhâva drshta hay; varttamân nimesh madhye, âmarâ yâhâ dekhi, âbâr, tatparakshane i, tâhâr âr ekti bhâva lakshita hay."

† "Ai mokuddamâ sankrânta, sawâl, jabâb kârana janya, âpan taraf ukil yukta karilâm; ukil mosuf, âmâr taraf, ukta mokuddamâ-y, ye shakala sawâl jabâb, o ye kono kâgjât âpan ba-kalame âmâr nâma dastakhat kariyâ, sheresthâ-y dâkhil kariben, o ye kâgjât o dalil wâpas laiben, tat-samadaya âmâr krta karmmer nyâya kabul o manjur."—From a Power of Attorney, or *Vakil-nâma*.

the 'Mussulmani-Bengali—are artificial products of quite recent origin. They stand to each other, it should be noted, in exactly the same relation as literary Hindi and Urdu, and have their origin in the same causes.

Apart from and beneath them lies the true Bengali language, the speech of the illiterate millions, the so-called vernacular or "Low-Bengali," which is, for philological purposes, far more interesting and valuable than the half-Sanskrit or half-Persian jargon of the literate few.

This "Low-Bengali" is the language of the illiterate masses—that is, it is a language with no written documents, if we except the speeches of the inferior characters in Bengali dramas, the analogue of the Prākṛit in the Sanskrit Nāṭakas. Being without proper written documents, any exact analysis of it becomes much more difficult; and, for the same reason, it is subject to great local variation.

My own observations of Low-Bengali apply primarily to the district of Murshidabad; but I am of opinion that they will be found generally true for the whole of Lower Bengal.

Of the vocabulary of Low-Bengali, as talked in Murshidabad, I have formed the following conclusions: First, that the number of pure Sanskrit words is greatly less; and that the few Sanskrit words remaining are cast in a new phonetic mould, or undergo the process of weakening and slurring called Prakritizing.\*

After this large Prākṛit element come what, for want of a better name, I must call aboriginal (*desha-ja*) words, such as *pagṛī* (turban) and *donga*. I have collected a number of

\* Examples of Pakritizing:

Sanskrit.		Low Bengali (pronounced):	
Kṛshna,	Krishna -	-	Kishto.
Ikshu,	sugar-cane	-	Ākh.
Kōkila,	cuckoo	-	Koīl.
Gardabha,	ass	-	Gādā.
Jñāna,	knowledge	-	Gyān.
Pushkara,	tanḱ	-	Pokur.
Padma,	lotus or Ganges	-	Poddo.
Smarana,	remembrance	-	Shoron.
Vaishṇava,	Vishnu-ite	-	Boishtob.

these words in Murshidabad ; but they require further study ; for it is difficult to be quite sure about some of them, owing to the fact that many words in Sanskrit dictionaries are probably old aboriginal loan-words. Bishop Caldwell cites some of these, amongst them being “nânâ,” *various*, and “kuti,” *a house*, both in common use in Bengal.

If it be not too soon to generalize, I should say that the *desha-ja* element in Low-Bengali comprises the names of fishes, plants, birds, utensils, and so on—in fact, the vocabulary of a primitive people. Probably the vocabulary of Low-Bengali is made up in something like the following proportions :

Prâkritized words	-	-	70 per cent.
Desha-ja words	-	-	25 „
Persian, etc., words	-	-	5 „

The grammar of Low-Bengali is, I think, of the highest interest and importance. As far as I have been able to analyze it, I have come to the following preliminary conclusions :

In the substantive, there is a distinct tendency to form the oblique cases, not by inflections, but by adjoined nouns of position or mode ; for example :

Dârâ (dwârâ),	“by the door of,”	for the Instrumental.
Bhitor (bhitare),	“interior,”	for the Locative.
Pakhye (pakshe),	“side,”	for the Locative.
Kâch (kaksha),	“armpit—side,”	for the Locative.
Dik (dish),	“direction,”	for the Dative.

Or by adjoined gerunds :

Diyâ,	“having given,”	in the sense of “along ;”
Chêrê (chhariyâ),	“having abandoned,”	for the Ablative.

The accusative is declined only in the pronouns. The plural is formed, not by terminations, but by adjoined nouns of number :

Gan,	“a host.”	Lok,	“folk.”
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For example :

Châshâ-lok, “cultivator-folk,” for “cultivators.”

For inanimate objects, the plural is often formed by doubling the noun, according to certain phonetic rules :

Jamâ-jamî : *lands* ; from jami, *land*.

Lângal-tângal : *ploughs* ; from lângal, *a plough*.

Hâshuâ-tâshuâ : *bill-hooks* ; from hâshua, *a bill-hook*.

The oblique cases of the plural are formed by adding the same adjoined substantives as in the singular, so that, strictly speaking, singular and plural have the same terminations.

If a feminine adjective is formed at all, it is formed, not by a termination, but by an adjoined noun of sex ; but, practically, adjectives are undeclined, except when they are used as substantives.

The verb, in Low-Bengali, tends to form the active voice exclusively by adjoining kottê (karitê ; S. kartum ; *to do*) to a verbal noun. Similarly it tends to form the middle voice by hotê (haitê ; Pali ; hotun ; *to be*) ; while the passive voice is formed by adjoining jêtê (yâite ; S. yâtum ; *to go*) to a verbal noun. There is a distinct tendency in Low-Bengali to conjugate only these three verbs (kottê, hotê, jêtê), reducing all others to the form of a verbal noun.

Adverbs are formed by the noun "rokom," *mode or manner*, adjoined to substantives.

Prepositions, properly speaking, there are none. And, finally, all words tend to become as short as possible, being mostly monosyllables or dissyllables.

To sum up, the characteristics of the substantives in Low-Bengali are :

- Cases formed by adjoined nouns of position ;
- Number formed by adjoined nouns of multitude ;
- Gender expressed, if at all, by adjoined nouns of sex ;
- Case-terminations being identical in singular and plural ;
- And there being only one declension.

The characteristics of the verb are :

- The active voice, formed by a verbal noun and the infinitive "to do."
- The middle voice, formed by a verbal noun and the infinitive "to be."
- The passive voice, formed by a verbal noun and the infinitive "to go."

All other verbs tend to lapse into a verbal noun, and there is only one conjugation.

Now, putting aside the preconceived idea that Bengali



grammatical forms are derived from Sanskrit in the same way that Italian forms are derived from Latin, I think it will be at once admitted that Low-Bengali, if I have described it rightly, is not "inflectional" at all; but "agglutinative," or midway between the "monosyllabic" and "agglutinative" stages: that it is, in fact, far closer, grammatically, to the Dravidian, Tamil and Telugu, than to the Aryan, French, and Italian. It is worth noting, with reference to this, that Bishop Caldwell, in his "Comparative Grammar," especially notes the similarity of the Bengali with the Dravidian passive; and cites the identity of termination for singular and plural, which I have noted in Low-Bengali, as one of the distinctive features of an agglutinative language, like Tamil or Telugu.

This Low-Bengali is the language of the illiterate masses, of all sects and castes, throughout Lower Bengal; and the fact that *Low-Bengali is an agglutinative language, like the Dravidian tongues*, is the first conclusion I wish to put forward.

Turning from the philology to the ethnography of Lower Bengal, as exemplified by the District of Murshidabad, it should be noted, at the outset, that the Census Division of the population into Hindus, Mussulmans and aborigines, has no ethnical value whatever. The employment of general terms like "Hindu" in ethnography is quite illusory, and ought to be avoided; like whitewash over a mosaic, these generalizations hide real differences which are often of the first importance.

The mass of rural Mussulmans in Lower Bengal are not at all the descendants of Mussulman invaders, whether Persian or Mughal, but converts from one or other of the forms of religion classed as "Hinduism"; and, ethnically, they differ in nothing from the masses of "Hindus" about them. Evident as this is at the present day, it was even more so, fifty years ago. A local writer,\* speaking from personal acquaintance with the Mussulman peasantry in

\* Quoted in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, art. "Bengal," p. 289.

the northern districts of Lower Bengal, in our own day, states "that not one in ten could recite the brief and simple Kalma, or creed, whose constant repetition is a matter of unconscious habit with all good Mussulmans. He described them as 'a sect which observes none of the ceremonies of its faith, which is ignorant of the simplest formulas of its creed, which worships at the shrines of a rival religion, and tenaciously adheres to practices which were denounced as the foulest abominations by its founder.'"

Another writer puts the case epigrammatically: "The masses of rural Mussulmans are little better than a mongrel breed of circumcised Hindus." Setting aside, therefore, the division into Mussulmans, Hindus and aborigines, adopted by the Census, as, ethnically, quite illusory, I shall state my conclusions as to the real race-divisions of the million and a quarter of inhabitants of the Murshidabad district.

Omitting obviously immigrant elements (Afghans, Armenians, Europeans), I found three entirely distinct ethnical types.

First, the true *Indo-Aryan* type, with the following characteristics:

Fine features.

Aquiline nose.

Large eyes, with un-inclined axis.

Perpendicular forehead.

Short upper lip; the lips thin.

Firm chin.

Cheek-bones not prominent.

Fine wavy hair.

Beard, if grown, curly.

Rather large head.

Hands and feet, small and well formed.

And—perhaps most striking—a fair, almost European, complexion.

The proportion of this true *Indo-Aryan* type is extremely small; in Murshidabad District I should put its representatives at some thousands, or perhaps only some hundreds; and out of the forty thousand Brahmans in the District, enumerated in the census of 1872, only a very small pro-

portion are of the Indo-Aryan type. This fact fully bears out what we know from the Sanskrit Epic and Brâhmana literature of the admission of other castes to Brâhmanhood. On a future occasion I hope to point out the bearing of ethnography on many such passages in the Sanskrit books.

The second type I noted, which may be called the *Indo-Chinese* type, had the following characteristics :

- Thick, ill-formed features.
- Broad, flat nose.
- Small eyes, with inclined axis.
- Low, receding forehead.
- Long upper lip ; the lips thick.
- Very prominent cheek-bones.
- Coarse, lank hair.
- Scanty beard.
- Body and limbs large, with large joints.
- Large hands and flat feet.
- Dusky complexion, with a distinct sub-shade of yellow.

This Indo-Chinese type is most numerous in the western half of the district (Kandi), on the higher lands on the right bank of the Bhagirathi, where the country rises gradually towards the Santal Pergunnahs.

I should be inclined to put the numbers of this Indo-Chinese type at between five and six hundred thousand for the whole Murshidabad District.

The third, and most numerously represented type in this district, is what I shall venture to call the *Dravidian* type, as having many, if not all, features in common with the Tamil or Telugu-speaking Dravidians of Southern India. The characteristics of the Dravidian type in Bengal are :

- Well-formed features.
- Noses, straight and not flat.
- Lips slightly thicker than in the Aryan type.
- Coarser hair, never wavy.
- Beard, when grown, plentiful, but never curly.
- Eyes rather small, but their axis uninclined.
- Forehead generally perpendicular.
- Medium length upper-lip.
- Cheek-bones not prominent,
- Height, below medium ; chest flat.
- Large hands and flat feet.
- Very dark, almost black, skin.

This *Dravidian* type is generally found in the eastern half of the District (Lalbagh and Sadar), and its representatives are mostly Mussulmans. I am inclined to put the type at between seven and eight hundred thousand for the whole district.

My observations, therefore, would lead me to estimate the population of Murshidabad as follows :

Between seven and eight hundred thousands of *Dravidian* type ; between five and six hundred thousands of *Indo-Chinese* type ; a few thousands, perhaps hundreds, of pure *Aryan* type : with immigrant elements, Madrasis, non-Indian Asiatics and Europeans.

I am inclined to believe that the same proportions are broadly true for the whole of Lower Bengal ; and I expect that future investigations will show that, out of the seventy-one million inhabitants of Bengal, more than seventy millions are either *Dravidians* or *Indo-Chinese* ; the *Indo-Chinese* being generally grouped among and round the hills, while the *Dravidians* are found in the deltaic and alluvial plains.

That the fact of this non-Aryan element was anciently recognised, in spite of linguistic affinities, is, I think, shown by Manu, x. 45\* ; if so, then the *Dravidians* and *Indo-Chinese* of Bengal represent the "Aryan-voiced *Dasyus*."

Besides the ethnical evidence here put forward, I could, if space permitted, establish the same results on ethnographical grounds ; showing in detail that almost everything that is regarded as most characteristic in the "Hinduism" of Bengal (which has been shown to be substantially the same as the Mussulmanism of the rural masses, under another name) is really the indigenous product of *Indo-Chinese* or *Dravidian* races.

Take, for instance, certain beliefs of the (*Kolarian*) *Santâlis*, a race undoubtedly *Indo-Chinese*.†

Each hamlet of the *Santâlis* is governed by its own

\* Manu, x. 45 :

"Mukha-bâhûrû-paj-jânâm, yâ loke jâtayo vahih ;

Mleccha-vâchash-châryavâchas sarve te Dasyavas smrtâh."

† Vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. "India," pp., 59, 60.

headman, who is supposed to be a descendant of the original founder of the village, and who is assisted by a deputy-headman and a watchman. The Santâlis trace their tribes to the seven sons of the first parents, and the Santâl must take his wife, not from his own tribe, but from one of the six others. So strong is the bond of race, that expulsion from the tribe was the only Santâl punishment. For the Santâli the earth swarms with spirits and demons, whose ill-will he tries to avert. His religion consists of nature-worship and offerings to the ghosts of his ancestors. First the race-god, then the tribe-god, then the family-god require the oblation; but, besides these, there are the spirits of his forefathers, river-spirits, forest-spirits, well-demons, and a mighty host of unseen beings whom he must keep in good humour. His gods chiefly dwell in the ancient Sâl-trees which shade his hamlets; he propitiates them with offerings of the blood of goats, cocks, and chickens; if the sacrificer cannot afford an animal, he draws near to his gods with a red flower or a red fruit.

Every one of these purely Santâli, Indo-Chinese customs—the village headman, marriage inside the jât but outside the gotra; expulsion from the jât; demon and spirit worship; offerings of blood replaced by red flowers; oblation to the ancestors—are generally considered part and parcel of the very essence of ceremonial Hinduism.

Then take a Dravidian race, the Kandhs of Orissa.\* Among the Dravidian Kandhs, as among the Indo-Chinese Santâlis, marriage between relations, or even within the same tribe, is forbidden. The Kandhs engaged only in husbandry and war, and despised all other work. Attached to each Kandh village was a row of hovels, inhabited by a lower race, who were not allowed to hold land, to go forth to battle, or to join in the village worship. These poor people did all the dirty work of the hamlets, and supplied families of hereditary weavers, blacksmiths, potters, herdsmen, and distillers. They were not ill-treated, and a por-

\* Vide *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, vol. "India," pp. 61, 62.

tion of each feast was left for them. But they could never rise in the social scale. No Kandh could engage in their work without degradation, nor eat food prepared by their hands. The lower race can give no account of their origin, but are supposed to be a ruder tribe whom the Kandhs found in possession of their hills. The Kandhs used to practise human sacrifice.

Here again we have, in a purely Dravidian race inhabiting a remote mountain range, a series of customs generally considered to be purely "Hindu"; and in the relation of the Kandhs to the subject race, we have a remarkable analogy to Manu's precept: "It is the duty of a Kshatriya to fight; it is the duty of a Shudra to serve." The division of this lower race into hereditary trade-guilds or castes, is exactly the same as in "Hinduism"; as also the institution of human sacrifice: the last human sacrifice to the Hindu goddess Kâli was offered, in Hugli, only twenty-seven years ago.

It is quite evident, therefore, that a medley of the beliefs and customs of the Santâlis and Kandhs, or of other Indo-Chinese or Dravidian tribes, might, by the addition of a few names, become the "Hinduism" of Bengal; just as this "Hinduism," with the addition of a few rites, has become the Mussulmanism of the rural masses—the "mongrel breed of circumcised Hindus." In fact, the Mussulmanism and Hinduism of Bengal are nothing but a medley of the beliefs and customs of non-Aryan Dravidians and Indo-Chinese.

It would be of absorbing interest to examine how far these original beliefs of the non-Aryan tribes have affected the faith of the Aryan Brahmans; how far, to the inverse attraction of the non-Aryan races, are due the successive changes from the bright gods of the Vedas to the complex mythology of the later Purânas.

It would be of absorbing interest; but many years of patient study are required, before any firm conclusions can be reached; so that I must content myself with recording

the conviction that this is the direction Indian Orientalism will take in the future.

In the meantime, I think I may say that the evidence of beliefs and customs I have brought forward, fully supports my ethnical conclusion as to the *Dravidian and Indo-Chinese character of the population of Bengal*.

I have spoken of the inverse attraction of religion : there is, however, another inverse attraction, that of language, to which I wish to draw attention.

It will be remembered that my first conclusion in this inquiry was, that the Bengali of the masses—Low-Bengali—is an agglutinative language like the Dravidian tongues ; or a language between the monosyllabic and agglutinative stages, like the Indo-Chinese Santali. My second conclusion was that the masses of Bengalis are not Aryan in race, or Vedic in religion ; but that in race and religion they are almost pure Dravidians and Indo-Chinese.

From these major and minor premises I would draw the conclusion that the agglutinative or semi-agglutinative grammar of the Bengali of the masses is directly due to the "Inverse Attraction" of the agglutinative or semi-agglutinative grammar of the Dravidian and Indo-Chinese languages it has displaced, or is displacing.

It is true that this conclusion is at variance with the axiom that "languages adopt vocables, but grammar never,"—an axiom broadly true of fully formed languages ; but I believe it can be shown that nascent languages do adopt grammar ; and that the process can be watched actually in operation. I may illustrate this conclusion by two dialects of English, in process of formation at this moment, both of which are adopting the grammar of the language they are displacing.

The first of these nascent dialects is what is called "Pidgin" or China-English—the dialect of English spoken by the Chinese in California and Australia. This "Pidgin" is a dialect mainly English in vocabulary, but purely Chinese, I believe, in grammar ; it is probable that, even

now, this dialect is spoken by a far larger number of people than Albanian, or Basque, or Armorican, or a score of other languages whose independent existence is unquestionable. I believe, therefore, that I am right in saying that, in China-English, or "Pidgin," we have an instance of grammatical "Inverse Attraction," by which the English vocabulary adopted by the Chinese has been attracted into the grammatical form of the Chinese language which it is displacing.

We can see exactly the same process going on nearer home, in a dialect of English spoken by the peasantry in the south and west of Ireland. It has been shown by Dr. D. Hyde, the Celtic scholar, that the "Hibernicisms" of this dialect are nothing but word for word translations of pure Gaelic idioms into English—another case of "Inverse Attraction," by which the adopted vocabulary is attracted into the grammatical form of the language it has displaced.

In the same way, I conceive that when the Indo-Chinese and Dravidian inhabitants borrowed an Aryan, Sanskritic or Prākritic vocabulary, this vocabulary was attracted into the grammatical form of the agglutinative languages it displaced; and that to this "Inverse Attraction" is due the decidedly agglutinative character which I have shown as pervading Low-Bengali grammar.

It may be remembered that, in describing the process of Prākritizing, I showed that, on their adoption into Bengali, Sanskrit words were cast into a *new phonetic mould*; this process of re-casting is a phonetic "Inverse Attraction," just as the assimilation of form is a grammatical "Inverse Attraction." I believe both processes can be demonstrated to take place in every case when a word, or a group of words, are adopted into a language of a different phonetic or grammatical type. The Prākritizing of Sanskrit words, in their passage to Bengali, I conceive, therefore, to be the result of the effort of Dravidian and Indo-Chinese—races of a different phonetic type—to pronounce Sanskritic forms.

This process of Prākritizing, in India, is curiously like what takes place when races of a different phonetic type



try to pronounce English, or some other Aryan language. Compare the Prâkrit forms *Vihapaddi* for *Vrhaspatis*, and *Kilittho* for *Klishtas*, with the Polynesian *Hiteeli* for *steel*, and the Chinese *Ki-li-si-tu* for *Christ*, and it is at once evident that the same process of phonetic "Inverse Attraction" is operative in both cases.

It is unnecessary, at present, to collect further instances of "Inverse Attraction," whether phonetic or grammatical. I believe it will be found that these processes invariably take place, whenever a vocable or a vocabulary is adopted by a race of a different phonetic or grammatical type; that the vocable or vocabulary tends to assume the phonetic or grammatical form of the language it displaces; further, that the evidence of this attraction having taken place in a language will infallibly indicate its adoption by an alien race; and, lastly, that in this law of "Inverse Attraction" we have the "missing link" of evidence, for the lack of which identity of vocabulary has often been wrongly interpreted as identity of blood; and that this hitherto little noticed philological law will be found to modify the normal progress of linguistic development, as largely as the mimetic instinct of insects and flowers modifies the normal progress of atavistic reproduction.

And, though I do not expect that these results will be accepted without further study and examination, I do confidently claim that they demonstrate the necessity, or, at any rate, the abundant advantage, of combining Ethnographical Studies with Philological Research.

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OBSERVATIONS ON DR. TSUBOI'S DISCOVERY OF  
ARTIFICIAL CAVES IN JAPAN.

BY W. G. ASTON, C.M.G.,

Late Japanese Secretary, H.M.'s Legation Tokio.

DR. TSUBOI'S discovery of a number of artificial caves at Nishi Yoshimi in Eastern Japan will be received with much interest by all who have given attention to Japanese archæology. A few of these monuments of antiquity had been already examined by others, but it was reserved for him to explore them on an extensive scale and to supply many interesting details which throw much light on their character and object. Perhaps he may on some future occasion favour us with a similar report on the thirty other cave districts which he has visited.

But, while rendering justice to the value of the facts collected by Dr. Tsuboi, it may be permitted to question some of his conclusions, more especially his view that these excavations were primarily intended as dwellings. There appears, from the evidence he himself has furnished, good reason to think that they were meant in the first place for sepulchres, although some of them were doubtless used as shelters by beggars or outlaws at a later period.

First of all it strikes one as improbable that so much labour should have been expended merely to provide a dark and narrow cell (2 or  $2\frac{1}{2}$  mètres square), so wet that gutters were necessary to carry off the leakage, and with sleeping accommodation for only one, two, or occasionally three persons. This too is in a country where wood and other building materials are abundant. It is not easy to see how the ordinary occupations of a household could be carried on in such a narrow space, with doors opening on a precipitous hillside. The improbability becomes more glaring when it is remembered that from the earliest times the Japanese have been an agricultural race, and that accommodation was required not only for their families but for their implements of husbandry, their crops, and their domestic animals. Nor is this all. A glance at the drawings given opposite to p. 283, showing the modes of closing the entrances, will convince anyone that the roof of the entrance, with its drop near the middle, was so constructed purposely that it might be closed *from the outside* with a slab of stone, an arrangement which alone leads irresistibly to the conclusion that these excavations could not have been primarily meant for dwellings.

Dr. Tsuboi very justly points out that the fragments of Iwaibe (sacrificial vessels) found close to the caves must be contemporaneous with their use as tombs. It is a pity he could not have found space for a more detailed description of this pottery. I presume it is of the same character as that called Giôgi-yaki—viz., unglazed vessels of certain well-defined shapes, turned on a wheel, and ornamented with wavy lines made by a stick or wooden comb. The larger specimens have mat-impressions outside, and within are marked by a curious stamped circular pattern which has been

called the Korean wheel.\* Popular tradition has it that this kind of pottery was introduced into Japan in the eighth century A.D. by a Buddhist priest of Korean extraction, named Giôgi, who is also credited *inter alia* with the invention of the potter's wheel. There is good reason, however, to think that this instrument became known to the Japanese some centuries before Giôgi's time. A guild of Korean potters, who can hardly have been ignorant of the use of the wheel, was established in Japan in the fifth century. They were probably the first makers of the so-called Giôgi ware, which, be it observed, is identical in character with the older Korean pottery. The inference as to the date of the pottery found by Dr. Tsuboi and of the caves with which it is associated is obvious.

The clay cylinder† found near the caves belong to a different category. They are not wheel-made, but shaped in a mould, and are more like terracotta than pottery. They are not Korean in style, and probably represent the type of pottery in use in Japan before the establishment of the Korean manufacture. There is therefore no reason to limit their age to the date just mentioned, and, in fact, they are found surrounding the tombs of emperors who must go back to the beginning of the Christian era if not further. But these cylinders are appurtenances of a tumulus of the first or second class. Their object was, partly at least, to prevent the soil from being washed away by rain, and they have no *raison d'être* in connection with caves dug in a rock. Their presence at Nishi Yoshimi, if there is no mistake as to the description, points not doubtfully to the existence of a large sepulchral mound in the immediate vicinity. This supposition is rendered more probable by the fact that Mr. Satow in the paper above referred to describes some such mounds, which are situated a few miles farther north. Would it be possible for Dr. Tsuboi to have this suggestion verified?

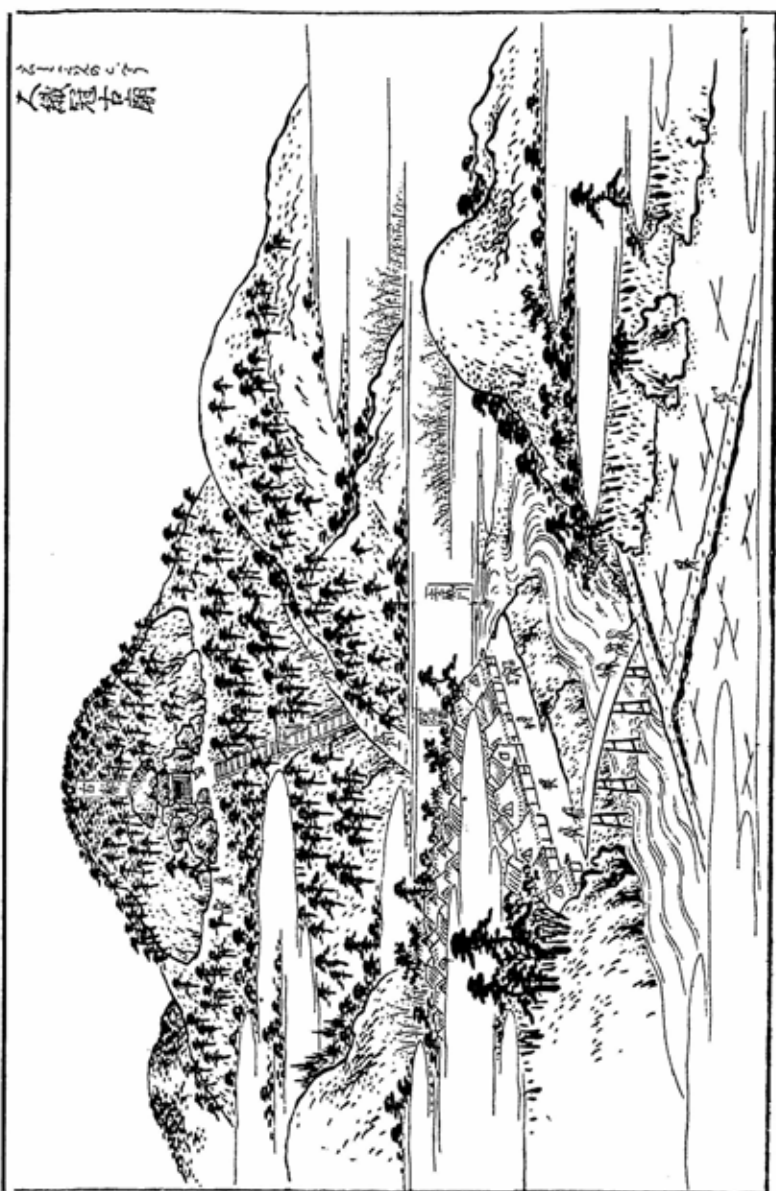
A short description of the ordinary system of interment practised by the upper classes in Ancient Japan may throw some light on the relation in which these cave-tombs stand towards it. The most ancient tomb seems to have been a plain circular tumulus of no great size erected on an elevation. At least, some of the more ancient Emperors were buried in mounds of this character. At some time, however, not far distant from the Christian Epoch, a highly specialized form of tumulus came into fashion for the interment of sovereigns. It consists of two mounds, one having a circular base, the other shaped like a truncated isosceles triangle, the two being joined together so that the ground-plan resembles a keyhole in form. This double mound is surrounded by one or sometimes two moats of a horse-shoe shape. Many of these tumuli are of enormous size, varying in height from twenty to sixty feet. That of the Emperor Nintoku, near Sakai, measures 2,494 yards round the outer of the two moats by which it is surrounded. They do not face any particular point of the horizon. The slope is not even, but is broken by terraces, along each of

\* Numerous drawings of this pottery are given in a paper by Mr. E. M. Satow in vol. vii., part iii., of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*. There is a good collection in the British Museum—the Gowland collection.

† There is a specimen in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford.

which, as well as on the margin of the moats, is placed a row of the clay cylinders above mentioned.

It is uncertain at what time it became the practice to construct a vaulted stone chamber within the tumulus. We know, however, that some of these



TOMB OF THE JAPANESE MINISTER OF STATE, KAMATARI, WHO DIED A.D. 669.

chambers date from the sixth century A.D. The entrance to them is by a long gallery, which always opens toward the south.

Princes and other persons of high rank were buried in circular mounds of smaller size, with one or two terraces provided with rows of clay

cylinders, and usually surrounded by a small moat. Those of later date contain a stone chamber.

The tumuli of the nobility and officials may still be seen in great numbers in the provinces near Kioto, known as the Gokinai. They are plain circular mounds without moat, terraces, or clay cylinders, and are generally found in groups on the lower slope of a hill. Like the others, they contain a chamber, which is entered by a gallery opening to the south—the same aspect as the Nishi Yoshimi caves. The walls of the chamber converge towards the top, which is then roofed in by a few rough blocks of stone often many tons in weight. The gallery is roofed in a similar manner. Sometimes it was adapted for being closed by a large slab of rock in a similar manner to the entrances to the caves at Nishi Yoshimi, but more commonly it was simply closed by blocks of stone thrown in anyhow.

An edict has come down to us dated A.D. 646, which regulates minutely the construction of these tombs. It is too long to quote *in extenso*; but I may mention that it provides that in the case of a functionary of the highest rank, the vault should be 9 feet long by 5 feet wide, and the covering mound 7 fathoms square and 3 fathoms high. It was also enacted that the tumuli should be built on uncultivated hill-sides, and grouped in cemeteries instead of each family burying where they found it most convenient.

Tombs answering the above description are not unfrequent in the near neighbourhood of Nishi Yoshimi, as shown by Mr. Satow's paper already referred to; and I think it will appear a probable conjecture that the artificial caves discovered by Dr. Tsuboi are an adaptation to circumstances of this form of burial. It was found that the sandstone rock lent itself more readily to excavation than to the splitting off of the great slabs of stone required for the roofing of the mound-enclosed vaults. Their situation in groups on a barren hill-side may well have been in order to comply with the enactment above quoted. That they belong to about the same period is shown by the character of the pottery found in and about them.

The building of costly mounds began to fall into disuse in the eighth century, and after the capital was transferred to Kioto in A.D. 794 was only occasionally practised—at least, in the case of sovereigns, and grandees. For persons of inferior rank it may possibly have remained the custom for some little time longer. Its abandonment was due to the spread of Buddhist ideas of the worthlessness of these mortal frames of ours, and also, no doubt, to a desire to spare the people what had become the very onerous burden of their construction.

Everything considered, I would suggest the 8th century A.D. as not far from the date of the excavations at Nishi Yoshimi. Further investigations may enable us to establish it with greater precision. For the additional data which are necessary in order to do so, we must depend on explorers who like Dr. Tsuboi are able to conduct their inquiries in Japan itself. A wide field is open to them.

A few words about the Tsuchigumo. What little is known of them is contained in three passages of the Nihongi and one passage of the Kojiki,

all of which belong to the highly legendary period of Japanese History. We gather from them that the Tsuchigumo were usually, though not invariably, outlaws who defied the Imperial authority. They had Japanese names, and inhabited such long-settled provinces as Yamato, Harima, and Bungo. There is nothing to suggest that they were not of Japanese race beyond the statement in the Nihongi that some of them had short bodies and long arms and legs, and were of the same class as pigmies. This, however, I take to be nothing more than a product of the popular imagination working on the hint contained in the name *tsuchi-gumo* which is literally "earth-spider." Some etymologists prefer the derivation which connects *kumo* (or *gumo*) with *komori* to hide, thus making *tsuchi-gumo* the "Earth-hiders." But this is probably a distinction without a difference, these two words containing the same root, and the animal which we call the spider, *i.e.*, spinner, being in Japan termed the "hider," an epithet of which no one who has observed its habits will dispute the appropriateness. An ancient Japanese book says *Tsuchi-gumo* is a mere nickname. It is therefore to be compared with our clod-hopper or bog-trotter.

One of the passages above referred to speaks of *Tsuchi-gumo* who lived in a rock-cave, but there is nothing to show whether it was natural or artificial. The *Kojiki* tells us of a band of *Tsuchi-gumo* who occupied a *muro*. This *muro* was large enough to hold 160 persons, so it could have had little in common with the Nishi-Yoshimi excavations. But it was not only *Tsuchi-gumo* who inhabited *muro*. Allusions to these dwellings are frequent in the older Japanese literature long after the period assigned to the *Tsuchi-gumo*, and from the way they are spoken of they were plainly not uncommon. It results from a comparison of numerous passages in which *muro* are mentioned that they were houses consisting of a wooden frame lashed together by ropes of a creeping vine, thatched with reeds and built in a pit several feet deep, to which steps led down. The walls had sedge or reeds by way of laths which were also fastened with cords of creepers, and were probably plastered with a mixture of clay and grass. Within there was a wooden platform for sleeping on.

Now it will be obvious that the epithet "Earth-hider" is more appropriate to dwellers in such pit-houses than to the inhabitants of rock-caves. *Tsuchi* is earth, not rock. Probably the *muro* inhabited by the *Tsuchi-gumo* were of a ruder kind than those described, perhaps resembling one which I have seen used as a lodging by the poorer class of pilgrims to Mt. Ôyama, and which was a square pit three or four feet deep covered with a thatched roof, the ends of which rested on the edge of the pit. There were no walls. At the present day the word *muro* is applied to gardeners' forcing-pits and to ice-houses, so that the original meaning of the word has not been altogether lost sight of.

It seems difficult to trace any connection between the *Tsuchi-gumo* or their habitations and the caves discovered by Dr. Tsuboi. It may be, however, that the *muro* was the type after which the first mound-enclosed vaults were constructed.

# REMARKS ON IBRAHIM HAKKI BEY'S ARTICLE :

"*IS TURKEY PROGRESSING?*"

BY HYDE CLARKE.

CERTAINLY not the least interesting, and probably the most influential and important article in the April number of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* is that by Ibrahim Hakki Bey, at p. 265.

Let us hope it will mark an epoch in the relations of Turkey and England; for it is the first exposition of Turkish policy and progress to the hundred millions of English-speaking people, in their own language, by an Osmanli. These millions constitute the greatest force and power for promoting civilization and freedom throughout the world, and consequently the strongest counterpoise to Russia. Compared with this influence, that of Russian, German, Spanish, Italian, French and other smaller nationalities is but limited. The press and political institutions as developed among the English-speaking races are of themselves powerful factors in their moral influence.

Hitherto the Osmanlis have abstained from literary relations with those best qualified to show them sympathy. Hence that state of affairs as to public opinion here, which Hakki Bey bewails (p. 265), and which is most prejudicial to the political and industrial welfare of Turkey. Large as is the Ottoman empire, the English and American empires extend over a far larger surface of the globe, and over at least a third of the human race. Hence arises a mass of interests, which come closer home to our people, than Turkish affairs which are only of partial concern. It lies with our Turkish friends to avail themselves of the press, which is free, and which it is not necessary to pay like Paris journals for *Réclames*.

True it is, as Hakki Bey says, that the most extravagant ideas find credence in our press; but it is not true that

the English and American press lies in hands whose interest it is to suppress the truth. In many cases, however, from partisan motives, some correspondents of papers are anti-Turkish; and their misrepresentations are turned to account by Greek, Armenian, Russian and other enemies of the Turks. No explanation is given by Turkish writers of matters, unknown to their friends here. Consequently here Turkey is ignored. Whether Turkey has a literature or no, whether the people can read or write, and have books, is only known to those who may see the articles of Urquhart, Vambéry and the few writers in English on Turkey. For a quarter of a century I have vainly tried to induce some Turkish literary friend to contribute to a literary journal an account of the present condition of Turkish literature. The *Athenæum* gives, each year, articles on the literature of Poland, Sweden, or Greece, but not of Turkey. In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Turkey fares most scantily, with a few paragraphs from the *Athenæum*.

I have also vainly tried to induce Turkish public men to give details of those institutions, referred to by Hakki Bey (p. 272) under which Jews and Christians in Turkey enjoy greater privileges and more individual freedom than most people do in France and other European countries. This would constitute the most effective answer to the lying representations as to the persecution of the Christians in Turkey, that produce so unfavourable an impression among its friends and enemies here. These institutions, peculiar, and dependent on religious and sectarian organization, are difficult for outsiders to understand; and a detailed explanation by Hakki Bey would supply a remarkable chapter in the history of political institutions.

Some account of Mussulman legal education would also be useful, showing the real bases on which these institutions rest. Our Indian officials and those of Russia, who have published manuals of Mussulman law, know that their Eastern judicial brethren, far from being absolute savages, are as learned as those of the West. No exposition, how-



ever, exists of the origin, it may be said, the common origin, of doctrines in oriental law books, with the ancient sources whence are derived the admired and elaborate compilations of Roman law, or of modern codes founded upon this. Only the wide knowledge of a Sir Henry Mayne could do justice to such a subject.

Hakki Bey has preferred to begin with the great progress made in recent years in Turkey in public instruction. It may, however, be open to question whether the people of Turkey are or have been so deficient in practical intelligence, as Hakki Bey and his Western rivals represent. It is indeed a great subject for consideration, what are the intrinsic characteristics of schoolmastership, and what their results on the population in China, Turkey and England. We know the popular notions derived from writers; but actual and practical facts do not always support theoretical statements. Western schooling is assumed to be superior to Oriental; and Hakki Bey labours to show that his Ottoman friends are adopting Western models. Hence he himself, like others, is inclined to depreciate the old Turkish teaching. Yet precisely that older teaching must have made the Turks of to-day, as it was our older teaching, which made the late generations of Englishmen. The tests to be applied are not those of the school Inspector as to the lessons that can be repeated, but whether the Turk or the Englishman is a good law-abiding citizen and an industrious man, and in the case of the Turk, a patriotic soldier, ready to maintain the honour and dignity of his Country, at the peril of his own life.

Hakki Bey does not overrate the old common schools of Turkey, nor the Medresseh; nor does he seek to propitiate the advanced educationalist or the advocate of technical education. He very probably thinks that Englishmen have been trained under some system very different from that of his own country. But during the greater part of this century, the wealthier, and many of the middle classes have frequented grammar schools, where neither the English

language, writing, nor arithmetic, much less science, was taught by the masters, or learned by the boys. The sons of the political and professional classes wrote and spelled badly their own language. Just as the Turks were taught in Arabic instead of Turkish, so have the English been taught Latin and Greek, and even the Greek Grammar in Latin! English history, English Grammar, German or French, Geography, Science were not taught, as Hakki Bey supposes. Of the lower and the common schools it is unnecessary here to speak.

Practically the adult Englishmen of the present day were taught, as people are in China and Turkey. Latin, a foreign language, has for centuries here occupied the place that the classics hold in China, and Arabic in Mussulman countries. Yet neither Chinese nor Turkish statesmen have been unintelligent or inferior beings. 'Ali, Fuad, Ahmad Vefik, Munif were able to hold their own against all whomsoever. These are indeed picked men; but those who have come in contact with Chinese and Turkish public men, know that their standard is high. Turkish officials, if they do not know English or Latin, may know Turkish, Arabic and Persian, and have a mass of acquirements equivalent to those of the Western.

The real essentials of the various school systems of schooling consist in applying methods of discipline and drill, for training the mind. The use of so imperfect a medium as Latin holds its own with many in this country, as against the adoption of scientific instruction for a substitute. Practically we ought to consider, what we do not consider, of what the mind of the boy or man is capable? and how far the schoolmaster can go? We seek a theoretical standard—the possession of all human knowledge, though with all our cramming, the minds of most boys cannot or will not retain what is taught; and as to schoolmasters they are insufficient in numbers and in industry. Hence they adopt a drill (Latin or Arabic) under which they can teach a number of boys at once. What is in truth effected is

some training in habits of perseverance and industry. So were our forefathers trained in the time of Elizabeth, and they were not inferior to Englishmen now.

Imagination and exaggeration apart; the sober results of male and female education, under pretentious systems, in Scotland and the United States, have not supported the vaunts of their advocates. A very curious example of the effect of education by rote on the old methods is found in the common Jewish schools, the Talmud Torah. The teaching in Hebrew in these places, large or small, scattered over the globe, is of a low theoretical type. It is, however, a sufficient drill; and many a leading Jew, who has made his way in the world, has had nothing but a scanty instruction in the Talmud Torah.

Though written rather in reference to Hakki Bey's apology, this tells likewise in defence of what should be the real aims in the education of a nation. Knowledge of all kinds, and particularly practical knowledge, is of the greatest value; but schoolmastership is not the sole power in promoting the moral, social, political and industrial welfare of men. It cannot be true that the Turks really are in these respects so far behind us as is alleged. The true picture of the Turks is certainly that of a noble people, contending for their independence, against the most audacious conspiracies of the enemies of human freedom and civilization. These practical results are the test of the condition of the people.

One may be inclined to differ from Hakki Bey's statement (p. 267), that the wars and other events in the reigns of 'Abdul Mejid and 'Abdul Aziz greatly impeded intellectual development in Turkey; but perhaps by this phrase he means the development of the new school. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of Turkey and its people, than the intellectual development, during those reigns. With their country in perpetual peril, a band of devoted and patriotic men persevered in the task of restoring and extending Turkish literary development. One particular

labour was to preserve and extend the old school of history ; —the solid and successful work of Ahmad Jevdet Pasha and his contemporaries.

Besides the system of schools, superior, secondary, and elementary, described by Hakki Bey, technical books in Turkish were provided for many departments, to enable students to learn in their own language and independent of foreign manuals. The national language was so cultivated by 'Ali, Fuad, and their coadjutors, that without sacrificing the adornments of the classic style, anything spoken or written in Turkish was made comprehensible to the population, instead of being obscured by extraneous ornamentation. This has been a great basis of power to the new Turkish press. In carrying out this mission it is to be noted that its authors worked on lines different from those on which others were simultaneously trying to nationalize the vernacular languages in other countries of Eastern Europe. The object of the restorers of Magyar, Romainian and Armenian was to exclude every foreign word, however familiar, and to substitute some archaic term. Thus the main body of the population found a new language, knowledge of which can only come to the next generation, from the action of schools.

There might have been a temptation to cultivate Turkish in a like fashion, but it was not done. Common and familiar words were preserved ; and Arabic words, as familiar with the thoughts of the instructed, were adopted for the new technical terms required by the introduction of modern sciences and ideas. Thus, while popular and national requirements are complied with, the type of Osmanli is maintained on its old footing.

All this was accompanied by a general literary revival. The older classics were reprinted, poetry and novel-writing were cultivated, and efforts made to promote useful and entertaining publications, to attract the public. The foundations of a theatre were laid, which is slowly growing, and acquiring popularity. A great and steady work has

been the creation of a press, which if it does not reach the standards of England and America, is on a par with the journals of most countries in Europe. There are many special professional periodicals; and the Government has helped considerably in promoting them, and in extending the local press. In the East, the news-writer has not held the highest rank; but the Government has specially encouraged journalists by conferring upon them decorations, and, what is of more importance, rank, which in Turkey, as in China, Russia and India, constitutes the hierarchy of the social system. Literary distinction has long been a qualification for political employment and advancement, and the journalists share in such encouragement. Nowhere have men of talent had a more favoured career than in modern Turkey. This is why patriotic exertion has never been relaxed, even with the enemy at the gates, and national sentiment has been maintained, even under the discouragement of military defeat or political disaster.

It is impossible to record this or anything relating to the progress of Turkey without bearing in mind how extensively the imperial dynasty has helped to promote the welfare of the country. Their strong hold on the affections of the people, has enabled the sovereigns to exercise a personal influence for good, rare in any country. Loyalty is seldom more than a mere sentiment; but in Turkey it is a reality. Hakki Bey is no adulator, when he says that the court of Mahmud, and of his son and grandson bears comparison with that of Peter the Great. Certainly it does; but with this observation: that whereas Peter the Great stood alone, the labour, in Turkey, has been carried on by the members of the remarkable dynasty of Ottoman, and is continued by the Sultan 'Abdul Hamid, who has gained the respect of statesmen throughout Europe. If Peter the Great had had such successors, the present condition of Russia might better have responded to the efforts of that remarkable man, and Russia might be civilized.

The material progress of Turkey has been largely ad-

vanced. Part of the plan for its development—the construction of a railway system—has taken a long time, and much exertion, and has been attended with many sacrifices. The Government suffered largely from want of experience and from ignorance of the manœuvres of speculators; but valuable results are now being achieved. It is well to put foremost what was done as to the earliest railways in Western Asia Minor, too much neglected of late by writers on the subject. The two railways, (the Smyrna-Aidin and the Smyrna-Cassaba,) have opened up a large region of productive country, and given the Government confidence at length to carry out the important measure of connexion with the European railway system. This design, for which Sir R. Macdonald Stephenson patriotically exerted himself for so many years, is of more moment than is generally conceived. The Roumelian Railways are commonly put down by writers as merely so many miles of railway in length, as if they were of the same kind as the Smyrna railways. These latter, however, are purely local, and can only stimulate a local development; but the others, uniting Turkey with the whole railway system of Europe, has the effect of enabling it to share in all the advantages of industrial advancement resulting from this great modern instrument of civilization and culture.

One consequence, not generally appreciated, is that the Asiatic Railway Continuation has now become practicable, for which Turkey was supposed to be unable to provide the resources. It is, however, now evident that the Asiatic extensions will not only reach the main centres of Asia Minor, but, will form a through line to the Tigris and the Euphrates, so long advocated by us for political and economical reasons. Thus the prospects of the Turkish empire for means of transport and protection have acquired great interest and importance.

With the financial matters referred to by Hakki Bey, having regard to the part taken by me for some years, I abstain from dealing.

The development of mining in Turkey has not been what it ought owing to the common vice of the administration, of imitating French models: in consequence of this a cumbrous code of mining administration obstructs the due development of industry. Of all countries, France was the last to copy, not being a mining country: Spain or Russia would have afforded better lessons. Once, when consulted by the Government I obtained a relaxation of the original code; but though promised, the necessary further modification was not carried out. The Government, like some others, was under the delusion that mining is a highly profitable pursuit, whereas it is one of the most precarious, and can only be carried on at considerable sacrifice, in the spirit of adventure. The Government did one good thing in getting rid of its copper and silver mines, convinced at length that these monopolies entailed a substantive loss.

The Turkish Government can well bear to be tested by its fruits and the condition of the population. Hakki Bey has a right to claim (p. 278), that, with all said and published about brigandage and crimes of violence, the proportion of crime in Turkey is less than in most countries. To say nothing of France itself, the condition of Corsica after more than a century of French administration is worse than that of many parts of Turkey, and the whole power of France cannot suppress brigandage. Italy and Sicily, Spain and Greece speak for themselves. Nor should we forget that Turkey is subject to the invasions of Greek brigands, not only on its frontiers, but particularly on its extended seacoasts: A boat can take across a company of brigands to any point, supplied with the best arms by Greek traders, who share in the expedition. Our own troubles in Ireland show how imperfect a strong government may be against the organization of criminal populations. In India and Burmah dacoity, murder, assassination, and robbery exist to an extent unhappily proportioned to the vast population. The English press is kept well supplied with Turkish atrocities by Armenian and other conspirators; but we never hear

anything of crimes committed by Armenians, of which there is evidence enough in the local press.

The Turks do not even defend themselves, and so they leave the minds of the English-speaking populations to be poisoned. The Turks are so taken up by their mania for France and what is French, that they devote themselves to Paris and to subsidising French papers and writers, who levy a considerable tribute upon them. Every Paris journalist has a Turkish decoration. Whether impostors lead the Turks to believe they can influence the English press is not known; but the Turks themselves neglect writing in English papers, which not only want no payment but pay large salaries to their correspondents in Turkey.

At one time the Turks had intelligence enough to seek the aid of the English in shipbuilding, railways and finance; for they knew that the so-called centre of civilisation in Paris only followed in the wake of the English. Later, however, they allowed themselves to be persuaded that French was the great language of literature, politics and diplomacy, and applied themselves to its study in schools at home, and by going to France. At Galata is a school wholly French! Hence, in course of time, a most serious prejudice to Turkey has ensued, morally, socially, politically and industrially. This the Turks brought about though they well knew that for three centuries the French had been their enemies, and that their intrigues in Syria have been persistent. One of the latest financial troubles in Constantinople arose from the Government giving a contract to the French for two war steamers. The French ambassadors and agents have always persistently pushed French pretensions, claims, and trading interests. The English have not followed a similar course; and indeed their dragomans, frequently foreigners, have sometimes been mixed up in speculations with their kindred of the French service.

The Turks at length found out that French was not the language of diplomacy, and that the great nations, England



and the United States, declined to use it and insisted on their own. Thereupon they sagaciously broke the power of their ancient enemies, the dragomans, and became independent by instituting the Translation Department of the Foreign office. The English, who greatly resemble the Turks in neglecting their own interests, are not yet free from their Levantine and half-caste dragomans, and are but slowly training English students of Turkish, although the necessity has long been evident.

English was only learned by naval officers, who studied in England; but these took little part in Turkish political life. English has also been taught in the Naval school at Halki, at one time by a Frenchman, who did not know it! The story goes that when the Porte, finding French of little good for naval officers, suppressed the French professorship at Halki, the English professorship happened to be vacant, and on the French ambassador intervening for his unfortunate fellow countryman, the Turks with their constitutional good nature, said, Let him teach English, as if the languages were the same. This suited the lads at Halki; for the French classes being suppressed, and the Frenchman being unable to teach English, they had freedom from both lessons.

The Turkish officers, who learned English, spoke it like natives, and made a deep impression on their English friends. There are many resemblances between Turkish and English construction; and some philologists believe that a Turanian influence is to be traced in English. The English verb is very simple; and so is the Turkish, and the two have many similarities of idiom. English has prepositions chiefly, while Turkish has post-positions; but these can be readily illustrated by a strong body of English post-positions. Thus the Turk easily, almost without knowing it, acquires colloquial and idiomatical English.

This, however, is not turned to account, for the political Turks all learn French. Thus they throw themselves into the arms of their enemies, and abandon their friends.

Every now and then, the old zeal is shown in England for their Turkish allies, and the strongest admiration is manifested; but when the emergency is over, both parties forget; deeds of heroism fall into oblivion, Turkish atrocities are reproduced, and the enemies of the sick man have their revenge. The only advocates the Turks find are a few Englishmen, besides their great protector, the Hungarian Professor Vambéry, whose eloquence arouses sympathy from England to India, and thence throughout the Atlantic States. Vambéry knows the value of the English press, which sheds on him a halo of glory. The Turks, thrown on French manuals and books, are supplied with inferior and second-hand information, in many cases imperfectly obtained from English and American sources.

Hence, the article of Hakki Bey in the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly*, has its peculiar importance and significance. The enemies of Turkey will no longer have the English press to themselves; nor will they be able to coin a defence by calling a writer a Philo-Turk, as if it were not as legitimate for an Englishman to sympathise with a noble people like his Turkish allies, as to show sympathy for any other nationality. If other Turks will follow the example of Hakki Bey they will obtain great advantages for their country and its cause.

The English do not forget that they are the chief Mussulman power in the world, having so many millions of Mussulmans under their protection, not only in India, but in much scattered communities, in Australasia, at the Cape. The English-speaking Mussulmans of South Africa recognise the Sultan of Turkey as their spiritual head; and he contributes to their religious education. Thus from them the sovereigns of the two nations receive allegiance,—the one spiritual and the other civil. If the Turks cultivate the common bonds of alliance, they will arouse the sympathies of the English-speaking nations, through the free press by which so great an influence is exercised on the public opinion of the world.

# LEGENDS, SONGS AND CUSTOMS OF DARDISTAN.

## BUJONI=RIDDLES, PROVERBS AND FABLES.

### A. RIDDLES.

#### THE NAVEL.

#### 1. *Tishkóreya ushkúrey halól.*

"The perpendicular mountain's sparrow's nest.  
The body's sparrow's hole."

#### A STICK.

#### 2. *Méy sazík héyn, sáreo peréyn, bás darre* my sister is at day [*she*] walks, at night door *pató; búja.\**

behind; listen!

"Now listen! My sister walks in the day-time and at night stands behind the door." As "Sas" "Sazik" also means a stick, ordinarily called "Kunali" in Astori, the riddle means: "I have a stick which assists me in walking by day and which I put behind the door at night."

3. The Gilgitis say "*méy káke tré pay; dashtea*" = my brother has three feet; explain now. This means a man's two legs and a stick.

#### A RADISH.

#### 4. *Astóri mió dádo dímm dáwa-lók; dáyn sarpa-lók, búja.*

My grandfather's body [*is*] in Hades; his beard [*is in*] this world, [*now*] explain!

This riddle is explained by "radish" whose body is in the earth and whose sprouts, compared to a beard, are above the ground. Remarkable above all, however, is that the unknown future state, referred to in this riddle, should be called, whether blessed or cursed, "Dawalók" [the place of Gods] by these nominal Muhammadans. This world is called "Sarpalók," = the world of serpents. "Sarpe" is also the name for man. "Lók" is "place," but the name by itself is not at present understood by the Shins.

\* Words inviting attention, such as "listen," "explain," etc., etc., are generally put at the end of riddles.

## A HOOKA.

5. *G. méy DADI shishédji agár, lúpenu*  
 my father's mother on her head fire is burning.  
 The top of the Hooka is the *dadi's* or grandmother's head.

## A SWORD.

6. *Tutáng gotéjo rúí níkaí*  
 "Darkness from the house the female demon is coming out," viz., "out of the dark sheath the beautiful, but destructive, steel issues." It is remarkable that the female Yatsh should be called "Rúí."

## RED PEPPER.

7. *Lólo bakuró shé tshá lá há—bíja !*  
 In the red sheep's pen white young ones many are—attend !  
 This refers to the Redpepper husk in which there are many white seeds.

## B. PROVERBS.

## DOTAGE.

To an old man people say :

8. *Tú djarro móto shúdung* { "You are old and have  
 thou and old brains delivered, { got rid of your senses."

Old women are very much dreaded and are accused of creating mischief wherever they go.

## DUTIES TO THE AGED.

9. (*G.\**) *Djuwanie keneru digasus, djarvelo betshumus*  
 In youth's time I gave, in old age I demand  
 "When young I gave away, now that I am old you should support me."

## A BURNT CHILD, ETC., ETC.

10. *Ek damm agáru dáddo dugúni shang thé !*  
 Once in fire you have been burnt, a second time take care !

## EVIL COMMUNICATIONS, ETC., ETC.

11. *Ek khatsh látshek bilo búdo donate she.*  
 One bad sheep if there be, to the whole flock is an insult  
 = One rotten sheep spoils the whole flock.  
 12. *Ek khatsho manújo budote sha* = one bad man is to all an insult.

\* The abbreviations "G." and "A." stand respectively for "in the Gilgiti dialect" and "in the Astori dialect."

ADVICE TO KEEP GOOD COMPANY.

13. A. *Mishto manújo*—*katshi béyto*, to *mishto sitshé*  
*Katsho manujo*—*katshi béyto*, to *katsho sitshe*

When you [who are bad?] are sitting near a good man you learn good things.

When you [who are bad?] are sitting near a bad man you learn bad things.

This proverb is not very intelligible, if literally translated.

DIMMI CON CHI TU PRATTICHI, ETC., ETC.

14. *Tús máte rá*: *mey shughulo ró hun*, *mas tule rám*:  
*tu ko hanu*—"Tell me: my friend is such and such a one,  
 I will tell you who you are."

DISAPPOINTMENT.

15. *Sháharè kéru gé shing shém thé*—*konn tshint tey*  
*tshint téyaní*.

"Into the city he went horns to place (acquire), but ears he cut thus he did. He went to acquire horns and got his ears cut off."

HOW TO TREAT AN ENEMY.

*Dî dé*, *putsh kàh*—"give the daughter and eat the son," is a Gilgit proverb with regard to how one ought to treat an enemy. The recommendation given is: "marry your daughter to your foe and then kill him," [by which you get a male's head which is more valuable than that of a female.] The Dards have sometimes acted on this maxim in order to lull the suspicions of their Kashmir enemies.\*

C. FABLES.

THE WOMAN AND THE HEN.

16. *Eyk tshéekeyn kokói ek astíli*; *sése sóni thúl (hané)*  
*déli*; *setshéy-se kokóite zanmá láo wíi*; *tulé dù déy*  
 (food, grain) eggs two giving  
*thé*; *sè ékenu lang bilt*; *kokói dêr páy, múy*.  
 does; this one rid got; the hen's stomach bursting, died.

MORAL.—*Anésey maní aní haní*=the meaning of this is this:

*Láo arém thé ápejo lang bíló*.

Much to gain the little lost becomes.

\* Not very many years ago the Albanian robbers in attacking shepherds used to consider themselves victorious if they had robbed more sheep than they had lost men.

*Translation.*

A woman had a hen ; it used to lay one golden egg ; the woman thought that if she gave much food it would lay two eggs ; but she lost even the one, for the hen died, its stomach bursting.

MORAL.—People often lose the little they have by aspiring to more.

## 17. THE SPARROW AND THE MOUNTAIN.

"A sparrow who tried to kick the mountain himself toppled over."

*Shunátur-se tshíshe—sáti pájja dem thé náre gó.*  
The sparrow with the mountain kicked fall went.

## 18. THE BAT SUPPORTING THE FIRMAMENT.

The bat is in the habit of sleeping on its back. It is believed to be very proud. It is supposed to say as it lies down and stretches its legs towards heaven, "This I do so that when the heavens fall down I may be able to support them."

*Tiltèd ráte súdo—to pey húnte angái—warì*  
A bat at night sleeping its legs upwards heaven—ward  
*theun; angái wáti—to péy—gè sanarem theun.*  
does ; the heavens when falling with my feet uphold I will.

19. "NEVER WALK BEHIND A HORSE OR BEFORE A KING" as you will get kicked in either case.

*ashpe pataní nè bó; rajó mutshanè nè bó.*  
horse behind not walk ; raja in front not walk.

## 20. UNION IS STRENGTH.

"A kettle cannot balance itself on one stone ; on three, however, it does."

*Ey pátsh! èk gutur-yá dèh nè quriyein; tré\* gútúrey á*  
Oh son ! one stone on a kettle not stops ; three stones on  
*dek quréyn.*  
a kettle stop.

The Gilgitis instead of "ya" = "upon" say "dja."

"Gutur" is, I believe, used for a stone [ordinarily "bàtt"] only in the above proverb.

\* "Tré" = "three" is pronounced like "tshé."

21. THE FROG IN A DILEMMA.

"If I speak, the water will rush against my mouth, and if I keep silent I will die bursting with rage."

This was said by a frog who was in the water and angry at something that occurred. If he croaked, he would be drowned by the water rushing down his throat, and if he did not croak he would burst with suppressed rage. This saying is often referred to by women when they are angry with their husbands, who may, perhaps, beat them if they say anything. A frog is called "manok."

*Tós thém—to áze—jya\* wéy bojé; né them*  
Voice I do—if mouth in water will come; not do,  
*to py muos.*  
then bursting I will die.

22. THE FOX AND THE UNIVERSE.

When a man threatens a lot of people with impossible menaces, the reply often is "Don't act like the fox 'Lóyn' who was carried away by the water." A fox one day fell into a river: as he swept past the shore he cried out, "The water is carrying off the universe." The people on the banks of the river said, "We can only see a fox whom the river is drifting down."

23. THE FOX AND THE POMEGRANATE.

*Lóyn danù né utshàtte somm tshàmm*  
The fox the pomegranate not reached on account sour,  
*thù: tshùrko hanú.*  
spitting, sour it is.

"The fox wanted to eat pomegranates: as he could not reach them, he went to a distance and *biting his lips* [as "tshàmm" was explained by an Astori although Gilgitis call it "tshappé,"] spat on the ground, saying, they are too sour." I venture to consider the conduct of this fox more cunning than the one of "sour grapes" memory. His biting his lips and, in consequence, spitting on the ground, would make his disappointed face really look as if he had tasted something sour.

\*!Ae=(*Gilgiti*) mouth; aru=in the mouth; ázeju=against the mouth.  
Aze=(*Astori*) mouth; ázeru=in the mouth; ázeju=against the mouth.

## SONGS.

## THE GILGIT QUEEN AND THE MOGULS.

## I. GILGITI SONG.

Once upon a time a Mogul army came down and surrounded the fort of Gilgit. At that time Gilgit was governed by a woman, Mirz y Juw ri\* by name. She was the widow of a Rajah supposed to have been of Balti descent. The Lady seeing herself surrounded by enemies sang :

- I. Mirz y Juw ri = Oh [daughter of] Mirza, Juw ri !  
 Shaker y p  l ; dar   = [Thou art a] sugar cup ; in the  
 Duny  sang tar  ye = world [thy] light has shone
- II. Abi Kh  nn  dj  lo = Abi Kh  n [my son] was born  
 Lam  yi tey ! latsh  r t  ro = [I thy mother] am thy sacri-  
 fice ; the morning star  
 Nik  to = has risen

The meaning of this, according to my Gilgiti informant, is : Juw ri laments that "I, the daughter of a brave King, am only a woman, a cup of pleasures, exposed to dangers from any one who wishes to sip from it. To my misfortune, my prominent position has brought me enemies. Oh, my dear son, for whom I would sacrifice myself, I have sacrificed you ! Instead of preserving the Government for you, the morning-star which shines on its destruction has now risen on you."

## SONG OF DEFIANCE.

## 2. GILGITI WAR SONG.

In ancient times there was a war between the Rajahs of Hunza and Nagyr. Muko and B  ko were their respective Wazeers. Muko was killed and B  ko sang :

*Gilgiti.*

Ala, mard  ney, B  ko-se : m   shos they !  
 M  ko-se : m   shos they !  
 B  ko-ga d  n sajj  y  
 M  ko may  ro they

\* [Her father was a Mirza and she was, therefore, called Mirz  y.]

   Kh  n is pronounced Khann for the sake of the metre.



*English.*

Hurrah ! warriors, Bako [says]: *I will do well*  
 Muko [also says] *I will do well*  
 And Bako turned out to be the lion  
 [Whilst] Muko was [its prey], a [mere] Markhōr [the  
 wild "snake-eating" goat]

LAMENT FOR THE ABSENT WARRIOR BY HIS MOTHER.

3. ANOTHER GILGITI WAR SONG.

*Biyashṭēyn nāng Kashīru*

A Paradise [is the lot of whoever is struck by] the bullet  
 of Kashīru ?

*Gōu nēlli,\* āje Sahibe Khann*

He has gone, my child, mother of Sahibe Khann [to the  
 wars].

*Suregga karé wey jill bey ?*

And the sun when coming will it shining become ?  
 (When will his return cause the sun again to shine for  
 me ?)

*Mutshūtshul shong putéye*

Of Mutshutshul† the ravine he has conquered

*Htyokto bijéy, lamayi*

Yet my soul is in fear, oh my beloved child, [literally: oh  
 my sacrifice]

*Ardām Dolója yujéy*

To snatch [conquer] Doloja‡ is [yet necessary=has  
 yet to be done].

*Translation.*

"The bullet of Kashīru sends many to Paradise. He  
 has gone to the wars, oh my child and mother of Sahib  
 Khan! Will the sun ever shine for me by his returning?  
 It is true that he has taken by assault the ravine of Mut-  
 shutshul, but yet, oh beloved child, my soul is in fear for his  
 fate, as the danger has *not* passed, since the village Doloja  
 yet remains to be conquered."

\* Term of familiarity used in calling a daughter.

† Mutshutshul is a narrow pass leading from Gakutsh to Yassen.

‡ Doloja is a village ahead of Mutshutshul.

## 4. THE SHIN SHAMMI SHAH.

OLD NATIONAL SHINA SONG.

*Shammi Shah Shaíttingéy mítojó.*

Shammi Shah Shaítting, from his courtyard.

<i>Djálle</i>	<i>tshâye</i>	<i>dálloe</i>	<i>dên.</i> <sup>1</sup>
The green fields'	birds	promenade	they give.
<i>Nye'</i>	<i>tziréye</i>	<i>tshayote</i>	<i>kóy bijéy.</i>
They (near)	twitter	birds	who fears ?*
<i>Tómi tom</i>		<i>shiudóke</i>	<i>dên</i>
From tree to tree		a whistle	they give.
<i>Alldátéy</i>	<i>pótsheyn</i>	<i>mítójó.</i>	
Alldat's	grandson's	from the courtyard.	
<i>Djálle</i>	<i>tshaye</i>	<i>dálloe</i>	<i>dên.</i>
The green fields	birds	promenade	give.
<i>Nye'</i>	<i>tziréye</i>	<i>tshayote</i>	<i>kóy bijéy.</i>
They	twitter	birds	who fears ?*
<i>Tómi tom ; ,</i>		<i>shiudóke</i>	<i>dên.</i>
From tree to tree ; :		a whistling	they give.

Shammi Shah Shaítting was one of the founders of the Shin rule. His wife, although she sees her husband surrounded by women anxious to gain his good graces, rests secure in the knowledge of his affections belonging to her and of her being the mother of his children. She, therefore, ridicules the pretensions of her rivals, who, she fancies, will, at the utmost, only have a temporary success. In the above still preserved song she says, with a serene confidence, not shared by *Indian* wives.

*Translation.*

- " In the very courtyard of Shammi Sha Shaítting.  
 " The little birds of the field flutter gaily about.  
 " Hear how they twitter ; yet, who would fear little birds,  
 " That fly from tree to tree giving [instead of lasting love]  
 a gay whistle ?  
 " In the very courtyards of Alldat's grandson these birds  
 flutter gaily about, yet who would fear them ?  
 " Hear how they twitter, etc., etc., etc.

\* [To fear is construed with the Dative.]

# MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. III., page 446.)

## XIV.

### SETTLEMENT OF BOUNDARY DISPUTES BY ORDEAL.

[This note consists of official correspondence relating to a now happily obsolete method of settling a boundary dispute between two villages. The date is 1795. The first letter is from the Collector of the Guntoor district to the Collector of the neighbouring district of Masulipatam, both constituting the present Krishna (officially "Kistna") district. The second is from the same officer to his subordinate, the Assistant-Collector. The third is a translation of a petition sent to the Collector of Masulipatam.—R. S.]

#### I.

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose you copy of the orders of the Board of Revenue under date the 10th instant, directing the treading of the boundaries in dispute between the inhabitants of Yádalanka in the Divi division of your district, and those of Vissa Issaram in the Guntoor Circar. With respect to the mode of performing this ceremony, I understand it will be proper that one or two Goomástahs (clerks) should be sent from the Collectors of each district respectively to summon the principal inhabitants of the three neighbouring villages, about two persons from each village, making—

			12 persons, also
From Yádalanka	-	-	2 "
" Vissa Issaram	-	-	2 "
Goomastahs	-	-	4 "
			<hr/>
		In all	20 " :

a proper person, who should be a Curnam (village accountant) either of Yádalanka or Vissa Issaram, to tread the boundary with the *Rámáyanam* on the head of the person being fixed upon. An inventory is to be taken, by the said Goomastahs and principal inhabitants, of his family, his

cattle, his furniture, etc. Twenty days after the performance of the ceremony a second inventory is to be taken in like manner, when, if there should appear any deficiency by death in the family, or of loss in cattle or furniture, the village of the person treading the boundary lose their cause; but in case everything is found agreeable to the inventory first taken, the village of the person treading gain their case.

I have endeavoured to state the most material circumstances of the ceremony; but if it should appear to you that anything is omitted or wrongly stated, you will be so kind as to inform me.

In addition to the Goomastah now sent from my Katchery named Venkatasawmy, I have thought proper to appoint another named Trimul Rao. You will be so kind as to inform me of the persons you send, and at what time it may suit that they should begin the business.

I have, etc.,

G. A. RAM, Collector.

## II.

SIR,—You will proceed to the village of Vissa Issaram with all convenient expedition to see performed, with as little disturbance as possible, the ceremony of planting the Borja-trees, etc., in the boundaries trodden by Yarlagudda Subiah of that place. You will take as your assistant Bommacunty Senkariah, a servant in the Katchery of this place, who is a Brahmin well versed in the custom and ceremonies of the Hindus. Upon your arrival at Vissa Issaram you will send for such of the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages as have signed to the award. You will likewise inquire after the Yádalanka man Minmany Baupanah, who marked the boundaries as trodden by Subiah and the two Goomastahs of Mr. Wrangham (Collector of Masulipatam); and in case of their absence, or refusal to attend your summons without the orders of the Collector of the fifth division, you will be pleased to write to Mr. Wrangham signifying your arrival, and your desire that these

persons may attend the ceremony, and allow a reasonable time for their arrival or for Mr. Wrangham's answer; but their mere absence, if it appear wilful, is not to delay the ceremony, which consists in proceeding with the persons who signed the award, and the person who trod it, to plant Borja-trees or to set up *Sila Sásanam*s (*i.e.*, stones having the figure of the sun, moon and Lingam cut upon them), which latter are to be placed at the two or three closing boundaries, or such as are esteemed most important. I do not apprehend that after the positive orders of the Board Mr. Wrangham will make any objections, but, in case he should, I do not conceive any mere protest of his should stop the ceremony, unless a probability of a breach of the peace should occur, which you are by all means to avoid, even if it should occasion a delay or discontinuance of the ceremony. If it should be objected that that part of the Company's orders which require an inspection of the cattle, effects, etc., of the person treading by the Goomastahs, etc., of the Yádalanka village has not been taken by them, you will observe that this has been wilfully their own fault, as they had due notice given them to attend by my Goomastahs, as well as Mr. Wrangham by me, in several letters of 12 and 29 June.

I enclose for your further information various papers on the subject, as per list of the packet.

I am, sir, etc..

G. A. RAM, Collector.

### III.

[Native official translation of a representation from some inhabitants of the village in the Masulipatam district to their own Collector, dated the 4th June, 1796.]

With respect to the disputed ground between Yádalanka and Vissa Issaram, one of the inhabitants of the latter, named Yarlagudda Subiah, was nominated to tread the boundary on June 1st; that they having started some objections, we addressed our representations to you upon the subject, which we hope you have received. What has since occurred in

this place we take the liberty to set forth, *viz.*, that the inhabitants of Vissa Issaram, in conjunction with Mr. Ram's Goomastah, have this day assembled 200 armed men from Manikakowvar Zamindar of Vissa Issaram village, 50 from the Thanadar of the Kyatapilly village appertaining to Woodiagherry Circar, and 100 people from the village, with some Sepoys, amounting in all to about 400 men ; and had a conjuring Brahmin brought from a village called Varahalapuram, who instantly put a ring on Subiah's hand. The whole of the above force immediately surrounded the above Subiah, and went over the ground without suffering him to walk softly within the limits, as has been always customary. We also observe that it is customary that the nine different sorts of grain, tied in the cloth of the person who treads, should be opened by a Curnam of the opposite party ; but the inhabitants of Vissa Issaram, instead of complying with this rule brought another Brahmin and had the grain (tied in the cloth of the said Subiah at the time of treading the boundary) opened by him. Thus they set at naught all custom or former usage of performing the ceremony.

Mr. Ram's Goomastah, instead of stopping such irregular conduct in the Vissa Issaram people, has combined with them, representing the matter in a far different light to his master ; and we, therefore, address this for your information. The six persons assembled from the neighbouring villages, as witnesses on the part of the Yádalanka people, did not approve of the manner in which the ground was trod by the Vissa Issaram people. We further beg leave to observe that after the ceremony of treading had been performed, as already mentioned, the people of Yádalanka, etc., should have been allowed to place confidential people to watch the house of Subiah (who had trod the boundary) for twenty-one days, to find out his losses, if he sustained any within that period.

We hope, therefore, you will be pleased to write to Mr. Ram that the inhabitants of Yádalanka may at least be suffered to keep their people for this purpose.

[To this Sir Walter Elliot adds the following personal note.]

“ My brother Charles informs me that when he was Commissioner of Raepur, in the Nagpore State he had to settle some boundary disputes between Gond villages, in which the Gond selected to walk the limits seized a live fowl by the neck with his teeth and kept tearing it along the line in dispute, the poor bird screaming, fluttering, scratching and pecking. Whatever object he touched was considered a boundary mark; and if within fifteen days no death or other disaster occurred in the man's family the award was confirmed.”

## XV.

### A HUMAN SACRIFICE.

IN the first criminal session for the Zillah of Cuddapah, held by D. Davis, Esq., third Judge of Circuit, Centre Division, from 7th to 28th February, 1839, a curious trial (No. 22) is recorded, in which Bharatam Venkata Rámiah was the prosecutor, and Wonkah Subiah the accused.

It appears that on the 14th of July, 1838, the prosecutor's niece, a Braminee girl named Venkata Subamah, aged 8 years, went with two girls, Venkata Lutchmee and Subamah, her relations, to play in the village of Chintacoontah, in Dovoer Taluk, Cuddapah Zillah, where all the parties resided.

She did not return home that evening with the other two; but this excited no surprise, as she was in the habit of sleeping occasionally with her mother-in-law, who lived in a neighbouring house. But as she did not come home the next morning, and had not been at her mother-in-law's, apprehensions were entertained and search made. Meantime Numbu Muddulaty, Pujaree [priest] of the Añjanaya Swami [Hanuman] Pagoda, gave information that the dead body of a girl was lying behind the idol in the temple. The prosecutor, village officers, and others immediately repaired thither, and found the corpse to be that of Venkata Subamah.

It bore all over marks of violence. Death appeared to

have been caused by strangulation or twisting the neck. The eyeballs were torn out from the sockets with a nail or some sharp instrument; two of the upper and two of the lower teeth had been wrenched out; and all the joints seemed to have been pierced and wounded with an iron style [*Guntam*] or a nail. Blood had been drawn from the ends of the fingers, and the body in several places had been bruised with stones. When discovered, a stone was found lying upon it. The body had been rubbed with saffron or turmeric [*Huldee*]; marks of red powder [*Koonkam*] were visible on the forehead, and also of blood; and on the neck and hands were other marks of rice and turmeric mixed [*Atchintaloo*], and sandal.

The other girls declared that on the previous evening the deceased took them to the house of Wonkah Subiah, son of Rámabhatt, a Brahmin also of the Siva sect, to see a snake which they heard was there. They found Subiah and a Mussulman of dark complexion pitted with the small-pox. Subiah induced the deceased to enter the house by offering her a piece of cocoanut and some Jaggery, and drove away the others, saying in Hindustani, *Jao ! Jao !* [Go !]

The prisoner, Wonkah Subiah, called also Venkata Nursoo, was not in the village when the murder was discovered, but was apprehended returning about 3 o'clock p.m. He had on a pair of trousers belonging to one Ramasawmy, and a *Puncha* cloth recently washed, the latter stained with blood, which he attributed to betel-nut spittle.

On searching his house there were found two books on magic, containing *Mantrams* [spells], a board on which several *Mantrams* were written, an iron nail stained with blood, and some rice, of which it is remarkable the deceased had had a quantity tied up in the corner of her *Sári*-cloth. The *Puncha*-cloth, books, board, and nail were admitted by the prisoner to be his property.

The two magical books produced by the prisoner's friend, Lutchmee Nursoo, were said by the prisoner to have been written by one Poolunagarry Ramanah, who, however,



denied all knowledge of them. Muddulaty, the Pujaree, admitted that he copied "the new book" for Poolunagarry Ramasawmy, and gave it to Lutchmee Nursoo to deliver to Ramasawmy.

The prosecutor stated at the trial that he believed the deceased to have been murdered for purposes of *Pooja* [sacrifice to a deity]; that the books before the court stated that a man by pronouncing certain *Mantrums* and sacrificing an unmarried girl to Devi, could make the goddess appear before him and obtain from her wealth and the power of killing whomsoever he wished. It was stated further that prisoner's family, his father and others were well versed in incantations, etc., though they had not been known to resort to such illegal acts; and that the prisoner when quarrelling with others would frighten them by threatening to use *Mantrums*.

From the marks of sandal, turmeric, etc., on the body, there was no doubt it had been used for a sacrifice; but as there was no evidence that the deed had been done by the prisoner, he was acquitted.

## XVI.

### MANTRAMS AND SORCERY.

[The following is a note by the celebrated Telegu scholar, Mr. C. P. Brown, on two books of magic, with translations of the original spells. I have no means of knowing certainly, but it may have been the very books alluded to in the last note as having been found in the possession of the supposed murderer.—R. S.]

#### No. 1.

THE small Sanscrit book of magical charms is a fragment of the *Sabara chintamani*, imperfect in several places. I have ascertained the sense by the aid of a complete copy in my collection. The fragment begins about the middle of Chapter IX. In this translation several words are explained according to the mystic sense, different from the literal meaning.

"Let the querist stand on the north side, and the magician on the south. Let the road be on the east. Such is

the rule in Kérala (the Malayalam country). Let him cry : ' *Ôm ! ham ! hram ! śram !* I salute Bhagavatī, goddess of Malayāla, who in a trice possesses [men with demons]. Come ! O come !' Let him, on a Sunday night, provide the corpse of a virgin, and place it at the root of a tree as if in a seat. Then let him recite 100 times the appointed spell, and this shall make the devil fill the corpse. Then give him a piece of flesh and some wine, with any other food he desires : by this the demon will be compelled to bring to thee any woman thou desirest. This magic rite is denominated [*Kanya vīra*] the virgin-demon. This is the Kerala [*i.e.*, the Malayalam spell for obtaining a woman].

"I will now declare the Karnátaka mode of acquisition, O my faithful spouse !\* This is powerful in raising ghosts. Place some white earth in a temple sacred to *Garuda* ; and after 40 days, on a Sunday, take up that earth with your left hand. Then recite 10,000 times the spell in a cemetery with your face turned south. And now, O Queen, will I repeat the spell as taught me, for no spell can be of effect unless imparted by a teacher.

"[*The Spell*.] ' *Ôm !* hail, O *Bhagavati*, who dwellest in the cemetery ! who art adored by all ghosts ! Come ! come ! O handmaid of *Siva*, thou who didst devour the demon *Mahisha*, approach ! approach ! *Ahram ! Śram ! hraum ! hrīm ! Svaha !* [*These meaningless magical monosyllables are perpetually used in treatises on magic.*] Let the cunning man use this spell on a Sunday night in a cemetery. On finishing it, a great demon will appear visibly ; his name is Mahisha : Vanquisher of Kingdoms ! This demon will exhibit a marvellous power of acquisition, such as will sanctify the earth." [*Thus far is in Sanscrit ; the next passage is in the Telegu language.*]

"Take the white earth in your hand ; mix it with lamp-black ; and begin your prayer on Sunday night, continuing

\* Treatises on magic are generally framed as conversations between *Siva* and *Pārvatī* ; hence vocations like this frequently occur, but have no connection with the spells.

it three nights until Tuesday night. The third night a goddess [or fairy] named *Maisamma* will come and ask you what you desire. The aspirant must reply, 'I wish thee to be ready whenever I call.'

"Then let him get a shroud and tear strips from it, which are to be smeared with the white ashes and made into wicks. Let them be oiled and lighted. Then *Maisamma* will appear to him, and will bring to him anyone whom he desires, and afterwards will carry them away.

"Further,—The '*Andhrá Cháram*, a most marvellous spell; supreme; framed by '*Adi-nátha*, and hidden in the [*Agamás*] rituals. Let the magician, on a Sunday night, repair to a cemetery where are interred heroes slain in battle. Let him take a nail a span long, and a cord of twenty cubits. Let him drive in the nail and roll the cord round it. Then let him sit under a tree and repeat 1,000 times the following spell, having wine and flesh at hand. This shall raise the ghost of a hero.

"[*The spell:*] '*Om!* Hail, O great hero! approach! approach! accept the sacrifice! accomplish the deed! accomplish it! *Hum! Phat!* This spell will force the hero to appear. Then satisfy him with wine and flesh. He will be potent to serve thee. Let also a lamp be prepared according to the rule already given; and sitting facing the south, repeat the spells 1,000 times. This shall cause him to harry thine enemy most marvellously.

#### "CHAPTER X.

"'Explain to me,' said *Párvati*, 'the wondrous and terrific spell that causes death.'

"[*Siva* replies:] 'I will explain to thee the potent spell that causes death, called *Gaula*. On a dark night, as ordained in the land of *Gaula*, let the following spell be used to cause death. To cause death without its aid is as impossible as for the sands to fill up the sea.

"[*The spell:*] '*Om! Nama! Bhagavatí! Kála Rátri!* thou, O goddess, who delightest in human blood and

flesh—thou who art black as the King of Hell!—accept and devour this man as a sheep! Render him lifeless! *Hum! Hum! Svaha!*

“Let this spell be reiterated 10,000 times in a cemetery. The goddess Káli shall appear to him at night. Then let him offer a piece of flesh as a sacrifice. From that moment shall his foe be like a dead man before him. Let him also perform. . . . [*Here follow a few words quite unintelligible.*] This shall plunge his enemy into hell. This is the Káli spell to be recited in a cemetery from the 12th till the 14th day of the lunar fortnight. Then shall Kali appear visibly before him, and he must offer the oblation to her, and she shall grant him his desires. Then let him desire her to come whenever he may call on her. Let him use the magic powder and the lamp, as already directed, whenever he requires her presence, and she shall act as he desires. Let him insert his enemy’s name in the spell, and recite it for 15 days. This will kill him.

“Let him make a powder of human bones, while he recites the spell over it; then recite it 1,000 times more, mingling the bone-powder with his foe’s meat and drink; and in a week his enemy shall go to hell [the house of *Yama*].

“Now as to the Kérala [Malayálam] mortal spell invented by ‘Anádi Nátha.

“I will describe, O virtuous one! [*Parvati*, so styled merely to fill the metre] the spell that forthwith obtains victory: ‘*Ôm! hram! bram! glâm! glaum!* O hog-faced goddess! [*Circe*] seize this beast! accept this victim! Drink, drink [his] blood! eat, eat his flesh! Thou who art the image of Death! O *Bhagavatt* of Malayála, *hum! glaum! phat!*

“This is the spell. Recite it before the great mother 10,000 times, and this shall gain victory to the daring magician, who must be naked, in a deserted house; let this be repeated 10,000 times, and it will slay your foe in a fortnight.

"Get a bone of a *pariah*; perform the same incantations. Then on a Tuesday the magician must conceal it in his enemy's house. This shall make him perish childless. [*N.B.—This passage, unintelligible in this MS., is given from my own manuscript, where the meaning is clear.*]

"Make a waxen image of your foe; and at night take it in your right hand, with a rosary of wooden beads. Recite the spell 10,000 times; burn the image with some wood remaining from a funeral-pile. By reciting the spell your enemy will perish in a fortnight, and go to hell.

"Recite it 10,000 times while you face the mother [*Kālī*], and she will promise to attend you whenever you call her. On reciting it 1,000 times she will appear, and accomplish all you wish. Recite it 1,000 times in a cemetery, and it will kill him in a week. Consecrate a human bone with it, and by hiding this in his house you will kill him in a fortnight. Make a waxen image of your foe; touch it with your right hand, while you repeat the spell 1,000 times. Then burn it with sticks from a funeral-pile. This shall kill him in a fortnight.

"Now I will explain the Karnátaca spell invented by 'Adi-Nátha. This spell, O goddess, shall obtain all we desire if we recite it in a cemetery [*lit.*, in a ghost-thicket] with the following words:

"*Ôm ! hum ! glaum ! Dhakinî !* [a name of a certain fairy or sprite] who delightest in human blood and flesh, who eatest the wine-cake; thou who destroyest men without number, who devourest living creatures, O devour him! devour him! Drink, drink [his] blood! eat, eat [his] flesh. *Hē ! Hē ! Hē !* [mere exclamations] *Hum ! phat !*

"Let this spell be performed in a haunted grove. The magician is to stand naked, facing the south. Let him begin at the wane of the moon, and continue the rite through that fortnight. Recite the spell 10,000 times in the Kali-durga mode. [Kali Durga is the celebrated goddess of Thugs.]

"This Dakinî [Hecate] shall come to thee, attended by

a host of sprites, and will say, 'What desirest thou?' Reply, 'The death of a foe.' She will answer, 'I will willingly do it at once, with immediate destruction.'

"Let the sorcerer then recite the syllables of his foe's name, mingled with the spell. Thus [here recite the above spell], O devour *so and so*, eat the flesh of *so and so*, etc. This process will, without a doubt, lead to his death.

"Next will I explain the 'Andhra spell':

"*Ôm, hrîm, glaum, Bhairava!* goddess, destroyer of destruction! thou who art adored by hosts of god-like giants! who delightest in human blood and flesh! approach! approach! Come! come! *Hum! Phat! Svaha!* This spell is to be performed in the presence of *Bhairava* [an epithet of a god]; let it be recited 10,000 times, and it will be successful if used after you have used his name. Then shall he perish, though strong as an elephant.

"Whenever you have occasion for it, recite it 10,000 times, and your foe will die in a fortnight.

"Next is the Gujerâti spell, composed by 'Adi-Nâtha. It is most potent; let it be ever kept secret.

"[*The spell:*] '*Ôm! glaum! glaum!* mighty *Maya* [Venus and Delusion], awful in power, awful in might, awful in form, approach! approach! *Khê! Khê!* [More probably it should be *Khadaya, Khadaya*, which are the proper phrases in a spell—viz., "Devour! devour him!"] Slay! slay my foe! Drink! drink his blood! *Glaui! glaui! svaha!*

"This spell must be recited to obtain the presence of the goddess *Chandika*, and the power shall appear in visible form. You must sacrifice a cock, and flesh and blood. Perform this in a cemetery, and be resolute. As is above directed, this rite is to be performed whenever requisite, and the goddess will enter the cemetery.

"*Ôm! Hail, O [Bhagavati] Kali!* painted with yellow! devourer! black with fire! yellow-tongued! terrible! *Rohini! Hum! Phat! Bhur! Bhuvas! Svaha!* Devour the flesh and blood of my enemy! Cut my foe! cut him to pieces! *Mêdi! Bhâvi! Bhâvâ! Hum! Phât!*

"Repeat the above spell 128 times, sitting on the house-top, and then drop a stone down. This shall destroy your foe." [*Here the manuscript ends.*]

No. 2.

[Translation of a small book on nine palm leaves, written partly in Sanscrit and partly in Telegu.]

"Salutation to the goddess *Kali* !

"O thou who governest all nature by spells ! who rulest by means of the system of magic ! who rulest the gods and all demons ! who rulest all destruction ! universal ! vast ! supreme ! great possessor ! be gracious to this work ! thou who at once ledest captive Great Devadatta ! goddess of gods ! ruler ! greatest of sprites ! who rulest the genii of Maya ! who rulest all knowledge ! great *Káli*, *Ôm ! hum !* great goddess of fever, O *Durga* ! great *Káli* ! *Káli* ! *Káli* ! O *Kali-Jhum* ! *Káli-śram* ! *śa ! śum ! Karali* ! *Marali* ! smite him ! smite him !

[*Here are Telegu words intermixed as directions to the wizard, but are broken and scarcely intelligible*] ". . . applying your mouth duly [say], 'Smite him ! May thy mouth be filled with his blood ! *Kakka ! kakka ! pikku ! pheli ! pheli ! bhali ! bhali ! adé Karaum !*

"*Dhum Karali* ! may his eyes turn spinning in his head ! may his bowels be twisted ! may his heart be broken with terror ! may his legs and joints rattle and totter ! Break him and mangle him ! make him as a broken potsherd ! and may he explode like rotten grain ! may he burst ! In the fury of thy bursting rage let his bloodshot eyes start out of his head ! *Thá ! thá ! thá !* Look on him with fiery eyes till he burst ! *Bhagavati* ! great *Maya* ! who quelledst Karta Virya . . . ' [*Here follow 22 unintelligible sounds.*] Let the above spell be recited 1,000 times, with the following rite :

"Select a burning-place or [cemetery] on the east of the town. Go there one Sunday night. Walk round the cemetery seven times. Stand at the north-east angle.

Then enter the cemetery. Turn westwards. Walk seven steps backwards. Strip naked. Fill your left hand with ashes, and tie these in a yellow cloth with frankincense, and roll them up in cotton, which you must not carry home but put in a chapel of any *Sakti* goddess. When you have occasion, you must erect a magic square with these ashes on the ground; draw a figure of the goddess, and put a bit of the *Tulasi* tree in the mouth. Recite the spell 27 times, sprinkling water. Then bring water from the well, and put the ashes in it. Then recite the spell 27 times, and drink the water. If you drink it all, he will die in a moment. If you drink half, and leave half, he will endure great torments. If again you shed the water, he will return to his former state.

"The above spell is called the *Atkar Kali Mantram* of miscreants.

"Get a bottle of toddy, a bottle of wine, and raw flesh, and then utter the following spell :

"Salutation to *Bhagavati ! Mátangi Sakti* [cannibal pariah goddess] of Malayála ! thou who feedest on flesh and blood ! thou who speedily effectest the spell ! thou who canst destroy his five senses ! *Malayala ! Kídu ! Kandhi ! Mar ! Mar ! Malayála Sakti ! Rám ! Rám ! Kham ! Kham ! Gham ! Gham ! Ôm ! Ôm ! hram ! hrím ! hraum ! phat ! svaha !*

"Get ashes from a potter's kiln, and also from a washerman's furnace, and ashes from a cemetery; place these on the ground, and therewith draw a pentagon. Thereupon place an image. Bring red rice, a red fowl, and red sandalwood; red-coloured grain and red flowers. Then cut the fowl's throat. Let the blood flow into a cup; dip two arrows into the blood, and exclaim, 'Mother ! strike ! pierce him !' Repeat the spell nine times over each arrow, and devote one to strike him in the eye, the other striking his mouth. Then bury them on the north side.

"Rules regarding the Milk spell :

"*Ôm ! hrím !* Destroy, goddess ! long-tongued ! who ridest on the Ram ! *Ôm ! Phat ! Svaha !*



“Process : On a Sunday get the milk of a black goat, and sprinkle it 27 times behind his house. His hands and feet shall be dried up, and a slow fever shall seize him.

“[*The spell :*] ‘*Ôm ! hrîm ! grîm ! trîm !* Thou who destroyest all ! Blest *Kâli*, armed with the lance and drum, who joyest in red-sandal ! long-tongued ! ghost-visaged ! goddess of speech ! O devour my foe ! devour ! devour him ! *Hum ! phat ! svaha !*’

“Another process : Get some ashes from a funeral-pile, and, repeating your enemy’s name, scatter the ashes over his house. This shall produce death. [*Here follows a reiteration of the first page of this manuscript.*]

“‘*Ôm !* hail *Bhagavatt !* pariah-goddess ! who devourest flesh and blood ! O red one ! eat ! devour him, dreadful goddess ! slay him, O great goddess ! supreme . . . .’ [*Here follow more unintelligible syllables.*]

“Get some grain of different sorts, with flour and rice. Put an equal quantity of salt, and grind them in a paste with water from a stream. Go to a pit on the north of the village, and spread some *Jille* leaves. Set up a doll ; offer frankincense and lamps. Offer a cock as a sacrifice ; cover it with the leaves, and bury it. This shall obtain thee success.

“Recite the above spell 24 times.

“Salutation to *Bramha*, son of *Siva* [*i.e., Hanuman*]. Thou on whom *Indra* rides ! [*Here Hindustani and Arabic words are intermixed.*] Great Monkey God ! *Sunjeeva Raya !* Seize and slay him !

“I adjure thee by the sacred feet of thy mother, O *Hanuman !* if thou swerve from this adjuration. I adjure thee by thy feet, great leader ! [*More unintelligible syllables.*] This spell shall bind the earth, however extensive.

“I adore my great teacher *Rama Guru Sanyâsi.*”

## XVII.

## RURAL SUPERSTITIOUS BELIEF.

THE following Petition from a villager of Konas, in the Bánda Division, dated 13th November, 1847, was actually presented to the political agent in Sawantwarree, a district under the Bombay Government.—

“My petition is this. Sewa Sati Gawas, Láro Lom Sáwant, and Káno Thill Sáwant brought Rám Gámkar of Humkari unto my village, and caused him to take away from the Máwáti temple the *Mayechá Purwas* (an idol) and bury it. In consequence of this, the labour of the Ryots is cursed and produces no fruits. Their cattle also die. It has caused two deaths; one in my own family. Thus does evil of all kinds fall upon us; and the officials are perplexed how to settle the Government demands. The three above-named parties, moreover, introduced demons from another village, and stopped the village *Devapan*;\* whereby the village has become unproductive and myself ruined. One or other of my family is daily suffering from sickness; and I myself have been ill for the last 2 or 3 months, besides others in the village. I have lost forty head of cattle. If such calamity continue, the Ryots will cease to cultivate their fields, and the village will be deserted. I pray, therefore, that the Defendants may be summoned and directed to replace the idol in the temple, and take back the demons to their former abode; and, further, that the village *Devapan* be re-established, and the parties complained of be required to give good security for abstaining in future from such evil deeds.”

Marked with a plough for

PHATÉ NÁRE GAWAS.

[W. E.]

\* A religious ceremony, generally including prophecy and teaching by the performer, under the inspiration of a deity.

## THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

*(Continued from Vol. III., page 462.)*

(BY H. E. WASSA PASHA AND THE LATE SIR P. COLQUHOUN.)

### UPPER AND LOWER ALBANIA—GHEGS AND TOSKS.

LIMITROPH nations will invariably use either a single language or be bilingual ; and this has occurred on the confines of Albania.

The inhabitants of Phelites, Margarite, Argyro Castro, whether Mussulman or orthodox, know no Greek, while those nearer to the Greek frontier have more or less adopted the Greek language, through the scholastic influence, neglected by the Othoman Government, and of the orthodox religion, which still retains ancient Greek as the ecclesiastical language.

In Upper Albania the case is different ; but it is not quite a borderland of Italy. There the Latin rite prevails ; but the clergy of the Western Church have adopted the Albanian language for ecclesiastical purposes, and to them the inhabitants are indebted for the few printed books in the language of the country.

Had the Albanian race been exposed to the temptations of high civilization, it would probably have shared the fate of other nations so situated. Herodotus described the Persians as originally abstinent, frugal, constant, and truthful ; but corrupted by luxury, they afterwards became known for the contrary vices. The Albanian race, segregated from the world by their geographical position, with equally unsophisticated nations on their frontiers, with whom, moreover, they were for the most part at strife—with traditions and customs of long descent forming a strong public opinion—have remained till now with their savage virtues intact. But it would be temerity to prophesy that they would

maintain those Spartan virtues when brought into close contact with the abuses of civilization which dominate large centres in Western Europe.

The *Ghegs* of the North and the *Tosks* of the South differ in no respect in their manners and customs; nor is their dialectic difference greater than that in parts of England. Any rivalry which in earlier times existed between these two great divisions was the result of the ambition of their respective leaders, the native Pashas of Scutari and Yanina. Subsequently to the death of Iskander Beg down to 1831, they were governed by their own native pashas resident in the different important towns. The Beg inherited the authority of his ancestors, and the Porte confirmed to the heir the powers of his antecessor. Self-government, according to the ancient unwritten law and custom known to all, was the norm. Profession of faith had no influence in obliterating or altering old-established usage, and their courts were mixed. Race prevailed over every other consideration.

#### ANCIENT TRIBAL CUSTOMS.

Their life was and is primitive and patriarchal, for each class and its elders administered justice according to ancient and established usage, based on the law of talion.

It is necessary to give the leading features of these customs for the illustration of the second part of this treatise, whence comes another of the strongest arguments in favour of the identity of this race with the Pelasgians.

He who slays is slain by the heir of the deceased. If the murderer cannot be reached, his father, son, brother, or cousin are liable to make amends in their own persons—nay, further, in default of such, all the members of the clan are answerable in like manner. When, therefore, Mr. Gladstone,\* alluding to them as Turks (!), stated that it was a common thing to find dead bodies on the coast of Albania, it is clear he had been the victim, and perhaps a not un-

\* He passed twenty-four hours in the country.

willing one, of a hoax. This rough justice operates in the same deterrent fashion as formerly duelling in Great Britain; a man considers well ere he exposes not only himself, but his whole family and clan, to such retribution; thus murders and homicides are of very rare occurrence among this people.

He who steals is amerced in double the value of the object stolen, together with a fine to the chief and elders. He who murders for theft is dishonoured, and without the pale: he becomes a pariah. The rape of a married woman is equivalent to one "blood" (*ghiach*); and the ravisher must be slain by the husband or the relations of the ravished woman.

An affianced woman who marries another confers on the man jilted the right to kill her father, uncle, or cousin german; but if the affianced woman be carried off, the right of slaying the ravisher accrues to the affianced man or to his relations. Adultery is punished with death. The husband has the right to slay the seducer caught in the fact, or whenever the adultery is proved.

The debtor must pay his debts in money or in kind. Property of all kinds is sacred, and none can infringe that of another. All questions of territorial property or real estate are judged by the elders, who in such case are bound to swear on the stone to execute justice. These judgments are executable without appeal.

The law is equally applicable to all without distinction of rank or religion, be they Christian or Mussulman, and the tribunals are mixed.

The guest is sacred, and breach of hospitality has no justification. He who ill-uses a guest is outlawed, dishonoured and exiled, nor can he ever return to his own family. The dishonour is eternal and ineffaceable, even by blood. For slaying the guest of another, the host can demand 40 "bloods" of the clan of which a member has committed so foul an act.

He who kills a woman is dishonoured, and the disgrace extends to all the members of his family, to whom the infamous term "women-killers" attaches.

As each clan, so each family has its chief, who is the oldest member. Similarly, the oldest woman is mistress of the house; and as the system is patriarchal, the members of the family are numerous, and many families thus consist of 100 to 120 persons.

The men must obey without question the behest of such head of the family, and the respect paid to age is without limit. The mistress of the house exercises the same authority among the female portion of the household. If members of the same family have cause of complaint against one another, the chief of the household reconciles or punishes, according to circumstances; and whoso resists this authority incurs the penalty of dishonour.

The condemned person must go to execution cheerfully, manifesting neither indifference, joy, nor depression. He improvises a song, which is repeated by his fellows in time hereafter. These rules are common to Ghegs and Tosks.

Albania has furnished the Othoman Empire with some of its best Grand - Viziers and best generals—Kypriyly Muhammad, Ahmad, Laupti, Sinan, Bairaktur, Mustapha, and many others, who by their tact and courage have vanquished external foes, reconciled internal difficulties, and restored the equilibrium of the state, by improving the administration and suppressing the corruption of ministers.

#### ANCIENT DIVISIONS OF ALBANIA TRACEABLE.

Albania, as before remarked, consists of two great divisions: the Gheg of the North, and the Tosk of the South, termed Upper and Lower Albania. The former begins at Antivari and comprises all the Catholic tribes of the North within the districts of Ipek, Pristina, Vrania, Platzkovik, Uskub, Prilipe, Monastir, Okhrida, ending at Elbassan.

Lower Albania, all to the south of Elbassan, is subdivided into three clans: the Tosks, the Tshams, and the Liapes, answering to the Chaones, the Thesprotes, and the Molopi of antiquity. These, again, are subdivided into other tribes or Phares, corresponding to the 44 ancient tribes referred to

by the classical authors, especially Theopompus, quoted by Strabo.

Upper Albania is not thus divided into great classes, but into numerous smaller tribes, corresponding, if not by their present designations, at least in number, with those set out in ancient authors, of which the most complete list is found in Pliny.

The present tribes are Hot, Klemenet, Kastrat, Shkriel, Shâla, Shoshe, Mirdita, Mertour, Temal, etc., answering to the Ballai, Nesti, Manli, Taulantii, Autoriatæ, Ardiæi, etc., of the ancients.

The derivation of the word "Tosk" applied to Lower Albania is uncertain, but it would seem to be identic with Tuscan and Etruscan.

To that of the Ghegs of the North an indication is found in Homer, who says: "Beyond the mountains of Acroceraunus live the giants" (γίγας), which is in so far true that these people are above the middle stature, and the word is identic in signification in both Greek and Shkipetar.

In an official document of the Premier Kadi in the fifteenth century, appointed by the Othoman Government in the district of *Doukagin* on the death of Iskander Beg, when all Albania was in the occupation of the Othoman Government, it is reported that Ghega Lish, Ghega Dod, Ghega Tanoush, and another Ghega, without alienating or ceding, quitted the mountains of Poshterrik at Yakova, to establish themselves in the Miriditis. This document was in the possession of Beb Doda Pasha, and is probably now in the hands of his son, Prenk Pasha. There has never been an accurate official census of Albania; but the population may be taken at from 1,800,000 to 2,000,000 souls;—1,200,000 in Upper, and 800,000 in Lower Albania. The language, customs and traditions of all these are the same. One half are Mussulmans, the other half Christians. The Mussulmans and Western Catholics together form two-thirds of the whole, the remaining third belonging to the Eastern Church.

The land near the coast is very fertile ; and the valleys of Boyanas, Mathia, Skumbi, Argentis, Vajutza, Drin, Bestriza, Vardar, comprise rich alluvial plains. Agriculture is, however, primitive and backward ; yet with an improved system, it would not only suffice for its present, but for an increased population, leaving a good margin for exportation.

The Albanian is, however, rather a shepherd and herdsman than an agriculturist ; and he raises large numbers of cattle, horses, sheep, and goats. The forests are extensive and full of fine trees, and the mineral riches also are considerable, but remain undeveloped. The mountains are gray limestone, and sufficiently inaccessible to form a barrier against an invader. In picturesqueness the country vies with Switzerland and the Tyrol.

#### PHILOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION OF THE PELASGI.

The foregoing quotations from ancient authors clearly prove that the two divisions or tribes of the great Pelasgic race—the Leleges and Pelasgi proper—the former originally occupied the whole of Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, while the Pelasgi proper, pushing westward by way of the Hellespont into Thrace, peopled that country, Macedonia, Illyria, and all south of those districts, including the islands on the coast, and in Italy, all south of Liguria, together with the adjacent islands.

The Pelasgic race may be traced in some degree by the names of their fortresses, for wherever the word "Larissa" is found, there must have been formerly a Pelasgian fortress.

Dr. Smith's classical atlas gives eleven Larissas : one on the river Peneus in Thessaly in the district of the Pelasgic Argos, another, Larissa-Cremaste, in the southern portion of Achaia and Phthiotis. There is the river Larissos, which flows south of the north-west promontory of the Gulf of Corinth, at Elis ; and near it is a Larissa, now Techos (τείχος)—a translation of the word. In Asia Minor there are several : one in Lydia, south-west of Ephesus, on the Eudon ; and another on the Kaister,



west of Ephesus. There was another not far distant in Lydia, west of Phoea on the Hermus, otherwise called Neoteichos—another Greek translation of the Pelasgic word. On the west coast of Lesbos, north of Mytelene, stood Larissa Petrea, and not far from it another, on the spurs of Ida, south of Tenedos, on the mainland. In Syria stood a Larissa, opposite Cyprus, and south-west of Laodicea. Lastly, there was one in Cappadocia, near the sources of the Arasacus, west of the Halys.

*Lårt-ishel* signifies in old Albanian "High Island," from the custom of the Pelasgians of planting their fortresses on an eminence, and surrounding them with a moat where possible. The Latins in like manner used *insula* for a detached block of buildings; and throughout the countries they occupied these natural isolated hills exist, as though they had dropped from the sky into the middle of the plain. St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, St. Helier in Jersey, Mont St. Michel off St. Malo, Aradus of the Phœnicians, are instances; and the citadels of Parga, Corfu, and several in Syria, are well known to travellers.

#### LANGUAGE.

Herodotus asserts as a fact that the Ionians, Hellenes, Dorians and Athenians were all Pelasgi.

The Ionians were originally called Pelasgians; Ægialians, from their inhabiting the seashore; and afterwards Ionians, from Ion, son of Xuthos. The Athenians were Pelasgi, and originally called Kranai, next Kekropides, next Ionians from their general, and lastly Athenians in the age of Erechtheus. Ephoros calls the Pelasgi Arcadians by descent; but this amounts to no more than identifying them with a locality, for the whole of the Peloponnese was Pelasgic. In like manner Asius calls the early Elians, Pelasgians, and says that they exceeded other men in height, size and mental endowments.

Now, if, according to Herodotus, the Hellenes possessed Phthiotis under Deucalion, and then Histiaëotis under

Dorus, and then migrated successively to other places under the designation of Dorians, they too must have been a Pelasgic tribe. The Lacedæmonians were of Doric origin, consequently Pelasgic, as also were the Thessalians. Then Marsh observes emphatically that "Ἔθνος πελασγικόν" and "Ἔθνος Ἑλληνικόν" were synonymous, and used only to distinguish the same nation at different periods of its existence.

Herodotus does not distinguish between Doric and Æolic; and Strabo and Pausanias say Æolic was spoken in Thessaly, and that the old Hellenes used it. Æolic was the genus, Doric the species; or, perhaps, to speak more accurately, the Doric was a more advanced stage of Æolic. The terms for these dialects must not be understood as applying to any language in particular, be it Pelasgic or Greek, but as to two different dialects of one and the same speech; nor can an instance, ancient or modern, be cited, where the whole population spoke the same language, devoid of dialectic difference.

#### MARSH AND HERODOTUS FALL INTO THE SAME DIFFICULTY.

Marsh, while admitting, on the evidence of ancient authors, that one race inhabited the whole area, stumbles against the same absurdity as Herodotus, who attempts to break through the barrier by surmising that the Attic nation, although Pelasgic, simultaneously with its conversion into Hellenes, also changed its language: Τὸ αττικόν ἔθνος ἔόν πελασγικόν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἑλλήνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθα. This is more than Marsh even can tolerate; for he says: "It was nothing more than μεταβολὴ ἐς ὄνομα Ἑλληνικόν. For a change of inhabitants at Athens in consequence of any conquest by the Hellenes, which alone could have produced such a change in the *language* there, is a thing of which we have never heard." But even a conquest would not have produced such an effect; nor would anything short of the extirpation of the previous inhabitants. Besides, both the Hellenes and Athenians were Pelasgians—*ergo* had the same speech, and that

speech was Pelasgian ; consequently no change could have taken place.

#### THE CONTINUOUS MAINTENANCE OF THE PELASGIC SPEECH.

Now, with regard to this Pelasgian speech, it has maintained itself to the present day, in a consecutive and uninterrupted line ; for at different periods of history down to the present time incidental reference is made to it.

That Herodotus was unacquainted with any language but his own, is not questioned. He speaks of Pelasgic, and of a language mixed of Pelasgic and Greek—a sort of *lingua franca*—which he includes, with all other non-Greek languages, under the generic designation of “ barbarous.”\*

Alexander's mother-tongue has been shown to have been at least not Greek, but the language of Emathia or Macedonia, in which country and in the neighbouring Epeiros, a language is yet found, distinct from any language in Europe, which until lately has puzzled philologists. Though extending over a very much larger area, it stands in the same isolated position as Basque ; but it is now acknowledged to belong to the Aryan category, and to bear the same affinity to Sanskrit as do the other Aryan dialects. Its construction shows the modern Albanian or Shkipetar to be a developed form of speech, abounding with a far greater variety of sounds than either the Greek, Latin, Teutonic, or Slavonic, or any other language of the Aryan class ; bearing the type of high antiquity, and, in respect of development, on all fours with Slavonic.

The conclusion therefore is inevitable that the bulk of the population of the Greek area was ever, and still is, Shkipetar.

The great difficulty therefore to be solved is, whence the Greek language, which has no more affinity with the Pelasgic or Albanian than with other Aryan tongues, came into such common use by the Pelasgic race.

\* A curious mixture of Turkish and Romaic is used in the present Psomatia, a suburb of Constantinople.

History affords no trace of any invasion in force of any other race, and to suppose such to have occurred without leaving such trace is impossible. Rawlinson finds it impossible to suppose that what he calls Hellenism "would have gradually spread itself, as it did, from a small beginning over so many Pelasgic tribes, *without conquest*, unless there had been a close affinity between the Hellenic tongue and that spoken by the Pelasgic races."

But would even conquest have this result? Historic experience does not lead to such a conclusion. Something more than conquest is required ;—for the mother-tongue will prevail against all artificial systems. The children may be taught at school in a foreign tongue ; but they will play with their fellows, using their own ; they will return home and speak it in the house. They may be bilingual, but yet not substitute an imposed speech for their own. Amalgamation may effect it in time, or extirpation forthwith. In the end the more civilized speech will prevail.

#### THE TROJANS SPOKE PELASGIC.

In the Homeric poems the term Hellenes is applied to a tribe only, or to the inhabitants of a particular limited district of Thessaly, and it acquired a generic signification for the first time long after the expedition against Troy ;—that is to say, historically speaking, in a comparatively modern age. For it is obvious that in the age of the Homeric poems, the language, whatever it may have been, was general among the allies and besiegers ; and therefore it must have been the original language of the Pelasgi. Moreover, it was that of the besieged, though not of their southern allies. There is no suggestion of interpreters having been used ; and their deities were identic, espousing the cause of either party—Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Venus, Apollo, Mercury, Minerva, Vulcan, Neptune.

Under these circumstances some theory must be advanced which will reasonably account for the introduction of the Greek language, without any violent means, subsequent to the Trojan expedition.

### THE PHŒNICIANS.

It is admitted that the Phœnicians were the first known traders in the Levant, and they are said to have possessed, in those parts, as many as 300 colonies. This must be taken in a qualified sense. Either it is an exaggeration, or these so-called colonies were nothing more than trading stations, numerically limited as to inhabitants, which in the present day are called factories.

### LANGUAGE WILL NOT ALTER RACES.

It must be seriously doubted whether Greek was even the general language of the country, and whether it preceded or co-existed with the Phœnicians. To argue from analogous cases within personal knowledge, Romaic Greek now occupies the same position as the classical language occupied in earlier ages. In the greater centres of agglomerated population in the present Greek area, the people are bilingual. In Athens, Romaic will be spoken as a general language, while a great proportion of the population retains the Pelasgic Albanian as well. Some have lost their mother-tongue, and speak Romaic only. The influence of the Church, which has always used the ancient Greek, and of the schools in which the youth is educated tends, however, to obliterate the Pelasgic among the educated classes. Still Albanian, within the last thirty years, was exclusively spoken at Eleusis, within a ride of Athens, where not a single inhabitant understood Romaic.

In modern Belgium, the general language is French, while the national tongues are Flemish and Lettish; yet no author would think of publishing a serious philosophical work in other than French. Till recently, the Court language of St. Petersburg was French, and correspondence was carried on in that language. In Pommerania, German has superseded the native language now extinct. Yet no one will assert that the Belgians are of the Latin, nor the Pommeranians of the Teutonic, race.

The inhabitants of Ireland, notwithstanding their having

been frequently conquered by the Norman and Saxon races during the last 800 years, still retain, to some extent, their own tongue; and most of those who have done so are bilingual. But if they write, it is invariably in English, and in this case the language has survived government and colonization by a foreign race: yet their language of literature was formerly Latin.

In the great trading centres, little or no Erse remains; and the same remark applies to the northern districts of Scotland. In France itself the Gaelic and Teutonic tongues have been obliterated by a language of Latin origin, while Armorican remains only in Brittany, and there merely as a vernacular. Nor will it be denied that in Spain and Portugal the generality of the people are not of Latin race and origin, though their tongue is so.

So little as forty years ago, Latin was the official language of Hungary and Poland—nay, more, that of the newspapers and society, to the prejudice of Magyar and Polish; but none will pretend that on that account they are of the Latin race. The Court language in Sweden, and also in Russia, was French, and in Denmark German, which one might say was also that in England. There is also a wide difference between a Court language and an official language; as was formerly the case with Norman-French and Latin in England, and Latin in Scotland.

Another reason for supposing the retention of Greek as a common speech in Pelasgia is, that the various tribes of this wide-extended Pelasgic race had slid into dialects so different from each other as to be incomprehensible. A very slight change may produce this result. The intonation or accent will make all the difference; and this is, in fact, the case with the Scottish and Irish Gaelic. Nay, more, an Englishman will be troubled to understand low Scotch, or even English, in the mouth of the natives. So, too, the inhabitants of China adopt "pigeon" English as a common tongue; and the nearly as barbarous *lingua franca* is used along the northern coast of Africa and elsewhere in the

Mediterranean. In India, Urdu is the common speech or interpreter, enabling the extreme provinces of India to converse.

It has been proved that Asia Minor was originally occupied by a branch of the Pelasgic race as conquerors; yet, in a later age, this same race is found passing over from Pelasgia or Greece, to plant colonies among men of their own race, and formerly of their own language, though it must be admitted as probable that the Pelasgic of Asia Minor had deteriorated far more rapidly and completely than that of the European side, even to the extent of becoming a separate tongue. It is fair to presume that some bond of race existed, even in the age of the Trojan war; since the inhabitants of Asia Minor appear as allies of the Trojans, when it is presumable that the Lycian Sarpedon was still a Pelasgian in language and sympathies.

Monumental inscriptions, however, show that the Pelasgian element had become eliminated at their date.\*

WERE NOT THE LACEDÆMONIANS AND OTHER PELASGI  
BILINGUAL?

Commerce would favour the retention of the original Greek speech. The new civilization, if introduced, grecicized the Pelasgic inhabitants of the Greek area, while Pelasgic became lost and forgotten in Athens, so that Herodotus was ignorant of its nature. But it is by no means clear that the Dorian Lacedæmonians did not retain their original Pelasgic speech as a vernacular, side by side with Greek as an official language. Athens had become purely grecicized in its sympathies; not so that small knot of warriors about Sparta, whose mode of life and tendencies remained purely Pelasgic and warlike. The former cultivated the arts and sciences, regarding as barbarous whatever was not Greek in language. The latter looked upon war as the main object of existence.

\* The intermarriage of Pelasgians with the daughters of the land would entail the mother-tongue on the issue.

## THE EXTINCTION OF THE SO-CALLED GREEK RACES.

No sooner, however, had Athens fallen into decadence than the influence of the Greek language waned, and the cultivated language—Greek—disappeared, while the inhabitants were superseded by their uncivilized but more warlike neighbours. The few descendants of the pure incursive Greek race were wiped out, together with the grecicized inhabitants, and the rougher of the Pelasgic races resumed their sway.

The numerical strength of the Greeks has been estimated at under 3,500,000 including slaves, which latter made up certainly not less than half, if not three-quarters, of that number. These were also, in all probability, not of pure Greek origin, but, for the most part, grecicized Pelasgian and other foreigners; for Herodotus relates that the Greeks adopted into their body many barbarians, whereas the Pelasgi admitted no foreigners; and he adds, "wherefore they have never greatly multiplied."

Wassa Pasha estimates the number of the present Pelasgians at 2,000,000; but he does not include in this a far more numerous population of Pelasgic race who speak other tongues and no longer maintain the customs and manners of the Epeirots. Long before 800 A.D., probably not a single descendant of the original Greek commercial settlers remained, and perhaps not even of the grecicized Pelasgi. Driven first from the country into the fortified towns, slain, or carried into captivity by the savage hordes of the North, they abandoned their lands and their country estates, as unsafe; and ultimately, besieged in their strongholds, they were extirpated by the invaders, leaving behind them nothing but their literature as a colossal monument of the highest civilization of the ancient world.

## THE PELASGIAN STATES.

History represents the Pelasgi as having, among other qualities, that of being great builders. They fortified the Acropolis of Athens, originally a Pelasgic city, and were



employed further to fortify it by their grecicized countrymen. The so-called Cyclopean walls—of which frequent specimens are still extant in the Epeirus, and of which the best is in Ithaca—were the work of the Pelasgians, long anterior to the appearance of the Greek race; and the Ægialians or sea-coast Pelasgi were great navigators at the same early period: they were warriors by land and pirates by sea.

Odysseus represents in his mendacious accounts to Penelope, in his feigned personality, the attack he and his companions made on Egypt from Crete, in which they were worsted; showing that Egypt, even at that early period, was well known to the inhabitants of the Peloponnese and its adjacent islands.

There were also two early invasions, or immigrations of Pelasgi into Italy. The first has too much the savour of myth about it to be absolutely reliable, but may be accepted without its details, as presumptive evidence of a very early emigration in that direction. These migrations are represented as taking place from Thessaly, the principal seat of the first immigration, in earlier times almost synonymous with Thrace, and whence they are said to have migrated to Crete, Lesbos, Chios, and many other islands of the Ægean Sea. Indeed, it is probable that the islands on the European side were so peopled, while those of the Asiatic coast were occupied, at a still earlier period, by a branch of the Pelasgic race above referred to, and usually designated as Leleges.

This first colony started from Palanteum, a city of Arcadia, and is somewhat mythical. The second was led by Evander, whom Livy\* styles, "*Venerabilis vir miraculo literarum rei novæ inter rudes artium homines;*" and Tacitus says, "*Aborigines Arcade ab Evandro didicerunt; et forma literis latinis, quæ veterrimis Græcorum.*" Pliny, "*In Latium eas (litteras) attulerunt Pelasgi*"; and Solinus, "*primi (Pelasgi) in Latium litteras intulerunt.*" This,

\* Liv., i. 7; Tac. *An.*, xi. 14; Plin. *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 56; Solinus, viii., p. 53, ed. Basel; Dion. Halic., i. 11.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who came to Rome 30 B.C., places at about 600 years before the Trojan war.

The second emigration is placed in the age of Deucalion, when the Pelasgi were settled in the Pelasgic Argos in Thessaly, whence they went first to Dodona, the seat of the famous Pelasgic oracle, and, finding the country too strait for them and insufficient to supply their wants, they pushed on, in many ships, to Italy, then called Saturnia; and being ignorant of that sea and its navigation, made for the nearest land, which they struck at Spinete, at the mouth of the Po, where they quitted their vessels.

Here they drove the Sentinians from many cities, in which they dwelt in common with the aborigines. Among these were, one of the Kairetani then called Agylla afterwards Cære, near Rome; Saturnia, Alsion, and certain others. Having driven the Umbrians out, these had, in their turn, to make way for the Tyrrhenians.\* Hence it was clearly the opinion of the later authors, who, doubtless, based their assertions on older authorities, that, compared with the then inhabitants of Italy, they were considered a highly-cultivated people, even if not exceeding in culture those they conquered.

The Pelasgi then made their way towards central Italy, and used the Æolic dialect, which, like Albanian, had no dual, but used the F form of the digamma, which is said to account for the introduction of that letter as the sixth in the Latin alphabet; and that the Romans spoke a mixed language, in which Æolic prevailed.

It is not impossible that Virgil founded the immigration of Æneas on these legends, assuming a broad poetical license for ignoring chronology, and boldly leaping over the 600 years fixed by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that the general opinion was that Italy was indebted to the Pelasgi for the introduction of the art of writing, and other arts for which Etruria became afterwards famous.

\* Dion. Hal., i. 17, 18; Plin., *loc. cit.*, iii. 5; Strabo, v., p. 220.

## AN INDIAN RAJAH AT HOME :

## A SKETCH FROM REAL LIFE.

MANY Rajahs of the present day have been educated under European superintendence and training ; but there is yet a large, though continually diminishing, number of Indian princes of the olden type, who, while they have improved their civil and criminal administration under British suzerainty, still maintain unchanged their own ancestral customs and habits, even as they were over 50 years ago. As a few more years will probably extinguish for ever this very interesting class of Chiefs, I purpose to describe one of them, as I found him, in friendly intercourse, at his own home. Not as he would appear when visited by Government officials, dreaded as the schoolboy dreads the inspector at his annual visit ; but as he lives, and acts towards his friends, in his own natural manner, going through his daily life, at unaffected ease, undeterred by the fear of being reported to the Government for some unknown fault. Known to be utterly unconnected with official circles, I was all the more popular with the natives, and was consequently admitted to unrestrained intercourse by my Indian friends in every class of life.

During my residence at F——pur I had made the acquaintance of his Highness the Rajah of F——cote. I first met him at one of his visits to F——pur during the Garrison Races. He was attended by several of his courtiers, mounted on horses which, though good, were certainly not in training for a race ; for, according to native custom, they were fat and sleek, from overfeeding and lack of regular exercise. A race was just coming on—for a purse of no great value ; and as only a few entries had been made, one of the stewards asked if I could get the Rajah to have the race card better filled. I introduced myself to him, and made my request. He smiled, and said that though

his attendants' horses had no chance, he would willingly help the sports. At a sign from him, some of them, equipped even as they were, with sword and shield, went to the starting-post, joined in the run with the utmost good-humour, and tried their best to render it a tolerably hot one. This gave me a favourable opinion of the Rajah's good-nature, which was amply confirmed on further acquaintance. We gradually became very friendly; and he expressed the hope that I would visit him some day at his capital. He even told me that I need send no previous notice of my visit, as is generally expected. My duties prevented my accepting for some time this oft-repeated invitation of the Rajah; and when I was able to visit him, it was only by a chance leisure, which left little time for a formal notice.

I had been dining with a mutual friend, an officer on the Medical Staff, who had, some years before, done the Rajah (then only the Heir-apparent) a very great service. One evening, a mounted messenger, his horse reeking with sweat and foam and reeling from exhaustion, had summoned the surgeon hastily to F——cote, about 19 miles distant, to attend the Rajah's son, suddenly taken ill. He arrived only just in time to save the child's life, placed in deadly peril from a characteristic occurrence, let us hope, quite unusual in such households. The Rajah's first wife had no children; but his second had made him the happy father of one boy, who would eventually become the heir to the *Guddee* or throne. The grief of the senior Ranee for her own childlessness—the greatest of women's misfortunes in the East—was changed into fury on seeing her husband,—fond to doating, as natives are, of male children,—bestowing his favours by no means impartially and equally to herself and her rival. If she could but have a child herself,—or if the other's child were to die, they would both again be on a footing of equality before their husband! Though the first was not in her power, there was a chance of the second. In the East such obstacles are sometimes

removed without much difficulty. The art of poisoning, once so much studied and developed in Europe, is perhaps yet known in India to a greater extent than we think; and many a sudden death excites suspicions, which are not the less well founded, because they cannot be substantiated with judicial certainty. Naturally or otherwise, I cannot say; but, as a matter of fact, the infant was suddenly taken dangerously ill; and the Chief would have been left childless, had it not been for the timely aid and the skilful treatment of my medical friend. He had naturally been profuse in his thanks. He had since succeeded to the throne, on the death of his father, and the child was now the heir-apparent. As the doctor had just returned from England, we decided on going together to visit the Rajah, the very next day but one; and I despatched a letter to announce our advent. We then sent a buggy (hooded gig) and horse to the 12th milestone, and a couple of riding horses to the 6th; while a cook and a table assistant (males, of course, as are all servants in India) were sent on, in an *Ekka* (native one-horse vehicle), to await our arrival at F—cote.

F—cote is about 19 miles from F—pur, ten miles lying in British and nine in the Rajah's territory. On the appointed morning, after a hasty meal, we drove the first six miles in the doctor's conveyance; and very hard work it was, over the sands of an extremely neglected road. It was, in fact, but a track through a sandy waste, though the native Chief had a well macadamised road over his portion.\*

\* The Indian Government, though insisting (and rightly) on the opening out of good roads in native territories, are not always quite so ready to spend their own money on such objects. Some Government roads are splendidly made and maintained. Such are the roads connecting the principal military stations and important towns, and especially the Grand Trunk Road, from Calcutta to Peshawur, which is the foundation of our reputation for road-making. But little else is done to open out new communications, or to construct branch or district roads. The few such that exist are little better than the track I have just mentioned, and they are seldom repaired or renewed, except at those long intervals when the Governor-General or Lieutenant-Governor happen to visit the districts.

We were glad to mount our horses at the 6th milestone, and to ride rapidly over the remaining four miles of this sandy road. On reaching the Rajah's territory, at the 10th mile from F——pur, we found a small body of his cavalry drawn up on each side of the road. The officer in command saluted, and bid us welcome in his master's name, who had also sent a conveyance for our use,—and he pointed to a splendid landau with a pair of beautiful horses. I expressed our thanks in suitable terms, but said we would ride the sooner to reach our friend. We therefore cantered on, leaving the landau to follow. The officer sent two of his men a quarter of a mile ahead of us, and he with the remainder rode a short distance behind : in India attendants never keep near their principals, (except where real danger needs it) in order to spare them annoyance from the dust which the least movement raises in those arid and parched plains.

On reaching our buggy and horse, we dismounted ; and entering the buggy, drove on rapidly, escorted as before. At the third mile from the capital, we found awaiting us, under a large tree, an Elephant, with a rich *Howdah* or seat on its back, and a larger escort of cavalry. We, however, preferred going on, in the buggy, for the sun was by this time getting uncomfortably hot. On our declining, with many thanks, the use of the Elephant, the magnificent pachyderm was led homeward at leisure, with our first escort, while the second followed us, at our more rapid pace. We reached the capital at about 10 ; and were conducted to a walled garden of some extent, with a comfortable and well-furnished house in the centre,—the usual guest-house for the Rajah's European visitors. Here the officer of the Escort again bid us welcome, and then took his leave, to report our safe arrival to his master. Meanwhile we sat down to the breakfast, prepared for us by the servants we had despatched before us. While sure of our welcome, we could not be sure of the success of the Rajah's catering for us ; as ignorance of European manners and

requirements might have caused unmeant inconvenience. For myself, I could have done very well with the native fare; but my friend was more dependent on Western necessities. This was why we had provided for ourselves, though I had told our men to utilize the provisions and servants which I knew the Rajah would send and place at our disposal.

While we were yet at breakfast, an official from the Rajah arrived with some attendants, and after profound *salaams*, told us that "the Rajah had sent him to bid us a special welcome, and to express his hope that we found everything comfortable; for the house was ours, as also were the servants in it, and the provision he had made for us." We made the proper acknowledgments; and were left to finish our breakfast, and then to enjoy our cigars under the trees of the garden. Etiquette would not permit our calling at once on the Rajah; for there were preliminary ceremonies to be gone through. The delay was rather irksome, but there was no help for it.

Soon a small procession entered the garden gateway. We were now seated, facing this gateway, on the raised platform of solid masonry, upon which the house was built. A mace-bearer (*Chobdar*) led the van; two servants followed bearing trays, one of fruits and the other of sweetmeats; lastly came an elderly official, probably a chamberlain, surrounded by half a dozen armed attendants. After *salaams*, the official made a little speech on behalf of his master, bidding us welcome to F——cote, and expressing his hope that we were quite well, and now refreshed from the fatigue of our long journey: and the trays were placed on the table. With a suitable reply, I sent by this official, on his return, two Zulu assegais and a Zulu shield as a present to the Rajah:—it was just after the Zulu war. Half an hour passed. Then a high Court official, in a gold-embroidered dress, escorted by a squadron of cavalry, entered on horseback through the gate. On alighting, he came to us and saluted. I asked him to take a chair,

which, after repeatedly refusing and offering to sit on the carpet, he at last did. Then followed another speech of welcome; and next he told us that His Highness was ready to receive us. Though the distance was not 500 yards, yet etiquette would not permit our walking to the Palace. Hence he asked us whether we wished to proceed thither in a carriage, or on an Elephant. We chose the former. Thereupon a grand landau with 4 horses, which, accompanied by an Elephant, had waited outside the gate for our decision, was driven in. We took our seats with the official, and escorted by the cavalry, were driven to the Palace in state.

F——cote is a good specimen of a native town. It has about 8,000 inhabitants; is surrounded by a wall; is nearly circular in shape, and is built on the slope of a hill. The southern and highest part of the hill is occupied by the Rajah's Fort-palace. The battlemented walls can be seen from afar, on the level road by which we had come. It was a cloudy March day when we paid our visit. A few drops of rain had luckily both laid the dust and cleared and cooled the atmosphere. Dense masses of black thunder-clouds still hung in the southern sky, forming a splendid background to the bastions and battlements, the turrets and towers of the Rajah's Fort. Not that it was remarkable for strength, or could stand the shock of European war; yet the old fortress, which a dozen modern shells would change into a shapeless heap of ruins, made with the town that surrounds it, quite a pretty little picture, set off by that noble background of clouds, in the golden light of an Indian March morning.

At the city gate, the guards, doubled in our honour, drew up and presented arms as we passed. We went along the main thoroughfare, or High Street. It was neither very wide, nor very clean, according to our Western ideas. Still it was very good for a native town; and the present Rajah has done, and is still doing much for the sanitation and beauty of his little capital. Near the



palace, the street opened out into a sort of little square or piazza, immediately under the principal front of the palace, which has a balcony and a great windowed hall just above its main gate or *porte cochère*. In this square were drawn up the Rajah's Band, a squadron of cavalry, a half-battery of artillery, and a half battalion of Infantry. As we drove up, some orders were given in a loud voice; the Band played; and the troops all presented arms. The carriage took us past the troops, passed through the great covered gate and entered the inner courtyard of the Fort-palace; turned to the right, and proceeding some fifty feet further, drew up at the foot of the staircase leading to the principal apartments of the Palace. Here was drawn up a double file of the Rajah's body guard, fine, tall men, of middle age, evidently picked with care. At the staircase, we met the High Steward and the Minister or *Divân*; and preceded by them, and by two mace-bearers, we ascended to the Reception Room. The Rajah himself awaited us at the door. He shook us both warmly by the hand, and showed great pleasure at seeing us. He expressed also his regret that he could not speak English, as our mutual friend, the doctor, was not well conversant with the vernacular; but he trusted to my acting as interpreter. He then thanked me for my little present of the Zulu arms; and he showed great interest when I pointed out, on a map of the world hanging on a wall, the locality whence they had been brought. We were by this time seated on chairs, near the large window over the great gate: it looked on to the outer courtyard and the High Street, and commanded a splendid view both of the town and the surrounding country. Some complimentary remarks made by me on the splendid natural site of his Palace-Fort led to a conversation, in the course of which he ordered to be brought in and showed us, several plans for a new palace, sent in, at his request, by some well-known London architects. Among them were two in would-be Oriental style, while the others were of European types, including a bad copy,

diminished of course in size, of the Farnese in Rome. As he asked me my opinion on them, I gave it freely, saying that I should certainly prefer a palace there in the genuine Oriental style, from plans drawn up by native architects. I enlarged on the beauty and grandeur of several edifices in that style, which both he and I knew, and on the genius and originality of Oriental architects. He admitted that the London Oriental plans were very un-Oriental in look. Still I could see that the prestige of their having come from London inclined him to value them, that he preferred those of the Western type, and that the mock Farnese was a special favourite.

The Rajah had ere this sent for his son and little daughter, the etiquette of Oriental seclusion not allowing us to be presented to the two ladies of his household. The children, loaded with gold and precious stones, were very interesting. They were quiet, self-possessed, and well-behaved; and though quite simple and childlike in their manner, they seemed perfectly conscious of their birth and position. They talked simply and unaffectedly with us, and answered very readily the questions I put to them regarding both their studies and recreations. We conversed on various subjects till it approached noon, the hour for the Rajah's midday meal, which the laws of Hindu caste would prevent his asking us to share. We then rose to leave. Having arranged that his gamekeepers should take us out deer-stalking in the afternoon, and that the next day we would all go after antelopes with his Hunting Leopards, we took a ceremonious leave of the Rajah, who came with us to the foot of the stairs. We returned to our garden-house, with the escort of Cavalry; and there had our lunch from a varied and plentiful supply of both eatables and drinkables sent for us by our kind host,—a supply sufficient for a dozen.

The afternoon shooting, where game was plentiful, is too common an affair to need detail here. We came back early, to be in time for the return visit which etiquette

required the Rajah to pay us, as a proof of the sincerity of our welcome.

We had just taken our evening bath, when the Rajah's herald came, attended, to announce formally that His Highness purposed paying us a visit: he then left us. Shortly after, came a small procession,—a mace-bearer, two servants carrying a tray each, the Treasurer, several attendants, and a few soldiers or guards. On each tray was a choice shawl, a piece of silk, and a turban of fine muslin. The Treasurer placed a tray before each of us; and still standing, he told us, in a set speech, that "these were but slight tokens of His Highness' great esteem for his guests, whose virtues, etc., and whose wisdom, etc., etc., etc." When I had replied, he saluted and retired, saying that His Highness was already on his way to thank us personally for the honour of our visit.

A quarter of an hour afterwards, eight camelmén on richly caparisoned dromedaries came in, two and two, through our gateway and formed two lines, facing inwards. There followed a score of cavalry men, who disposed themselves in similar order. Next came some officials in an open carriage. Behind another score of cavalry, came a landau drawn by 6 horses with outriders. In it were the Rajah, his son, and his son's tutor. A squadron of cavalry closed the rear.

We advanced to the edge of the platform to meet the Rajah. He shook hands with us both. Then he placed himself between us, and so we entered the house together, followed by his son and the tutor, the state officials from the first carriage, and a few of his attendants. These last, at a sign from the Rajah, ungirded and left their swords at the door of the room; the Rajah and his officials had come quite unarmed. This was an oriental mark of great honour, as showing complete trust and friendship and the absence of all suspicion of evil. The Rajah, his son and the tutor, like ourselves, sat on chairs; the court officials sat on the carpet, and the attendants stood behind the

Rajah. After we had thanked him for the kindness of his visit and for his valuable presents, the conversation soon drifted into the arrangements for the Leopard hunt next day, and other matters, not requiring special notice here.

I was particularly struck with the marked respect paid by all to the tutor, who alone of the Rajah's suite was allowed to sit on a chair. He was an elderly Brahmin, who to doubtless great general erudition added a little knowledge of English. He was slender and ascetic-looking, yet with a mild and pleasant countenance, a bright smile and gentle manners, spoke but little, and was an attentive listener. His little pupil showed him great respect and seemed fond of him. Altogether, I considered this young gentleman in remarkably good hands. His moral, social, religious, and intellectual cultivation seemed well attended to; and there was every probability of his growing up to be a good Chief, if not ruined by the enervating influence of his female relatives. Alas for that *if*! Many a good and promising boy-chief is ruined by that baneful influence:—for baneful it certainly is in some Indian households. But why should we find fault? or what have we better to offer? Are not children elsewhere also spoilt by over-petting? and in India how many Chiefs, placed in childhood under European tutors and superintendents, have turned out even worse than if brought up in Oriental style? The frying-pan or the fire seems to be their lot. Of the two systems, I, for one, prefer their own mode of education, which leaves them at least *some* religious ideas, as possible germs of future good, instead of the almost absolute blank which is all that we generally succeed in producing, in such cases.

But let us return to our visitors. When, after half an hour's conversation, the Rajah took his departure, we accompanied him to his carriage. He went home, and we, after dinner, sought our repose also. The next morning we spent with him at an antelope hunt with Leopards.

In the afternoon we sent a message to inform him of our intention to leave that evening, and to ask when we could call for the parting visit. At about 5 p.m. we were conducted to his presence, as before, and with the same ceremonies; and had another long conversation with him, on general topics. At our departure, he was kind enough to accompany us to our carriage; and in bidding us good-bye, expressed the hope of soon receiving a longer visit from us. His carriage and a squadron of cavalry took us out of the town, and to the sixth milestone, where we entered our own conveyance; and another escort saw us to the boundary of the Rajah's territory.

His Highness is a strict Hindu, and orders his life according to the Hindu laws. He has but two wives,—a small number for a man in his position; nor did he take the second till he had lost all hope of having an heir by his first. Each of them has a separate suite of rooms and a separate establishment in the palace. The Rajah is an early riser—and half an hour before the sun is up, he is engaged in the ceremonial ablutions and devotions prescribed by Hindu custom and law. When these are finished, he begins, after a slight repast, his day's work. His *Diwân*, General, Treasurer and other officials are soon in attendance, with whom he transacts business in their respective departments, attends to reports received through the post, and passes his orders on all matters submitted to him. His territory is not large, and his system excludes mere routine work; hence, as the people are generally quiet, orderly and law-abiding, the amount of work is never very great. Whatever matters, however, do turn up are quietly and fully discussed by him with his officials, who form a kind of consultive Council of State. This leads well up to midday, when after the customary ablutions, His Highness has his dinner. Men and women do not, among the Hindus, eat together; hence the Rajah's children only share his meal from which all animal food and all stimulants are excluded. Vegetables, spices, butter and milk are the

sole ingredients of their food ; but genius, skill, and long practice have combined to produce out of even these inadequate materials a great variety of pleasing and wholesome dishes. After dinner he washes his hands ; and adjourning to the balcony above the great arched gateway, he proceeds to indulge in the common but much loved Eastern luxury of the *Hooka*. Reclining on a soft carpet, supported by bolsters, attended by his children, his secretary, and a few officials, he not only enjoys the comfort of "blowing a cloud" to aid the pleasant process of digestion, but he sits, as it were, in state, like the ancient "judges at the gates," to give public audience to all who may wish to recur to him—the ultimate judge of all appeals. This is the real Oriental Durbar,—the opportunity of the poor, the oppressed, the neglected. There is occasionally heard a loud cry of *Rajah sahib ki dohai*—I appeal to the Lord Rajah ; and some miserable wretch rushes into the square on which the balcony looks, and prostrates himself before his sovereign. Never is such an appeal made in vain. An attendant from above calls on the petitioner to rise and state his grievance, which he does, of course, with needless prolixity. A secretary, however, at the Rajah's side carefully takes down the man's name, residence, and occupation, the person complained against, and the leading points of the complaint. A coin is generally thrown to the poor man by the Rajah's children, and he departs with the certainty that his case will be thoroughly investigated. So it is. Punishment is unsparingly dealt out to the appellant if his complaint was false or frivolous, and to the offending officials if it proved to be correct, or to the grinding usurer if he is found to be robbing the poor man. The knowledge of the existence of this safety-valve effectually discourages injustice, oppression, and corruption, to a far greater degree than we, in our Western superciliousness, give Oriental administrations credit for. I can vouch for the fact, that there are less faults to find with the administration of His Highness the Rajah of F——cote than with that of some

States whose chiefs glitter with the Star of India, or even of some parts under our own direct rule.

After a while, when the complaints if any, and the tobacco in the *Hooka* are equally exhausted, His Highness retires to the inner apartments ; takes his afternoon *siesta* of a couple of hours ; and attends to his domestic affairs.

Some time before sunset, according to the season, he goes out for a ride or a drive. Not unfrequently he is then stopped on the road to receive a petition or to hear a complaint ; and he never refuses. On his return home, he again transacts business, should any have arisen ; or he reads ; or he converses with his courtiers ; or he spends the time with his family. A little after sunset he washes again and eats his frugal evening meal ; and then goes to bed at what Europeans would call the impossible hour of 8—9 p.m.

This daily routine is, of course, not unvarying. He is a great sportsman, and devotes his not too many holidays to hunting and shooting. He makes regular tours through all parts of his territory, pays periodical visits of courtesy to the civil and military officers of the neighbouring F——pur, has official conferences with the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner of the district, meets occasionally the Lieutenant Governor or even the Governor General during their progresses, and attends formal Durbars. But I have always found him the same simple, upright, dignified, kind-hearted, well-bred gentleman, whether at a private visit or a state ceremonial. His troops though not numerous are well equipped and trained, and he takes much pleasure in drilling them. The taxes on his people are light ; but as his own personal expenses are small, from the simplicity of his life, his treasury is said to be very full. His administration is just, mild and progressive ; his territory flourishing and prosperous ; his people contented and happy ; his officials well chosen, well paid and well supervised, and consequently trustworthy. If all Indian Rajahs were like my friend of F——cote, happy indeed would be the lot of the subjects of native States. Unfortunately,

however, such men are not much noticed by Indian officials; for they merely do their duty quietly and unostentatiously, not blowing trumpets before them, and having no Resident to chronicle their doings for the information of Government and the world at large. Hence such men, few though they are, are unknown to fame; and the periodical showers of Stars which brighten the political firmament of India, never by chance shoot in the direction of such really meritorious men. An Indian Rajah, educated in the Indian style, is supposed by the general public to be a man, proud, haughty and contemptuous in his manner; given to sensuality, gluttony and silly extravagances; inordinately fond of show, grandeur and jewelry; environed, blindfolded and controlled by designing flatterers and cunning favourites; ignorant of the duties attached to his exalted position; unmindful of his people; and utterly indifferent to their welfare, so long as he is kept well supplied with money. Yet I have seen all these defects in some Rajahs who had been educated under European superintendence and European methods; and I have found them conspicuous by their utter and complete absence in other Rajahs, whose education and training had been entirely and thoroughly Indian, who never departed from their ancestral religion, rites, observances and laws, or gave the slightest countenance to the adoption of European manners, customs and dress, and who governed firmly and wisely for the real welfare of their people.

One nearly such as I have tried to sketch was the late Maharajah of Ulwar, who died on the 22nd May last, after a long and prosperous reign. He, however, had been partly educated under European supervision in the Mayo College of Ajmere, and in some points had adopted foreign ways. But my friend the Rajah of F——cote——long may he reign!—is one entirely of the thoroughly native type. Alas! that the type should be fast dying out!

J. P. VAL D'EREMAO, D.D.



## ORIENTAL CONGRESS NEWS, CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.

### GENERAL A. KIRÉEFF'S "CREDO" ON ENGLISH AND RUSSIAN RELATIONS IN CENTRAL ASIA.

IN the actual position occupied by England and Russia in the Central Asian question, it is a matter of no little importance to know, at first hand, what are the real sentiments of influential Russians on the relations that should exist between the two countries. The following correspondence gives the views of one such personage. It enables us to consider the question from the Russian point of view, to see in what they think themselves to be strong, and to know in what they believe that our weakness in India consists. To Englishmen taking an intelligent interest in the important matters of Central Asian politics which our statesmen seem only too apt to allow to drift as either chance or Russian political sagacity directs, instead of guiding into a safe course for the welfare of India and the whole British Empire, the views here laid down cannot fail to be a matter of deep study. *Fas est ab hoste doceri*.—ED.

*The Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."*

DEAR SIR,—I called yesterday on General Kiréeff\* at the Palace, and in the course of our conversation he expressed the opinion that the Buffer system was breaking down and could not last. As his remarks help to explain the accompanying letter which I had already had the honour of receiving from the General, I will endeavour to give what I remember of the conversation between us.

"The best way," continued the General, "to do away with the present difficulty would be for England and Russia to annex the wild tribes located between the two countries. Had these tribes arisen to the consciousness of being properly organized kingdoms or states, he would not advise this step; but as they were mostly nomadic or wild predatory people, without properly defined frontiers, they could not be relied upon. Being a Panslavist, he naturally believed in Ethnographical frontiers; and therefore did not believe in the forcible annexation of territory in order to bring about the union of races. For the same reason, he did not think it was the right policy for Russia to have annexed any territory after the Turkish war; for that war was fundamentally a religious war, *i.e.*, a Crusade. Crusades in Europe are no longer possible; but in Russia, which is Orthodox—not one Crusade, but, if need be, 20 are possible. In Europe individuals perhaps are more capable of making great sacrifices for an idea than they are in Russia; but the sacrifice of a whole nation for an idea is

\* General Lient. Kiréeff, the brother of Madame Olga de Novikoff, not only holds a very high position at Court, as Aide-de-Camp to the Grand Duchess Alexandra Josephna, widow of the Grand Duke Constantine, but is also well known here (St. Petersburg) as a writer and an important Pan-Slavist.

no more a possibility. With Russia it is, simply because she does not belong to the 19th century, but to the 11th. Hence a war for an idea, *i.e.*, a Crusade is possible in Russia. No person who has not lived in Russia can feel how strong the religious sentiment still is in the Russian people, and how it shocks the feelings of all true orthodox Russians to hear that Prince Ferdinand is introducing Jesuits into Bulgaria. The Jesuits are regarded in Russia now as they were in England during the time of Queen Elizabeth. That Prince Ferdinand had passed the night in an Orthodox nunnery was another shock to all of the Orthodox faith. Successive incidents of this nature were having a very ill-effect on the minds of the people and might hereafter lead to mischief."

The General then proceeded to observe that he firmly believed in the idea of the union of races, and had no objection to all the Latin and Anglo-Saxon races also uniting. In fact, he thought this would sooner or later be effected by circumstances. As for the Germanic races, they also had the same right to unite; but he did not think that the Prussians had set a good example by attempting to effect this by force. He thought they had by their action in this direction given other nations a precedent for acting in the same manner.

I then expressed an opinion that the Slavonic States of the Balkans would in all probability put themselves under the wing of Russia, when they could enjoy the same liberty and freedom they now possess under their own rulers; but at present it was quite natural they should prefer remaining as they are. The General, who apparently did not agree with this pointed remark, replied: "As for freedom in Europe, I do not think much of it, and am of opinion it will not be of long duration; for what with your Anarchists and Socialists it looks as if there would soon be a final crash all round." In support of this view, he stated that in 1866, when he was in Saxon Altenburg and other places in Germany, there were no Anarchists, whereas now in some places they number 35 per cent. of the voting population. They were, in fact, growing stronger every day, and would sooner or later, with the Socialists, upset the existing institutions in Europe. General Kiréeff then spoke of the conservatism of the Russian peasantry; and said that if such a thing as a general vote of the whole Russian people were possible, the peasantry who are conservative, democratic and attached to the Czar, would without doubt vote for his Government. It was the Aristocracy in Russia that are liberal and progressive; but they are so few in number that their opinion counts for nought. It is this fact that so puzzles all strangers coming to Russia.

The General also criticized our Parliamentary form of Government which he thought had seen its best days, and was commencing to show many signs of decay. He thought the Parliamentary form of Government with its narrow, selfish, party-spirit was not much to be proud of, in which opinion I thoroughly concurred. In fact, I too held that we had outgrown our present institutions and ought to have an Imperial Senate, representing Great Britain and her Colonies.

I am, etc.,

WM. BARNES-STEVENI.

The following is the letter alluded to :

Pavlosh Castle,

Saturday, 14th May, 1892.

DEAR SIR,—Though I am much pressed for time, I am glad to send through you a few statements which if the Editor finds worthy of the honour he may print: they are "my Credo" about our (England's and Russia's) relations in Central India. I believe my views are shared by many of my countrymen; but I must state that I am writing only in my own name, and under my personal responsibility. Now we do not want to quarrel with you about India, we do not grudge you your Indian possessions, and we do not want to conquer India.

Russia in its actual limits can easily feed three times its actual number of inhabitants, even without improving our antiquated system of husbandry.

As we have no right whatever nor is there any possibility of our stopping *your* advance towards the North (and N.W.), so neither have you any right or any possibility of stopping *our* advance towards the South (and S.E.).

I think the idea of a Russian invasion or help can only enter the brains of the Hindus, from your own nervousness about our paying you a visit at Calcutta. It mostly depends on your relations to your Hindu subjects. Can you rely upon them? I suppose (in 25 years more) we will be able to rely upon our Central Asian possessions: will you be able to rely (25 years hence) on your Hindus? May I be frank? We do not forget that a Tartar, a Sart . . . , are men, equal with us *before God*. Therein is the root of our strength. Do you share this idea regarding your Hindu subjects? Are you not a bit too proud about your being Shakespeare's Countrymen?—of course a great glory!

I consider the buffer system is nonsense. Diplomacy will never succeed in creating a solid buffer between Russia and England, in Asia. The idea is not only false in itself, but also *mischievous*. The more the barbarous buffer-tribes between the two frontiers are convinced of the possibility of material aid from England through British India, the sooner will they try to invade our frontiers, stop our caravans, etc.; and the sooner too will they be beaten and the nearer will we approach your frontier. *Don't push us in that direction*. The right of both countries (England and Russia)—if there is any such right???—to invade and seize territories belonging to barbarians, and to restore "order," are equal. I do not know whether the necessity is equal: I do not think there is any necessity for England to go beyond the Hindu Kush.

I think the best way of coming to an understanding would be to join our frontiers on some onographical limit: I think Ethnographical considerations are of no importance in Central Asia.

But the most important point, as I had the honour of telling you before, is this: If we meddle with your Indian affairs, if we attack India, it *most probably will be as a retaliation for your meddling with our Slavonian affairs, for supporting Stamboulof, Coburg and THEIR SUPPORTERS.\** We have not the remotest intention of seizing any Slavonian province, belonging *now* or *formerly* to Turkey; but if "the Whale" lets us feel its tail in Sophia or

\* [The under-scoring is given as in the original letter.—ED.]

Constantinople, the Elephant will be strongly tempted to let you feel its tusks in Calcutta or Delhi. Excuse, my dear Sir, my hurried letter, and believe me, etc.,

A. KIRÉEFF.

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS  
ON THE ADMISSION OF ORIENTAL STUDIES  
IN THE HONOURS IN ARTS COURSE  
BY THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES COMMISSION.

Our issue of October, 1891, gave the text of the Letter in which Dr. Leitner, the Secretary of the 9th International Oriental Congress of Orientalists, gave effect to a resolution of the Congress regarding the admission of Oriental languages (Semitic and Aryan) in the Honours in Arts Course in Scottish Universities. Professor Adams who took so active a part in this matter wrote on the 12th May 1892 :

'MY DEAR SIR,—I followed up the letter sent to the Commissioners in the name of the Congress by a letter, of which I enclose a copy; and I am glad to say that in the final Ordinance the Commissioners gave full effect to our representatives, and added the two groups of 'Semitic Languages,' and 'Indian Languages,' to the groups of subjects in which the Degree of M.A. can be taken with Honours. I am, etc., D. L. ADAMS.'

The following was Professor ADAMS' communication, countersigned by SIR W. MUIR, K.C.S.I., Principal of the University.

"To the Commissioners under the Universities (Scotland) Act, 1889.

"University of Edinburgh, 23rd Oct. 1891.

"MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,—I beg most respectfully to direct your attention to what I consider a serious omission in the Draft Ordinance General No. 6—Regulations for Degrees in Arts, etc. While in Section IX. of this Ordinance Semitic Languages are rightly included among the optional subjects for the Ordinary Degree, they do not appear in Section XII. among the groups of subjects in which the degree may be taken with Honours. I humbly submit that this exclusion of Semitic Languages from the Honours Groups, if carried into effect, must necessarily have a very prejudicial influence on the study of these languages in our Universities. This is obvious from the consideration that all the best students will aim at taking the degree with Honours, and will therefore, as a matter of course, concentrate their attention mainly on those subjects in which Honours are given. It will, I think, be generally admitted that the study of Semitic Languages—though hitherto much neglected in this country—is one of great and of continually growing interest and importance. Nor is this to be wondered at when we consider the prominent part played in the world's history by the Semitic races from the dawn of civilization till the present time; their venerable, varied, and extensive literature; the high moral and spiritual truths which their language was the first used as a vehicle to convey; and the influence which these truths have had on the thinking, acting, progress, and well-being of mankind. It will, I think, hardly be

disputed that Semitic studies, as an important branch of general culture, should be fostered at our seats of learning, as they are at foreign Universities. Indeed, it may with great force be urged that Oriental languages have a strong claim for special recognition and encouragement in a *British* University, on account of our intimate relations with the East, and the millions of Orientals who are among our fellow-subjects. Now, to omit Semitic Languages from the Honours Groups is manifestly, to put them on a lower level than the subjects included in these groups—is thus, in fact, practically to discourage their study. It is also, I venture to submit, very unfair to those students who may prosecute Semitic studies in spite of all discouragement, inasmuch as such men will receive no Academic stamp or recognition in respect of their proficiency in them. I may mention that this has been found to be a hardship under our existing system. I have had several excellent students of Semitic Languages—my present Assistant is an instance in point—who have left the University *without taking a Degree at all*, because they had not the aptitude or inclination—or, perhaps, could not afford the requisite time or money—for the study of the subjects for which alone our Degrees have hitherto been given. I may be allowed to remind you that in the Draft Ordinance submitted by the Court of this University, and approved of by the Senatus and the General Council, Semitic Languages were included among the subjects both for the Ordinary Degree and also for the Degree with Honours. The Senatus also approved generally of a Special Scheme for Honours in Semitic Languages (No. IX., page 8 of the accompanying print), and ordered its transmission to the Universities Commission. I may also be permitted to observe that there is a Professor of Semitic Languages in each of the Scottish Universities; and to mention that in this University I have now for the past eight years had classes—not only for Hebrew—but also for the two other principal Semitic dialects, Aramaic (or Syriac) and Arabic. The attendance at these additional classes, which were voluntarily opened by me, has hitherto been very satisfactory—and still more satisfactory have been the diligence and progress of the students,—looking at the little encouragement given to such studies either within or without the University. The Degree of M.A. with Honours in Semitic Languages would be the natural Academic recognition of such a course of successful study. It would also form the natural avenue to the higher Degree or Doctorate in Semitic Philology already established in this University. As matters at present stand, candidates for this latter Degree must have taken the Degree of M.A., while at the same time no amount of Semitic knowledge—however extensive—aids in the slightest a student to become M.A. I venture to hope, therefore, that you will kindly reconsider Section XII. of Draft Ordinance No. 6, and so amend it that Semitic Languages may be included, not only among the optional subjects for the Ordinary Degree, but also among those in which the Degree in Arts may be taken with Honours. I may add that this is the case in other British Universities, such as Cambridge (where there is a Semitic Languages Tripos), London, and the Royal University of Ireland.—I have, etc.,

D. L. ADAMS, Professor of Oriental Languages.

I concur in the views advocated in this letter.—W. MUIR, Principal.

Since then, the Secretary to the Commission writes officially :

"Scottish Universities Commission,

"18 Duke Street, Edinburgh,

"10 June, 1892.

"SIR,—In reply to your letter of the 5th inst. I beg to direct your attention to the accompanying Ordinance of my Commissioners. You will see that by Section XI., provision is made for graduation with Honours not only in Semitic but also in Indian Languages. I trust the International Congress of Orientalists will consider these provisions sufficient to encourage 'the study of Philology in general and of these languages in particular.' I am, etc., ROB. FITZROY BELL, Secretary.

"G. W. Leitner, Esq.,

"Secy. Genl. of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists."

#### EXTRACT FROM ORDINANCE NO. 11.

#### UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND) ACT, 1889.

52 AND 53 VICT. c. 55.

[General, No. 6.—*Regulations for Degrees in Arts.*]

#### DEGREE WITH HONOURS.

XI. (1) The Degree of Master of Arts may be taken with Honours in any of the following groups, in which Honours Classes shall have been established in at least two subjects :—

(a) Classics (*i.e.* Latin and Greek, with optional subjects, such as Comparative Philology, Ancient Philosophy, and Classical Archaeology).—(b) Mental Philosophy.—(c) Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.—(d) Semitic Languages.—(e) Indian Languages.—(f) English (Language, Literature, and British History).—(g) Modern Languages and Literature.—(h) History.

(2) Every Candidate shall take up at least four subjects. Two of these subjects, under separate Professors or Lecturers, must be selected from the Candidates' Honours Group; and the four subjects shall include one from each of the Departments of Language and Literature, Mental Philosophy and Science, set forth in Sect. ix. of this Ordinance.\*

(3) Every Candidate shall attend 7 classes, taking 2 classes (one of which shall be an Honours Class) in each of his Honours subjects.

\* Section ix. The Departments of Study for graduation in Arts in each University shall, if adequate instruction is provided, include the following subjects, with such additions or modifications in any University as may hereafter be made by Ordinance of the University Court :

1. *Language and Literature.*—Latin, Greek, English, French, German, Italian, Sanskrit, Hebrew, Arabic or Syriac, Celtic.

2. *Mental Philosophy.*—Logic and Metaphysics, Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, Education (Theory, History, and Art of), Philosophy of Law.

3. *Science.*—Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Geology.

4. *History and Law.*—History, Archaeology and Art (History of), Constitutional Law and History, Roman Law, Public Law.

(4) A Candidate who has obtained Honours in any one Group, may, before graduating, present himself again for Examination in a second Honours Group. In such a case, he shall not be required to attend to more than two additional Classes, which shall be Honours Classes, in the Second Group.

(5) The Examination in subjects comprised in the Candidate's Honours Group shall be of a higher standard than that required for the ordinary degree of Master of Arts. In his other subjects the standard shall be that required for the ordinary degree.

\* \* \* \*

XII. (1) Every Candidate shall include Latin or Greek, either in his Honours Group or as one of the subjects in which the standard of examination is that required for the ordinary degree of Master of Arts.

\* \* \* \*

XV. (1) In each Group there shall be 3 Grades of Honours, to be denominated respectively the First, Second, and Third Class. The names of the Candidates entitled to Honours in each class shall be arranged in alphabetical order.

(2) For the degree of Master of Arts with Honours a Diploma shall be given setting forth the subjects in which he has taken Honours.

\* \* \* \*

GENERAL.

XXI. In case of a Student whose native language is other than European, the Senators may, at the Preliminary Examination, accept such language as a substitute for a Modern European Language. The Senators may also in such a case accept as an alternative to Latin or Greek, any other classical language, such as Sanskrit or Arabic.

\* \* \* \*

XXII. The Examination in all the Languages in the Curriculum shall, as far as possible, be on the same standard in Examinations for the same degree, and shall in all cases test the Candidate's knowledge of the history and literature of the several countries.

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[The cause of Oriental Studies cannot but benefit highly by the admission of these languages into the Honours in Arts Course—one of the many practical results successfully projected and achieved by the IXth International Congress of Orientalists held in London last September.—ED.]

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THE BATAK MICROBE MANUSCRIPT.

DEAR SIR,—The discussion in your Review on the Batak text, brought by Mr. Claine from Sumatra, is of great importance altogether apart from its medical or physiological interest. I am quite content to take Dr. Grashuis's explanation, *viz.*, that what he dignifies with the name of the *Codex Sibrajanus* consists of directions for Batak priests and physicians concerning their work. Here one may note the very singularly complete correspondence between the figures in the upper left-hand corner of the plate annexed to the paper of Pandit Janardhan of Lahore with those

which Dr. Grashuis says, are carved on the inner side of the leaden bracelet called *Sibaganding*, worn as a ring on the left arm of the Batak priest. These figures—one pair from Lahore, and the other from the interior of Sumatra—are to all intents and purposes identical. Why may not one pair be an actual representation of living germs, and the other a kind of talisman or charm? The difference is in the people, thousands of miles apart, from whom they come to us. No doubt other erudite pundits could explain the intermediate source whence both proceed; for that both have a common source, no one comparing the two sets will for a moment deny. As to the germ-theory of disease, I remember seeing somewhere a derisive statement that Robespierre, who was, I think, professionally a surgeon, believed in it. This is no more incredible than that Michael Servetus knew the fact of the circulation of the blood. But Robespierre's ideas of organic germs were probably as remote from anything in real existence as these drawings are.

The interest really lies in the script itself. I, for one, should like particularly to see the whole as it stands in the Codex. Marsden ("History of Sumatra," 1784) treats of the Batta script, as he calls it, after the Malay form; the Javanese add a *k*. The remarks are at pp. 162 sqq., and he has a short comparative vocabulary of some of the Sumatra languages, including this one, of which the alphabet is also given. Dr. John Leyden ("Essay on the History of the Indo-Chinese Languages," in *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x.) points out that Marsden's alphabet is defective, being written horizontally in his descriptive sheets, whilst the Battas write vertically, and read their scripts, contrary to the Chinese and Japanese, from bottom to top. Crawford ("History of the Indian Archipelago," 3 vols., 1820) gives an alphabet of the Batak language, differing from Marsden's principally in having straight lines for curves. But neither alphabet suffices to elucidate Mr. Claine's Codex, to which he ascribes an antiquity of two centuries. This antiquity might account for some, but not all of its obscurities. We can account almost completely, with the aid of Marsden's and Crawford's alphabets (and I know of no others published), for the consonantal values which Dr. Grashuis gives. But it is otherwise with the vowels. Like many other Asiatic scripts, and like the Ethiopic, now become entirely African, the Batta has a syllabary rather than an alphabet. That is to say, each consonantal form contains within itself a vowel sound, which may be either emphasised by a special character, or altered by the introduction of a special vowel character, or removed by the use of a sign for its suppression. These at least are the characteristics of the Javanese, to which some of the words in Dr. Grashuis's transliterations bear a certain analogy; and all or most of these forms are wanting in the alphabets above-mentioned, to the vowel forms, of which, however, there is nothing analogous in the portion of Mr. Claine's Codex which you have published. To analyse this text, we must take the only portion which Dr. Grashuis admits as intelligible; viz., that standing in the right-hand upper corner of your plate; and, taking each character as it comes, from the bottom upwards, starting from the flourish in the left at the bottom. The first, a simple upright stroke, represents *pa*; and the next character is a cross (St.



Andrew's in form), which represents throughout the vowel *o*. Then follows the character for *da*, completing Dr. Grashuis's first word *Poda*—which he translates "Instruction." There is no separation between the words; but there is occasionally something like a dash or hyphen seen, which generally, but not always, occurs at the end of a word, and has the effect of removing the vowel sound of the previous consonant. Thus, *e.g.*, in the words at the end of the first line or column *pogar* and *pan*, these marks (which are little more than dots) take away the vowels inherent in the respective final letters *ra* and *na*. But there are other forms analogous to those described very carefully in Marsden's presentation of the Rejang script, which jointly with the Batta is pre-eminent amongst the native tongues of Sumatra. There are other somewhat puzzling peculiarities in this text, as, *e.g.*, where the privative dot or dash occurs immediately after the St. Andrew's cross or the vowel *o*. Here Dr. Grashuis's transliteration simply throws back that vowel behind the consonant which precedes it, upon which the privative dot then takes effect; as in the second syllable of the word *dohot* occurring three times in the text. The first syllable takes effect in a natural way, the cross representing *o* following the syllabic character *da*. But in the second syllable the *ta* follows immediately the *ho*, whilst after *ta* comes the cross and afterwards the privative dot.

The Dutch are much further advanced than we in the study of the languages of the Indian archipelago, as is only natural from their closer connexion with the locality. Their colonial regime differs in spirit from the British; and they go far beyond our dealings with our colonies. Their colonial administration actually concerns itself with the popular speech. Books are printed (most elegantly and correctly in point of typography) for use in schools, and intended to guide the common languages into forms harmonizing with European modes of thought, and to exclude the corruptions arising from the continual intrusion of foreign elements, *e.g.*, the Chinese.

Long ago these languages were of great interest to the English administration, and the untiring energy and intelligence of Sir Stamford Raffles collected valuable materials for their study. But the Congress of Vienna deprived the British of all interest in the island of Java, and our subsequent understanding with the Dutch has prevented our acquiring settlements south of the latitude of Singapore: we have almost no local interests in the archipelago. The recent settlement of North Borneo, however, and the increasing intercourse with the peninsula of Malacca, forced upon us by circumstances, have lately revived interest in these languages. Your publication of Mr. Claine's text carries the matter still farther afield; and I hope this is not the last specimen of this kind of literature which we may expect at your hands.

I am, dear sir, etc.,

Newcastle-on-Tyne, 31 May, 1892.

WILLIAM SHAND.

## EPITAPH AND ENIGMA: THE IDEA OF RE-BIRTH.

## A MEDITATION AMONG THE TOMBS.

IN the new lower ground of Highgate Cemetery is a wide grassy space, inclining southward, open to the afternoon sunshine; but on the western side, when evening draws nigh, the mild radiance of sunset is diffused through the summer foliage of an avenue of trees, bordering Swain's Lane, adjacent to Holly Lodge Park. I have loitered on this pleasant ground for hours; its verdure was, until the last year or two, almost that of an unbroken meadow; but now the ranks of mustering tombstones, month after month, in added numbers, descending the fair hill-slope and taking their stand at head or foot of recent graves, threaten to merge the green oasis in the spreading stony Necropolis, which already holds the mortal remains of a hundred thousand human lives. Yet to my own thoughts, pensive and still cheerful, amidst such common tokens of the brief tenure of personal existence on earth, considerations ever arise in a burial-ground, which are sweeter and more soothing than to view the most agreeable scenes of semi-rural or suburban retirement, near my London home. A strange taste, a gloomy, morbid, unnatural taste! some friends of mine will say; but it is not so, with my faith and hope in the spiritual faculty and destiny of Man. How desirable it would be to discourse of this high theme without any express reference to one's personal sentiments or convictions, presenting simply abstract ideas and arguments, or appealing to proofs derived from the universal expectancy, if not, as some philosophers say, from the innate consciousness of mankind! I dread the egotistic disposition, in my own temper as in that of others, which is apt to insist on views which appear to *me* nearest truth, mainly because they are *mine*; as I dread submission to the authority of any Church, of any Scripture, of any philosophical school, in matters regarding the soul.

Yet men have to converse with each other; they must, in talking or in writing, sometimes exchange thoughts upon these questions: is there a soul or spirit in the human being? is it the mere product of the bodily animal organisation? can it possibly survive the body, which is its temporary, perishing habitation? can its faculties, under the most favourable conditions, attain their normal destination, their complete harmonious exercise, in a single visible lifetime? If we think they cannot, and that death is the end, what a failure in the noblest of creatures, supposing all to be the work of a Creator—what an unaccountable anomaly in the order of the Universe, supposing that we ascribe organic, animal, human life, with all the intellectual powers, the affections, the conscience, the aspirations of mankind, to mere physical forces and "laws"! In either case, be there God or no God, the human being has to be explained; and the question here is, whether the conscious individuality in every human being—that which *aspires*, and which is, therefore, called "*the spirit*"; that which controls and regulates, in a rational mind, the operations of the understanding; that which discerns a moral obligation, which can check passion, can rebuke sin, can imagine, adore, choose, resolve, and conform its will to an idea of Holiness; that which can pray to a Divinity and

seek, or long for, eternal union with Supreme Goodness—whether this religious faculty of man has room for its full exercise within the period of threescore years and ten, or, at most, of a hundred years? A further question may be raised, whether the entire development of such a faculty is possible, in any case, without the diverse experience of successive lives, retaining the same conscious individuality, under different outward temporary conditions? Well, there are some content to say, "We do not know"; meaning, "We do not care." The spiritual, the moral, the rational quest of an ideal perfection, not in ourselves, but in One who is conceived to dwell in Eternity, willing to make us partakers of holiness and blessedness, does not appear to them a practicable pursuit; men are to live, at best, only for the temporal comfort of one another, and, indeed, we ought to do so; but they tell us that we need no faith in any God, and that there is no life beyond the grave. Now, the testimony of the human heart, so far as I can learn, in all ages and in all nations, is generally against this conclusion. For me, who am no Oriental scholar, to be permitted, in the *Asiatic Review*, by the editor's kind favour, to ask its readers, men versed in the religions, philosophies, literature, and traditions of the venerable East from the earliest recorded antiquity, their judgment upon this question of fact, Do men want a religion? may not be censured as presumption. If this want be universal, does not its object exist? Let the answer come from Brahmanism or Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, Mohammedanism, or any other great prevailing creed, however variously modified by schools and sects; to me its purport will be of the same value, doubting not the sincerity of the authors and many teachers of those systems. Do not they testify of God and of the soul? I return to my quiet thinking-ground in Highgate Cemetery; for I have made a discovery there.

One tombstone, an upright slab of marble, of modest size, at the foot of a grassy mound, which may or may not have already received its silent tenant, bears neither a name nor a date, but the following enigmatic inscription, quaint verse, by an unknown author, perhaps composed for his own future epitaph; speaking of himself as he believed he would be after death, an identical spirit, a surviving individual consciousness, but inhabiting a new-born different personality, the result of a fresh bodily organisation:

I am, I was, one, not the same;  
Other, in person, feature, name;  
So, the undying spirit strives  
Through many mortal human lives;  
Then, trained by its forgotten Past,  
Finds God, and Heaven, on earth at last.

These lines have a twang of dogmatic assertion, which may seem unconciliatory as well as uncompromising; but let us be just to a fellow-man who may have parted from us in charity with all mankind, and may have designed hereby to bequeath a testimony of what he held to be salutary truth. Compared with many other sepulchral inscriptions in that ground, mostly contributed by members of the Established Church of England, or by orthodox Christian Dissenters, I suppose that to analyse the doctrine of this epitaph would be a task puzzling to theologians, who might be intent

on condemning its author for heresy, according to the ecclesiastical standards. This may to him, while living, have been a matter of no concern whatever ; but I am not aware that any positive and authoritative declaration has ever been issued, either by the Papal See or by Protestant creed-makers, precisely defining the mode or place of existence for the soul immediately after parting with the mortal body which it has animated. Fathers of the Catholic Church, it is said, have avowed their readiness to believe in metempsychosis ; Origen, and two or three Bishops of the fourth century, are quoted on its behalf ; and whether it be inconsistent with any express revelation in the New Testament is a point of controversy and free Christian opinion.

Leaving that inquiry to Churchmen and Biblicists, I venture to think, as a rational humanist, and further as one believing in the spiritual origin and destination of the soul, that there is nothing very reprehensible, and no manifest absurdity in the notions which seem to be implied in this epitaph ; nor is there anything offensive in its tone. Some epitaphs, I have observed, probably composed by surviving kindred or friends, say a good deal about the personal merits, virtues, and graces of the deceased, bearing witness to his actual fitness for the heavenly life. Others speak of the "merits" of Jesus Christ, as "imputed" to a large number of people, including the deceased, who are thereby, with no other qualification or progressive spiritual education, assured of instant admission to Heaven. The author of this inscription does neither profess to have any merits of his own in the sight of God, or to be presently fit for Heaven ; nor does he put himself forward as a witness to the merits of Jesus, perhaps being restrained from so doing by a feeling of reverence, consistent with love, trust, and humble discipleship, which he may have entertained as a Christian, for aught we know about him. That believers in other religious systems, in that of Buddha for example, may cherish similar affections towards one from whom, as they deem, they have received the gift of divine truth and the seed of holy and enduring spiritual life, I am equally convinced by their history. Now it is not my purpose to inquire whether the faith expressed in this particular epitaph, if it be reconciled with Christianity, cannot at the same time have some affinity, as well, with those other ancient wide-spread religions. I would rather submit the latter part of the inquiry to your men of special learning, the students of Indian ancient lore, for example ; and it happens, indeed, that a recent German publication, which Sanscrit and Pali scholars must be competent to examine, as I cannot do, has offered itself to notice. This is a treatise by Karl Heckel, entitled "*Die Idee der Wiedergeburt*," the first prize-essay for the institute, founded and endowed at Dresden by August Jenny, specially to promote the study of the doctrine, taking for a motto, as thoughtful, truth-loving Germans may well do, some of the last words of Lessing, who asks this : "But why cannot it be, even, that each individual of mankind may have already existed more than once in this our world ? Is this hypothesis to be deemed ridiculous because it is one of the oldest notions—because it occurred so early to the human intelligence, not yet distracted and enfeebled by scholastic sophistry ?" Lessing, indeed, calls it the most ancient theory ; Karl Heckel, I know not

how correctly, ascribes its earliest recorded expression to passages in the Upanishads, not older than 1,000 years B.C. The date of an opinion is no warranty for its reasonableness; on the other hand, the meditations of a Brahmin, thirty centuries ago, upon such a theme, deriving arguments and evidence from the abiding facts of mental and moral consciousness alone, may be worth just as much as those of a modern philosopher, granting that what we call science, which is cumulative and progressive knowledge, has nothing to say to questions of spiritual life.

The treatise which I have mentioned is not an argumentative discussion, but a short historical review, in seventy pages, of literary instances, from India, from Greece, from Patristic and Mediæval Christendom, and from various European thinkers, some reputed heretical by the Church, some rather pietistic, others frankly rationalist, inclining to one or another form of this doctrine. If an Orientalist scholar would criticise it with a view to the verification or correction of Karl Heckel's citations and interpretations, a few serious-minded readers would be much obliged. There is an English translation by Miss Arundale, accompanied by a separate essay of her own which appears to set forth the psychological opinions of the "Theosophic Society," but for which Karl Heckel and the Dresden Institute are not responsible. I feel desirous only, at present, to be informed, as a topic of literary history and the comparative history of religions, how far there is evidence of the persistence of this course of speculation. A distinction is obviously to be made between ideas of the "transmigration of souls," whether from the defunct human body to bodies of another animal species, or of a higher race; "metempsychosis," which is defined by Heckel as the transference of the entire mind, with its memory of past sensations and cerebral or nervous impressions and operations, to a new body; and "re-incarnation" or "re-birth," in which the spirit, the individual consciousness alone, with its essential faculty of Will, according to Schopenhauer, may be conceived to enter a newly-engendered human organism, beginning life afresh, as a babe, unincumbered with any remembrance of the past. It is manifest that the last-mentioned theory is the one which has found favour with the unknown author of the strange epitaph in Highgate Cemetery; but whoever he was, he could know no more about it than any of his fellow-creatures. I came away from his grave, the other day, quite content to admit that I do not know, but not that I do not care; for if something like this solution of the solemn problem were conceivable, in addition to my faith in the Infinite Wisdom and Love which cannot have designed us to live in vain—if I could but learn to regard humanity, with its capabilities of improvement, as the sole heritage of my spirit, and hope to share, with future generations, the profit of every good work, of every true word, of every just thought and kind feeling, of all now living in the vast and growing community of mankind here on earth—why then, I should be a happy man. I would ask the Christian, then, Is not this, possibly, what Christ meant by "the Kingdom of Heaven"? Forgive my little sermon, which I fear may be out of place in your pages; yet an "Asiatic Review" cannot ignore religion, for Asia has been the birthplace of every true and pure religious idea.

## THE NINTH AND TENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESSES OF ORIENTALISTS.

AMONG the results already obtained by the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, which was held in London in September last, is the formation into permanent Societies of some of the successful Sections during that most successful gathering. Thus, for instance, the Japanese Section has given the stimulus to, and become the nucleus of, the already flourishing "Japan Society" of London.

Similarly the Sections on the Semitic languages, especially Hebrew, will find their permanent exponents in a "Semitic Society," which seems likely to gain the support of the learned clergy and laity of various denominations.

The London and Edinburgh Chambers of Commerce have become aware of the importance of "Oriental Linguistics in Commerce," on which subject also the Spanish Congress of Africanists has promised a paper to the Statutory Tenth International Congress of Orientalists that will take place at Lisbon from the 23rd of September to the 1st of October next, and that will be followed by literary excursions to, and extraordinary meetings at, Seville, Cordova and Granada. The practical side of Oriental learning, which has been so emphasized at the last Congress, will receive special attention by the Italian Government that was then so worthily represented by its Ambassador in London, Count Torrielli-Brusati, and the Oriental Institute at Naples may adopt some of the features of the Oriental University Institute and Museum at Woking. That Institution has been constituted the custodian of Congress archives and of the dies and plates of the Statutory Diplomas and medals of future Congresses of the Series established in Paris in 1873, the seat of an Oriental Academy, of annual Oriental examinations, and of a periodical National Congress of Orientalists in this country in union with the International Congresses. It has also been entrusted with the task of publishing the numerous papers, memoirs and other literary works of the last Congress. The "*Asiatic Quarterly Review*," the authorized organ of the Statutory Congresses of Orientalists, has already published several of them and will publish others, so far as space and its other literary demands may permit. The "proceedings" have been issued separately, as also a number of pamphlets and Dr. H. W. Bellew's valuable work on "*The Ethnography of Afghanistan*." The "Summaries" of Sanscrit Research and on African languages have already been circulated. That on Arabic and Æthiopic, including the discovery of the Harukta and other dialects, by Professor René Basset is in course of publication, to be followed by Summaries of Research up to date in Hebrew and Aramaic, Assyriology, Egyptology including Coptic, Sinology, Palestinology, Indo-Chinese, Malayan, Turkish, Dravidian, Comparative Philology, Oriental Archæology and Indian Numismatics.

It will be remembered that the last Congress passed a Resolution, that the Scottish Universities Commission should be requested to include Oriental Languages (Aryan and Semitic) among the groups of subjects in which

the degree of Master of Arts might be taken with Honours. That Resolution was communicated by Dr. Leitner, the Secretary General of the Congress, in a letter dated the 16th October, 1891, addressed to the Secretary to the Commissioners. On enquiring lately what had been the result, the following letter was received, which shows that the Commissioners, in their final Ordinance have complied with the request of the Congress :—

"Scottish Universities Commission,  
18, Duke Street, Edinburgh,  
10th June, 1892.

"2531.  
"Ordinance No. 11—Regulations for Degrees in Arts.

"SIR—In reply to your letter of the 5th inst., I beg to direct your attention to the accompanying Ordinance of my Commissioners. You will see that by Sect. XI. provision is made for graduation with Honours not only in Semitic Languages but also in Indian Languages.

"I trust the International Congress of Orientalists will consider these provisions sufficient to encourage "the study of Philology in general and of these Languages in particular."—I am, etc., (Sd.) ROBT. FITZROY BELL,

"G. W. Leitner, Esq. Secretary.

Secy : Gen : of the IXth International  
Congress of Orientalists."

The Congress is to be congratulated on this important success of its Resolution, and the thanks of all interested in Oriental studies are due to the Commissioners for their liberal and far-reaching decision.

At the solicitation of the Spanish Government, acting in support of the initiative of the Real Academia de la Historia of Madrid, Seville was appointed at the final Meeting of the Congress of 1891 as the seat of the next, or the Statutory Tenth International, Congress of Orientalists and Señor Canovas del Castillo, as the President of a "Junta" or Committee to organize the same for Sept.-October 1892. Señor Canovas, however, was not only President of the Academy in question, but also President of the Council of Spanish Ministers. Owing to intrigues, into which it is unnecessary to enter in this place—and without the knowledge or consent of the body that had conferred powers on a Spanish Committee conditional on its preparing a Statutory Congress—the headquarters of the projected Tenth Congress were changed from Seville to Madrid, where there is nothing to interest the Orientalist and where the climate is, perhaps, the worst in Europe ; the Committee was exclusively composed of residents of Madrid, the provincial Spanish Universities and learned bodies not being represented on it ; and a programme was issued in French and Spanish full of contradictions and mistakes and confining the labours of the Congress to the five routine Sections of previous Congresses plus one on the Philippine Islands instead of continuing, as far as possible, the theoretical and practical developments of the London Congress of 1891 as adapted to Spain. The date of this Congress was from the 1st to the 6th October and fell, as a mere episode, among a number of geographical and other Exhibitions and



Congresses between the 12th September and the end of October. In these 6 days, Madrid, Cordova, Seville, Granada, Xerez, Cadiz, Malaga and Huelva were to be visited. 78 hours would have been spent in Railway travelling, leaving 66 hours in 6 days for sleep, meals, Congress work and the sight-seeing of all these places. By the middle of February, 1892, only 2 papers for the Madrid Congress had been received and its principal officeholder did not know where exactly it was to meet. As moreover the promoters of the unauthorized Madrid Congress arrogated to it the right of deciding whether it was the Ninth or the Tenth Congress of the Series founded in Paris in 1873, the French Founders and Members forwarded the following Resolution to Sr. Canovas along with a "Historique" and other documents that had the effect of his relinquishing the Madrid Congress by a royal Edict dated the 6th February 1892.

#### RÉSOLUTION.

Les membres français du 9<sup>e</sup> Congrès international des orientalistes tenu à Londres en Septembre 1891 et des 8 Congrès précédents, protestent contre la proposition personnelle du Dr. Ayuso, tendant à mettre en doute et à soumettre à la décision du Congrès Espagnol le fait accompli que le 9<sup>e</sup> Congrès a eu lieu.

En conséquence ils revendiquent avec le numéro de la série inaugurée à Paris en 1873 le titre même des Congrès comme étant leur propriété et font défense absolue à quiconque de prendre la dénomination de ces Congrès, dont le titre est du reste garanti par les lois de tous les pays sur la propriété littéraire.

Paris, 18/1/92.

BARON TEXTOR DE RAVISI, *Président de la réunion.*  
 G. M. OLLIVIER BEAUREGARD } *Sécrétaires.*  
 L. DUTILH DE LA TUQUE }

Almost simultaneously with this Resolution there appeared in the *Athenæum* of the 16th of January a letter signed by Professor R. K. Douglas announcing that another Ninth International Congress of Orientalists would take place in London in Sept. 1892, under the presidency of Prof. Max Müller. This gentleman had, however, already resigned in favour of the Madrid Congress, which, as has been shown above, was given up by the Spanish Government—a somewhat irrelevant proceeding, as the Oriental Congresses not being official gatherings cannot be held by any one Government as such, though the countenance of Governments generally, interested in the East and in Eastern research, is desired for the International, though purely private, Meetings of Oriental Scholars and friends of Oriental studies. The Real Academia de la Historia and not the Spanish Government were, or ought to have been, the organisers of the Congress projected for Spain.

It need scarcely be observed that the Orientalists throughout Spain, especially the Semitic Scholars, were indignant at the failure of Sr. Canovas to hold the Statutory Tenth Oriental Congress in their country and several of them memorialized him on behalf of a non-official Congress of Orientalists, but it was clear that the object of the Ninth Congress of 1891 in



fixing Seville as the headquarters of the next meeting with sittings in the Alhambra at Granada could not be accomplished from Madrid. It became necessary to fix another point in the Iberian Peninsula for the holding of that Congress; and, in virtue of the Statutes, which under such circumstances allow such a change to be made, the permanent Committee of 1891, whose delegate-general, Dr. Leitner, had met with an encouraging reception from the King of Portugal, himself a Hebrew Scholar and accomplished Linguist, made arrangements with the Geographical Society of Lisbon, which is a centre of literary activity in Portugal, to hold the Congress on the basis of the Statutes and on the lines of the London Congress of 1891, adding whatever was specially characteristic of the great Portuguese Oriental achievements whether in the past or present. The outlines of this extremely interesting project will be found in a circular which we publish elsewhere, and which should attract all genuine Orientalists to the Lisbon Congress. It would be vain to hope that the seceders who want to start a No. 2 Ninth Congress in London in 1892, although it is to conclude eleven days before the commencement of the Lisbon Congress, should be satisfied with organizing their own Meeting; "dog-in-the-manger" like, they seem desirous of thwarting the Tenth Congress and of discrediting the *de facto* and *de jure* Congress that was held in 1891, though such conduct can only discredit themselves. Their Circulars, since they seceded from their pledge to support the Congress of 1891, are an interesting study of tortuous ingenuity. They first claimed the right of holding a Congress in 1892 from powers given to them by the Paris Founders, who promptly disavowed them. They then tried to claim powers alike from those Founders and their opponents of the Committee alleged to have been formed at the conclusion of the Bacchanalia of the Stockholm-Christiania Congress of 1889, against which they had pledged themselves to a Congress to be held not later than 1891.\* In more recent Circulars they drop the references to either source of "powers," but they still maintain the presidency of Prof. Max Müller, who was elected secretly by nine seceders, and who had been identified with the very encroachments of the Scandinavian Congress on the Statutes and the liberty of science against which they had protested. All Circulars apparently contain the names of men like Professor Léon Cahun and others who have indignantly protested against their being included among the adherents of the anti-statutory Max Müller Congress.

Among the Secretaries however there appears to have been some fluctuation.

Professor Douglas seems to have resigned some time after the receipt by him of Baron T. de Ravisi's letter which is quoted elsewhere—and Dr. Ginsburg who had himself taken a share in the pecuniary guarantee for a Congress to be held not later than 1891 (see Declaration of Orientalists, 10th October 1889) now figures as the General Secretary of an anti-statutory Opposition Congress. Many more names could be adduced to show how the blindness caused by party feeling leads to self-stultification, if not to conduct that would have been deemed impossible among honour-

\* See "Scholars on the Rampage," *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, January, 1890.

able men in any country. Those who wish to study the details of a sad episode in the history of scholarship may refer to the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of July 1890, and of January and April 1891. The "opinion" which we publish elsewhere, on the subject of the Ninth and Tenth International Congresses of Orientalists by an eminent public man and counsel, Dr. R. M. Pankhurst, may also be read with advantage.

Still, if imitation is the sincerest flattery, then the annexation of the name, number, organization and a portion of the funds belonging to the Congress that has been held in 1891 may be considered a homage to its excellence. Indeed, in original ideas the promoters of the "Ninth & Congress" appear to be singularly wanting. *Fas est ab hoste doceri*, and therefore sentences and suggestions may, *inter alia*, be annexed, but they should not be mutilated or misapplied.

We are, accordingly, not surprised to find that, in addition to the unscientific classification of the six Sections in Professor Max Müller's original Circular, there is now "Indian" as well as "Aryan" in the last Circular which we have seen. The eloquent addresses of M. Gennadius at the last Congress have also suggested the addition of a Section on "Archaic Greece and the East" and the prominence of explorers at the 1891 Congress has led to that of a section called "Geographical" in 1892. The 30 remaining Sections of the 1891 Congress, including what is of special British interest, *i.e.*, "Oriental Linguistics in Commerce" and "Relations with Orientals" are still wanting in the pseudo-ninth gathering of 1892, in which "Egypt and Africa" continue to be one Section only, and "China and the Far East" and "Anthropological, Mythological" and "Semitic (*a*) Assyrian, Babylonian (*b*) General" attest that the Schools represented by the seceders can be alike unpractical and unscientific. Compare the slipshod programme of Professor Müller's Congress with that of Lisbon, which is both thorough and extensive. We will say nothing of the discourtesy of the "Ninth &" or "Ninth  $\frac{1}{2}$ " Congress in already filling up all the Sectional Offices by British Presidents and Secretaries. A supposed international Congress elects its own General and Sectional Officers at the time of Meeting out of the most distinguished Scholars present, whether British or foreign. This irregularity is on a par with the anti-statutory organization of a Congress to be held in England by a President and General Secretary, neither of whom is a native of this country.

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#### OPINION OF R. M. PANKHURST, ESQ., LL.D.,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW, OF THE NORTHERN CIRCUIT AND THE LANCASHIRE  
CHANCERY COURT.

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#### OPINION.

*Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1891.*

*Tenth International Congress of Orientalists, Lisbon, 1892.*

I HAVE perused the Statutes, proceedings, documents and papers relative to the constitution and work of the International Congress of Orientalists, and considered the points submitted to me in conference.

It appears that in Paris in Sept., 1873, under the presidency of M. Léon de Rosny, an aggregate body—international body—of Orientalists, in constituent Assembly, formed themselves into "The International Congress of Orientalists." An Administrative Commission was instituted, consisting of Messrs. Léon de Rosny, Madier de Montjau and Le Vallois, with, besides the power after indicated, the *ex officio* right of membership of all subsequent Congresses.

In order to secure for this Congress a character of permanency, and to provide for periodic Sessions and effective action, Statutes were adopted by the constituent Assembly for the future government of the Congress.

By these Statutes it was prescribed amongst other things :

(1) That the Sessions of the Congress should be yearly, and should not be held twice in succession in the same country.

(2) That each Session of the Congress should designate the place of the succeeding Session, and nominate the President thereof, and, if possible, other scholars of the President's nationality, who should constitute in a defined way a Central Committee of organisation for the coming Session, the powers of such Committee continuing until the next Session.

(3) That the time of the opening of the next Session should be notified by the Central Committee of organisation appointed for such Session, and that in default the Central Committee of organisation for the preceding Session should fix another country for such next Session.

(4) That at the close of each Session a Permanent Committee should be formed consisting of the Central Committee of organisation of the Session, and of delegates named by each nationality represented at the Congress, such Permanent Committee to exist until the opening of the next Congress.

(5) That any amendment or alteration of the Statutes should be made in a defined manner.

Accordingly, it seems, the Paris Congress of 1873,—

(1) designated England as the place of the Second Session of the Congress, and nominated as President, Dr. Samuel Birch.

(2) constituted a Permanent Committee of organization.

The Paris Assembly of 1873 in its constituent character as Founder of the Congress, in order to obtain substantial and definite assurance that the Congress would subsist as a permanent organisation with due arrangement for successive Sessions and continuity of work, *RESOLVED* that while practically limiting the duration of the Permanent Committee to the opening of the next Session, the President (Baron Textor de Ravisi) should be authorised, with the consent of the Administrative Commission, to call into action the powers of the Permanent Committee of 1873 whenever the interests of the continuation of the Congress might require.

The object of this Resolution was, it seems, to provide against danger to the life of the Congress or breach in the continuity of its Sessions, whether caused by any Session of the Congress failing to designate the place of the next Session or otherwise. On the basis of the Statutes, and in conformity with the prescribed procedure as to designation of the place of Session and action of each Permanent Committee, were held in due succession the

following Congresses, the President, in each case, being a native of the country in which the Congress was held :—

2nd	International Congress of Orientalists,	London, 1874.
3rd	" " "	St. Petersburg, 1876.
4th	" " "	Florence, 1878.
5th	" " "	Berlin, 1881.
6th	" " "	Leyden, 1883.
7th	" " "	Vienna, 1886.
8th	" " "	Stockholm-Christiania, 1889.

During all this time no occasion arose for putting into force the reserved powers vested in the Paris Permanent Committee of 1873.

No such powers were possessed by any of the Permanent Committees subsequently created for the above Sessions.

At the 8th Congress at Stockholm-Christiania it appears that a series of disturbing events took place. It appears that in violation of the Statutes, a minority appointed a Committee of one German, one Austrian, and one Dutchman with a Swedish Secretary, all residing in different countries, to fix the place of the next Meeting and to control the admission to future Congresses. This attempt to convert an open into a close institution and the elimination of the unrepresented nationalities from the Committee, which had no statutory means for increasing its number, led to great dissatisfaction among the Orientalists of all countries. Of the three members of this Committee two have since died.

This Stockholm-Christiania Congress was initiated and held under the provisions of the Statutes.

It was and could be in the circumstances only in virtue of its being one of the Series under the Statutes that it became the 8th Congress.

Being held under the Statutes it was bound by them.

No amendment or alteration of the Statutes was made before or at this 8th Congress.

Such amendment or alteration could only take place in the manner prescribed by the Statutes.

The duty of designating the place of the next Session of the Congress was imposed by the Statutes on the Stockholm-Christiania Congress.

In default of such designation the right to designate such place devolved (pursuant to the Paris Resolution of 1873 passed by the Assembly of Orientalists as a constituent body) upon the Paris Permanent Committee of 1873 under the specially reserved powers for that express purpose vested in such Committee.

In the absence of these reserved powers the series of Sessions must have ceased and the work and life of the Congress have come to an end.

On the failure of the Stockholm-Christiania Congress to designate the place of the next Session, the Orientalists, members of all the preceding Congresses including the 8th at Stockholm-Christiania, were appealed to, as a preliminary step, as to the place and time of the next, *i.e.* the 9th Session of the Congress.

Their decision was almost unanimously in favour of holding the next Congress in London in 1891.

This decision was communicated to the Paris Administrative Commission and Permanent Committee of 1873.

The Paris Permanent Committee of 1873 having regard to such decision in exercise of its reserved powers designated London in 1891 as the place and time for the holding of the 9th Congress.

In virtue and on the basis of this designation and pursuant to the Statutes an organizing Committee—a Central Committee of organization—was constituted in London for the purpose of this Congress, *i.e.* the 9th Congress.

Accordingly in due course and in conformity with the Statutes was held in London the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists 1891.

Over this Congress was President, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Halsbury. 600 Orientalists, representing 37 countries, were members.

This Congress designated Seville in 1892 as the place and time of the 10th Congress, but the nominated President and Central Committee of organisation for this 10th Congress failed to give effect to such designation.

Pursuant, therefore, to the powers of the Statutes the Permanent Committee of the London Congress designated Lisbon as the place for this 10th Congress of 1892.

For the holding of this 10th Congress in Lisbon from the 23rd Sept. to the 1st Oct., 1892, arrangements are, it appears, now in action.

The King of Portugal will preside over the Congress.

Certain persons, it appears, have been and are now representing themselves as organising "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892 in disregard of the fact that in the circumstances and under the Statutes as before stated "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists" was held in London in 1891.

With this object these persons have issued circulars and papers soliciting subscriptions.

These persons for some time, it seems, were members of the Committee to hold "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1891, and have themselves admitted the binding nature on them of the Statutes and of the decision of the "Commission administrative" and "Comité de Permanence internationale" of 1873 to hold the Ninth Congress in London in 1891.

These persons subsequently, however, by circulars and papers issued by them, represented themselves and they are now representing themselves as intending to hold such "9th International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892 under the presidency of Professor Max Müller, who is not a native of England.

In one of such circulars communications are directed "to be made to the General Secretaries of the Congress:

Professor Douglas, British Museum, London, W.C.

J. F. Hewitt, Esq., Devoke Lodge, Walton-on-Thames.

Dr. Bullinger, Braemgarten, Woking, Surrey.

Professor A. A. Macdonell, 7, Fyfield Road, Oxford."

Another of such circulars is signed "on behalf of the organising Committee, George Birdwood, Chairman."

These persons who so purport to intend to hold "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892 as aforesaid by themselves or by others on their behalf have, it is stated, received certain subscriptions, paid or intended for or for the purpose of "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists" held in London in 1891 as before-mentioned.

Dr. Badenoch by letter, on behalf of the organising Committee of such last-named Congress, addressed to Dr. Bullinger, says: "You have not yet returned the subscriptions which you obtained for the Congress of 1891, and in lieu of which literary and other papers have been sent by us to the subscribers at our expense."

These persons or others on their behalf, it is stated, have applied and are applying these subscriptions and other subscriptions obtained by them in response to the said circulars and papers for or for the purpose of their said intended London Congress of 1892. By reason of such last-mentioned circulars and papers the London Congress of 1891 was, it is stated, deprived of divers subscriptions, much support and many adhesions.

In regard of the action of these persons in purporting to hold "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892 under the presidency of Professor Max Müller and in relation thereto, besides the protests of Sir Patrick Colquhoun and Dr. Leitner, the Organising Secretary of the London Congress of 1891, and others, the following protests have been issued on behalf of the Paris Permanent Committee of 1873:—

"(1) The members of the Permanent Committee, and of the Administrative Commission of the First International Congress of Orientalists (Paris, 1873), declare that the circular of the 9th February, signed by Messrs. Douglas, Hewitt, Bullinger, and Macdonell, is, to say the least, very incorrect, especially as concerns the following assertions—to wit: That the Administrative Commission ever gave its powers to the Committee presided over by M. Max Müller, and that the date of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists was ever changed from 1891 to 1892.

The only Committee which has been legally constituted, and to which have been delegated the powers to hold the Ninth Congress (London, 1891), is that which is presided over by Sir P. Colquhoun, and to which Dr. Leitner is, and remains our, Delegate and Organizing Secretary."

(2)

PARIS, 21st January, 1892.

DEAR MR. DOUGLAS,

Permit me, in consideration of our friendly relations, to submit to you the following:

When I was spoken to respecting the article in the *Athenæum* (16th instant), I answered that I could not believe it. It is now before my eyes. It is signed "Robert K. Douglas, Hon. Secretary of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists."

According to you, dear Sir, the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists will be held in London in 1892 under the anti-statutory presidency of Professor Max Müller—in other terms, the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists which was held in London in 1891 under

the presidency of your Lord High Chancellor is regarded by you as null and void (*fait nul et nonavenu*).

Permit me to remind you (1) that you have signed for the Ninth Congress being held in London in 1891, (2) that you have declared that the Committee of Christiania was illegal, and that its acts were illegal, (3) that this Committee has been reduced to a single member by the death of the others [here a word seems wanting] without taking into account the Statutes which you have signed to maintain.

This Committee is, and remains, illegal; you cannot base yourself on it.

In these circumstances, the French members have adopted the following resolution:

"They insist on their right, not only to the number of the series inaugurated in Paris in 1873, but also to the very title of the Congress, as having been established by them, and they absolutely forbid any person whatever from taking, outside the Statutory offices, the denomination of these Congresses."

You have the right, dear Sir (a right common to all), to call your future Congress by any name you choose, except giving it a name and a number that belong to another.

Permit me, therefore, to hope that you will withdraw your announcement made in the *Athenæum* on the 16th instant by a rectifying notice.

You will force us, to our profound regret by your not doing so, to institute against you a judicial action—yes, dear Sir, judicial proceedings would be instituted, only with the greatest regret, by me; but will you be pleased to consider that it is to you, and not to me, that belongs the rôle of arresting the consequences that will follow from your article in the *Athenæum*.

I end, as I began, by earnestly appealing to our good relations. I therefore hope that you will interpret this letter in the friendly sense that has dictated it, and not otherwise.—I am, dear Sir, yours very sincerely,  
(Signed) BARON TEXTOR DE RAVISI.

In the state of things disclosed by the matters aforesaid, I am of opinion as follows:

(1) That the representations and acts of the persons aforesaid in arranging or attempting to hold, and purporting to hold, "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892 constitute an unwarrantable and wrongful usurpation and assumption of the name, style, title, number, rights, and functions of the International Congress of Orientalists founded in Paris in 1873, and of the series of Congresses based thereon, and forming part thereof.

(2) That the holding of "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892, having regard to the fact that "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" has already been held in London in 1891, besides of necessity involving confusion and leading to absurdity, is wrongful, and a violation of the Statutes by which the holding of the International Congresses of Orientalists is governed.

(3) That any retention by, or on behalf of, these persons of subscriptions paid or intended for or for the purpose of "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists," held in London in 1891, is illegal.

(4) That the receipt and application of subscriptions, and the issue of circulars and papers soliciting subscriptions for or for the purpose of "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892, the holding thereof being wrongful, as aforesaid, are also wrongful.

R. M. PANKHURST.

5, New Square, Lincoln's Inn,

3 June, 1892.

#### NOTICE OF THE

#### TENTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

(ON THE BASIS OF THE STATUTES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE FIRST CONGRESS  
HELD IN PARIS IN 1873.)

LISBON; *September—October*, 1892.

THE Statutory Tenth International Congress of Orientalists will be held at Lisbon from the 23rd September to the 1st October, 1892, under the Presidency of His Majesty Dom Carlos I., King of Portugal and the Algarves. The Organizing Committee has the good fortune of working under the high patronage of a monarch who is himself a student of Oriental languages.

The nine preceding Congresses were held as follows: Paris (1873), London (1874), St. Petersburg (1876), Florence (1878), Berlin (1881), Leyden (1884), Vienna (1886), Stockholm-Christiania (1889), and London (1891).

As the Tenth Congress could not be held in Spain, as proposed, owing to the Circular, dated 6th February, 1892, of the President of the Council of Spanish Ministers, the City of Lisbon was chosen by the *Comité de Permanence* of the London Congress of 1891, acting in concert with the Geographical Society of Lisbon, as the place for the Tenth Congress; and the London Committee has, in accordance with Statute 18, formally made over its powers to the Council of the said Society.

The Chiefs of the various public departments under the Portuguese Government, and all the Ministers and Consuls accredited to Portugal, are *ex-officio* members of this Congress, as are also the heads and staff of all the learned corporations in Portugal, and the Oriental and other scholars of that country. Adhesions, promises of personal attendance, or papers, have also been already received from Orientalists and friends of Oriental studies in various parts of the world.

His Excellency Count de Ficalho is the President of the Executive Committee. The Organizing Secretary is Senhor Luciano Cordeiro, Perpetual Secretary of the Geographical Society of Lisbon, to whom all correspondence for information regarding the Prize translations, medals, etc., to be awarded, the sending in of papers, the subscription for Membership, books for presentation, collections for exhibition, etc., should be addressed. The Portuguese Embassies and Legations, also, in different countries have kindly consented to act as *Bureaux* for the reception of adhesions, Papers, subscriptions, and collections, and for the supplying of all necessary information in co-operation with the Delegates of the Ninth and Tenth Congresses in various countries.





PARIS, 18 Juin, 1892.

Sommaire des résolutions et de l'appel des Comités de permanence de 1873 et de 1891 :

Résolution : Les Membres des Comités de permanence de 1873 et de 1891 protestent contre l'usurpation du nombre et titre du "Neuvième Congrès International des Orientalistes" (qui a déjà été tenu à Londres en Septembre, 1891) par un Comité préparant un Congrès sous la même désignation en 1892 malgré la prohibition absolue des deux Comités susmentionnés. Ces deux Comités revendiquent avec le numéro de la série inaugurée à Paris en 1873 le titre même des Congrès comme étant leur propriété et celle de leurs successeurs légitimes et font défense absolue à quiconque de prendre, en dehors des bureaux statutaires de ces deux Comités et de leurs successeurs légitimes, la denomination de ces Congrès, dont le titre est garanti par les lois de tous les pays sur la propriété littéraire.

Pour le Comité de Permanence de 1873,

Le Président : BARON TEXTOR DE RAVISI.

Pour le Comité de Permanence de 1891,

G. W. LEITNER,

Délégué-Général des Comités de Permanence de 1873 et de 1891.

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*Appel* proposé par les Membres des bureaux exécutifs des Comités de Permanence de 1873 et de 1891 :

Aux Membres des neuf Congrès Internationaux des Orientalistes.

Les Membres du 9<sup>me</sup> Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu à Londres en Septembre, 1891, et des huit Congrès précédents protestent contre la circulaire d'un soi-disant neuvième Congrès des Orientalistes qui doit se tenir à Londres en Septembre, 1892.

Les membres s'opposeront de toutes leurs forces à ce que l'on renouvelle la lutte déjà terminée à Londres en Septembre, 1891, en faveur du Congrès alors tenu et reconnu par les Gouvernements de l'Espagne, de l'Angleterre, de la France, de la Russie, de l'Italie, de la Grèce et d'autres pays ainsi que par 38 corporations savantes et 600 Orientalistes représentant 37 pays. Le Comité scissionniste de Londres préparant un Congrès à Londres en 1892 n'a pas le droit d'appeler son Congrès "Congrès International des Orientalistes" ce nom étant distinctif de la série inaugurée à Paris en 1873. Les membres français fondateurs de l'œuvre ainsi que tous les signataires en faveur des Statuts leur interdisent formellement l'usage d'une désignation qui appartient exclusivement à la série sus-indiquée.

Pour le Comité de Permanence de 1873,

Le Président : BARON TEXTOR DE RAVISI.

Pour le Comité de Permanence de 1891,

Le Délégué-Général : G. W. LEITNER.

The member's subscription is £1 (25 francs or \$5), which may be paid as above indicated, or also as follows: In France, to M. E. Leroux, 28, Rue Bonaparte, Paris; in England, to Messrs. Hachette and Co., booksellers, King William Street, Strand, W.C.; and in other countries to the Delegates of the Ninth and the Tenth Congresses of Orientalists. Those members who express their adhesion to the statutes will receive the Statutory Grand Diploma of Membership, entitling them to vote at all future Statutory Congresses. The others will receive the usual card of membership, entitling them to all privileges of membership at the Tenth Congress.

Public bodies desirous of being represented at the Congress by Delegates or by reports, books, or works illustrative of their operations, are requested to inform the Organizing Secretary.

PROGRAMME OF THE SECTIONS INTO WHICH THE WORK OF THE  
CONGRESS HAS BEEN DIVIDED:

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| (a) Summaries of Oriental Research since 1891.  | (l) Japanese.  |
| (b) 1. Semitic languages, except Arabic.  | (m) Dravidian.   |
| 2. Arabic and Islâm.  | (n) Malayan and Polynesian.  |
| 3. Assyriology.   | (o) Instructions to Explorers, etc.  |
| 4. Palestinology.   | (p) Ethnographical Philology, including the migrations of races.   |
| (c) Aryan: 1. Sanscrit and Hinduism.  | (q) Oriental Art, Art - Industry, Archæology and Numismatics.  |
| 2. Pali and Buddhism.   | (r) Relations with Oriental scholars and peoples.  |
| 3. Iranian and Zoroastrianism.  | (s) Oriental Linguistics in Commerce, etc., with sub-sections regarding the various modern Oriental languages. |
| (d) Africa, except Egypt.   | (t) The Anthropology, Science, and Products, natural and artificial, of the East.                              |
| (e) Egyptology.   | (u) The East and America.  |
| (f) Central Asia and Dardistan.   | (v) The East and Portugal.   |
| (g) Comparative Religion (including Mythology and Folklore), Philosophy, Law, and Oriental Sciences (including Medicine), History, etc. | (w) The Philippine Islands.  |
| (h) Comparative Language.   | (x) Exhibition and explanations of objects illustrative of these Sections.                                     |
| (i) Suggestions for the encouragement of Oriental Studies.  |  |
| (j) Indo-Chinese.   |  |
| (k) Sinology.   |  |

Although the Congress is one of study and not of festivities, there will be several receptions and other acts of hospitality, and literary excursions have also been arranged to Cintra, and other places of interest in Portugal, and to Seville, Cordova, and Granada in Spain, where it is proposed to hold "extraordinary meetings" at the Alhambra in the Arabic Section, and in connection with the Spanish Congress of Africanists in Section "s," "Oriental Linguistics in Commerce." The dates of the Congress and of its excursions have been so arranged as to enable members to attend the opening at Madrid of the Historical and Industrial Exhibitions on the 12th September, 1892, and that of the Fine Arts on the 15th September; the Congress of Americanists at Huelva from the 7th to the 12th October; and the Geographical Congress at Madrid in the latter half

of October. The railways in France, Spain, and Portugal, and steamship companies from England to Lisbon are expected to grant a reduction of 50 per cent., and the hotels in Lisbon and elsewhere will also make the usual concessions to members.

A detailed programme will soon be distributed by the Portuguese Organizing Committee acting in concert with the London *Comité de Permanence* of 1891.

WOKING, June, 1892.

### NOTES.

WHEN the Japanese Section of the 9th Oriental Congress unanimously adopted, on 9th Sept., 1891, the proposal of its Hon. Secretary, Mr. Arthur Diosy, for the establishment in London of a *Japan Society*, few of those present on that occasion can have anticipated that the project would be realised with such rapid and astonishing success.

Mr. Diosy and the other Hon. Secretary of the Japanese Section, Mr. Daigoro Goh, Chancellor of the Imperial Consulate General in London, set to work with the energy characteristic of Old England and of New Japan, and the Japan Society, which was definitely constituted on 28th January, 1892, now consists of 226 Members, including most of the celebrated workers in the field of Japanological research in this country and, indeed, throughout the world.

That its members are not merely platonic sympathisers with the Society's objects is proved by the fact that the Inaugural Meeting of the first Session, on 29th April, 1892, brought together 243 persons to hear the Inaugural Address of the President, the Japanese Minister, Viscount Kawai, and the paper on "Ju-jitsu, the Ancient Art of Self Defence by Sleight of Body," by Mr. T. Shidachi, LL.B., M.J.S. of Tokio, whilst 140 attended the Second Ordinary Meeting, on 12th May, when Mr. Charles Holme, F.L.S., Member of the Council of the Japan Society, lectured on "The Uses of the Bamboo in Japan."

*Crescat ! floreat ! ! vivat ! ! !*

ON Thursday, the 2nd of June, a very interesting lecture was given before the Society for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts by Mr. R. A. Sterndale, F.R.G.S.—Dr. G. W. Leitner, LL.D., D.O.L., in the chair. The subject was Cyclopean Architecture in Polynesia, concerning which Mr. Sterndale has already contributed two papers to this Review, but recent explorations in Easter Island enabled him to give additional information regarding one of the most interesting of the Pacific Islands, the meeting ground of the Eastern and Western civilization of the day. This island has recently been visited and thoroughly explored by Paymaster William J. Thomson of the United States Navy whose exhaustive paper is to be found in the last published report of the Smithsonian Institute. He counted no less than 555 colossal images, the largest of which measured seventy feet. But the most interesting discovery is, that the curved tablets which have hitherto been considered as merely ornamental are true hieroglyphics capable of translation, and a clue having been found several have been deciphered, but as yet nothing of historical value has been found. The lecture was illustrated by enlargements of the drawings made by the late Mr. Handley Sterndale, who discovered the Cyclopean ruins on Upolu, and was listened to with interest by an appreciative audience.

GENERAL TCHENG-KI-TONG, according to our correspondent in Tientsin, has been deprived of all his offices and dignities ; he is not, as stated by the *Times*, actually imprisoned, but is nominally free and continues to be employed in very subordinate positions. It appears that those whom the General had the misfortune to create as enemies in this country, are loud in insisting upon exemplary punishment, but in our opinion, without wishing to estimate lightly the crime of "being found out," or entering into the merits of the charges brought against him, it should always be borne in mind that General Tcheng-

Ki-Tong has done far more by word and pen, to remove prejudice against China and to create an admiring interest in that country, than all the present and past Chinese ambassadors or ministers put together.

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Mr. Theodore Bent in writing on Palapwe in Bechuanaland very pertinently asks, "Why is it that civilisation is permitted to destroy all that is picturesque? Surely we of the 19th century have much to answer for in this respect. And the missionaries, who teach and insist on clothing amongst races accustomed to nudity by heredity are responsible for three evils: firstly, the appearance of lung diseases amongst them; secondly, the spread of vermin amongst them; and thirdly, the disappearance from amongst them of inherent and natural modesty." It does not seem to have occurred to missionaries that the adoption of their own personal customs, habits, likings and fashions is by no means essential to salvation.

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On the occasion of the official public announcement of the forthcoming Xth International Congress of Orientalists at Lisbon, the *Illustrated London News* of May 14, 1892, expresses its satisfaction at the decision and comments on it as follows: . . . "We must certainly think, from ancient historical associations, that Portugal is entitled to the priority, as the nation whose enterprising navigators first sailed eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, settled in Ceylon, India, and among the shores and islands of Farther Asia, and founded, alone of European nations, all the numerous establishments of maritime commerce and colonisation, which long afterwards fell into the dominions of the Spanish monarchy, and some of which, in the chances of prolonged warfare, became Dutch or English possessions. His Majesty Dom Carlos I., in accepting the presidency of the approaching Congress at Lisbon, may remember the noble example of Prince Henry of Portugal, a devoted student of geographical science and patron of the earliest exploring voyages, four centuries and a half ago. The site of Prince Henry's abode at Sagres, near Cape Trafalgar, might be visited with enthusiasm by those interested in oceanic discoveries, or in the researches of ethnology beyond the limits of Europe. That enlightened Prince was partly of English descent, the great-grandson of our John of Gaunt; and his biography has been written by the late Mr. H. R. Major, of our Royal Geographical Society. Our countrymen who may attend the Congress at Lisbon will not refuse to do honour to the ancient Portuguese mariners, explorers, and traders, whose achievements, on the whole, perhaps exceeded in value that of the Genoese Columbus at a later period, and of all the Spanish conquerors in America; for the opening of the Indian Ocean was a task of greater difficulty than crossing the Atlantic, which must soon have been performed by other nations, if not by the memorable expedition from Spain. In the '*Lusiad*' of Camoens, a noble epic poem too much neglected by literary students nowadays, Portugal owns an imaginative work of unique interest, on a topic germane to the investigations of the Oriental Congress."

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Those supporters of English missions who have the amiable notion—and their name is legion—that their own personal views with regard to religious matters, must of necessity be the only possible expressions of truth and virtue, and that all whose opinions on the subject differ from their own must surely be desperately wicked, will be bowed down with grief at the liberal and tolerant expressions of the Archbishop of Canterbury who presided at the annual public meeting in connexion with the 191st anniversary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, held on Thursday the 16th of June in the St. James's Hall, Piccadilly.

We quote some of the Archbishop's remarks not as expressing our approval of their ultimate purpose—on this we give no opinion—but in order to show how the, hitherto, blind are commencing to have a glimmering of vision and how the narrow, self-extolling spirit of religious bigotry is gradually passing away, even in this country.

In the course of his observations the Archbishop said: . . . "He was persuaded that no greater mistake could be made than to suspend, diminish, or be content with a small allowance of those studies which opened the mind, in the belief that a small portion of

that education could be selected for a footing and the Gospel of Christ planted upon it. The religious tone in any nation was the upgrowth of many generations, had been gradually formed, and was the offspring of old traditions, conveyed by teaching and by early habits. . . . He therefore said that wherever the society was at work it would do its utmost to promote schools and universities and all manner of teaching that was good for the mind. Again, he believed religious workers in all directions ought to be most careful in destroying the religious tone of any nation, however superstitious, without being ready to replace it; and it followed that they ought to do their utmost to understand the religions with which they had to deal. These religions embodied the best thoughts and feelings and aspirations of men through many ages, and it was not true that they were wicked except by contrast. There were, as they knew, great wickednesses in connexion with all religions, and there had been such things in Christianity. In the Christian Church itself there had been vices and wickednesses which had gone far to make Christianity intolerable to students and observers. Mission workers did undoubtedly undervalue, for instance, the importance to mankind of such a religion as Mahomedanism. Those who knew the religion itself knew that in many directions there were noble characters formed under its influence. These characters were of strength to that, as they were to any other religion, for it was not what was found in books or said in temples which was the true strength of religion, but the characters which it formed. He deprecated very much Christian people setting to work—and he did not believe they would ever succeed if they did set to work—in the belief that all the religions which God had allowed to grow up apart from the Christian Church ministered to pride and lust and cruelty. It would be just as reasonable to impute to the Gospel the sins of London. They knew what the sins of Mahomedanism were, but did they not know what the sins of Europe and the sins of London were, and of other places where the Gospel was professed most earnestly and practised by many most sedulously? As he had said, Mahomedanism formed high characters, and no one could go into a Mahomedan place of worship without being impressed, beyond the impression that would be formed in most other places of worship, with the sincerity, the solemnity, and the devotion of the worshippers. Christians must go to these people acknowledging that God had brought them a long way on the road to Himself."

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THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE.—Although the formal opening of the Institute is postponed until next year, when her Majesty will perform the ceremony in person, and when the building will, it is hoped, be in a much more advanced state of completion than it is now, the Fellows of the Institute and the public have been already admitted to the buildings. On Wednesday (the 22nd of June) the Institute was opened to the Fellows, and the exhibition of Indian art metal-work to the public. In order to mark the opening in some way, Lord Herschell, who is chairman of the governing body, held a reception on Tuesday (the 21st). Each of the newly-elected Fellows was invited, and invitations were also extended to all the distinguished representatives of Greater Britain at present known to be in this country. If it is considered that the Institute building is, or will be, one of the monuments of London, it is surprising that that capital should have done so little (if anything) towards taking a share in the cost of construction. The Indian Rajahs, as is the practice on such occasions, have been thoroughly — interested in the scheme. It is said that the colossal expenditure of money may have some results beyond providing Kensington with another unfinished building.

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*Philological* : We have received the following interesting etymological note from Sardar Jwala Suhaya. Correspondence on the subject is invited.

*The Etymology of the name of Faras (Persia).*

The ancient designation of the country which is known by the name of Persia is *Ariana*, *Eran* or *Iran*. This name is no doubt derived from the word *Arii* manifestly the same as the Sanskrit word *Arya*. I need not describe here the kinship which exists between

the Persians and the Indians because the probability of the theory of Aryan Migration from the centre of Asia into the several countries of Asia and Europe has been admitted to a great extent. The name Persia has been mentioned by Herodotus and Xenophon the ancient historians of Greece, in another form, preserved in the name of its ancient capital Persepolis which was destroyed by Alexander the Great. I have looked into several Persian dictionaries for an etymology of the word but none of the lexicographers has gone beyond saying that *Phars* or *Pharas* is the corruption of *Para* or *Paras*. But a great difficulty arises in explaining *Paras* or *Pars*. When reading Panini's *Astādhyāyī* I found a clue by which the word might be derived from Sanskrit. Panini says: *Pāras Karaprabhritinicha Samjñāyām*, and the author of the *Ganapathas* enumerates *Pāras Karaprabhritini* as follows: *Pāraskaro deçaviçeshah*:—*Kāraskaro vriksha*, and so on. Now if we look to the country of India we do not find that any division of it has got the name *Pāraskara* either in ancient or modern days. But the name was used in the time of Panini who flourished in the 4th century before Christ. If we explain the word according to the rule (VI. i. 157) of Panini given above we find that some hint can be suggested. The compound *Pāraskara* is made by the combination of two words *Para* and *Kara*; and *s* phonetically brought to ease the pronunciation. So Panini states that an *s* is to be brought in the compounds *Pāraskara*, etc., when used as designations.

Now according to the meaning of the words *Para* and *Kara*, *Pāraskara* means the country which makes a boundary or shortly a frontier country. It has been ascertained by the study of history that some Rajas of Ancient India made their conquests so far as Persia. Raghu the great grandfather of Rama the Great has been described by Kalidāsa to have invaded Persia (vide *Raghuvansa* IV. 60 et seq:). Raghu or any of his predecessors who conquered Iran for the first time might have named it as *Pāraskara* or Frontier Country as none of the Hindu Rajas has been described to have gone beyond Persia. For the sake of convenience the part *Kara* most probably was put off and the country was called for several centuries, even by the inhabitants themselves as *Paras* which was again shortened into *Pars*. The latter being corrupted into *Fars* has still been used in the whole world as the name of Persia.

SARDAR JWALA SUHAYA.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA still continues under the deep shadow of a scarcity in some places amounting to actual famine, which the local Governments have actively tried to cope with. The numbers at relief works had risen as high as 87,000 in Madras, 72,000 in Bengal, 42,000 in Rajputana, 18,000 in Bombay, and 13,000 in Mysore. Only slight local showers had just prevented water-famines, and in a few places enabled sowings to be made with some chance of success; but the monsoon, on which so much now depends, has burst on the South-west coast, and is slowly travelling up and inland. Bombay and Bengal have had much rain, and so has Madras, except in Kurnool and Nellore; the Punjab and Rajputana are still dry. There is, however, still room for much anxiety. The well-elaborated Famine Relief Code, and the admirable network of railways have done much to prevent loss of life and to obviate much suffering; yet the death-rate has been unusually high. Some idea may be formed of the permanent struggle that has been, and for years will have to be, constantly waged with famine, from the fact that since 1877 no less than Rs. 123,850,000 have been spent on irrigation works alone by the Government. The Chenab Weir, just completed at great cost, is to irrigate 400,000 acres, and sanction is asked to extend it so as to irrigate up to 1,000,000 acres. Rs. 875,000 have been sanctioned out of Loan funds for the Krishna Canal in the Sattara district; while Lord Wenlock has called upon the Madras Collectors to report on the state and mode of improvement of wells, each for his own district. Large sums judiciously spent on these will do much for obviating future famines: Rs. 2,000,000 have already been spent.

Other public works are in progress. A grand road has been made through Manipur: no less than 21,000 lb. of



dynamite were used in blasting rocks. A bridge is projected over the Indus 4 miles below Dera Ismail Khan. Rs. 6,750,000 have been sanctioned to ease the gradients on the N. State Railways. The Attock-Kushalgarh and the Mari-Attock Railways are being pushed on, as is the East Coast line projected by Lord Connemara, part of which will be completed by the end of this year. The Mushkaf Railway gives a better route to Quettah than that through the Bolan Pass. A short line unites Sultanpur to Bogra, and another is to be made from Durbhunga to the Nepal Terai; while in the Deccan surveys are being made from Warangal to Dino on the Manmad line, and a loop line from Hyderabad to Kamariddapet. There were 17,274 miles of Railway open, and 2,160 under construction, against 16,890 miles and 1,684 miles in 1891.

The gross Railway receipts for 1891-92 exceeded those of 90-91 by Rs. 26,900,000, and 485 miles were opened. Their average dividend is given as  $5\frac{3}{4}$  per cent. Nearly all have just given a good half-yearly report, notwithstanding the famine, as also have the leading Banks: the New Oriental failed. The yield of gold has increased and several Gold mines have been looking up.

It is announced that after mature deliberation and with the approval of the various Indian Chambers of Commerce, the Indian Government will neither send an official deputy to the Chicago Fair, nor be there represented by any British Commissioner, nor give any money for the purpose. The Tea planters however intend to make a bid for the American Market, and will be there in force.

The Indian Councils Bill has at last been passed, in spite of the opposition of some because it did not go far enough, and of others because it went too far. It empowers the Councils (1) to discuss the Budget, (2) to make interpellations, and (3) it increases the numbers of non-official members. In the Governor-General's Council the minimum of 6 becomes 10, the maximum of 12 becomes 16; in the Provincial Councils the minimum is to be 8, the

maximum 20; in Bengal and the N.W. Provinces they are to be respectively 12—20 and 9—15. The Provincial non-official members are to be half, and in Bengal and the N.W. Provinces one-third of the whole. The Governor-General is empowered to introduce an elective element—details still *in nubibus*—which may have far-reaching consequences. The Indian Officials Leave of Absence Bill we are glad to see is dropped: the Mauritius and Pahang have lately shown that high officials cannot be spared from their posts during tenure of office, no matter how serene the horizon may seem. The Secretary of State has also approved of the employment of 91 more natives in high civil posts—20 for Bengal, 18 for Bombay, 18 for Madras, 20 for the N.W. Provinces, and 12 for the Punjab—at salaries ranging from Rs. 500 to 2,000 a month. The grievance of the Uncovenanted Service in the arbitrary rejection by the Indian Government of some of the chief recommendations of the Commission has not yet been removed, though Sir Roper Lethbridge brought it to the notice of the House. The usual row about opium was also made by the usual set who know nothing really about it.

Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick has taken over the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Punjab from Sir James Lyall. Sir James Dormer, who has submitted a lengthy report on his recent tour of inspection in Burma, is still engaged in his scheme for reorganizing the Madras Army, while an important step has been taken with regard to that of Bengal in the fixing of definite centres for recruiting. These are Peshawur for Pathans, Rawul Pindi for Punjabi Mussulmans, Umritsur for Sikhs, Jalundhur for Dogras, Delhi for Jats and Hindustani Mussulmans, Lucknow for Hindus, and Gorukpur for Gurkhas. Indore and Bhopal are raising cavalry corps, and Kotah a camel corps, for the Imperial Defence. Sir Henry Collet having declined the post, Col. Steadman is transferred from the Andaman Islands to be Quartermaster-General. Peshawur is raised to a 1st Class command, while that of the Presidency

becomes a 2nd Class one. Burma is transferred from the Madras to the Bengal commander-in-chief. Lord Roberts, before beginning a long inspection-tour visited Katmandu by special invitation of the Nepal Durbar, and was exceedingly well received. At the parade, he inspected 18,000 splendidly drilled troops, among which were remarkable Batteries of Artillery carried by Elephants, and by Coolies instead of mules, and others drawn by men. A medal is to be given for the Manipur operations, which by the way cost much. The following is the little bill for the year's operations and expeditions :

Chin-Lushai Expedition	-	-	-	Rs. 500,000
Manipur operations	-	-	-	„ 3,000,000
Wuntho Expedition	-	-	-	„ 500,000
Hazara and Miranzai	-	-	-	„ 2,000,000
Burma cold weather operations	-	-	-	„ 1,200,000
Additional transport mules	-	-	-	„ 800,000
Remounts and Ordnance	-	-	-	„ 520,100
Total				Rs. 8,520,100

Similar expenses were, in 1888-89, Rs. 3,744,000 ; in 1889-90, Rs. 4,210,000 ; in 1890-91, Rs. 3,520,600.

The Viceroy visited Bombay to open the new water-works with a grand ceremony not unworthy of the great engineering feat which at a cost of Rs. 15,000,000 has constructed a dam two miles long—the largest in the world—and formed a reservoir of 7 sq. miles with a catchment of 52 sq. miles, calculated for 17,000,000 gallons daily, capable of supplying 21,000,000 and of being enlarged to give quite 68,000,000. The details of work include 1 mile of girder-bridging, 4 miles of tunnelling, 27 miles of iron mains, and 55 miles of ducts, bringing the water 61 miles to Bombay from the Tansa Lake. The work has extended over 7 years. The contractors, Messrs. Glover and Co., asked for Rs. 400,000 over the contract, for extra work needed for foundations ; but the claim was reduced to Rs. 125,000. A rainfall of 40 inches suffices to fill the lake. Lord Harris, on his tour, opened other waterworks at Janjira, an Asylum and Hospital at Morvi built and

endowed by the Thakur, and a Museum and Library given to the School at Kutch by the Rana. The Gaekwar, just before leaving for England, opened the Ajwa water-works at Baroda, constructed at a cost of Rs. 300,000 : His Highness's speech was notable for the declaration of his intention to provide similar works for every town and even village in his state. The Maharajah of Bulrampur opened a new Hospital for women ; and a new hospital for Europeans has been opened at Aden.

Among items from the Native States are the yet unexplained flight of the Rajah of Sikkhim, arrested in Nepal, which does not seem to have any political importance ;—the sudden death of the Maharajah of Ulwar, who is succeeded by his son Jai Singh, aged 10 years ;—the assassination by an unknown hand on the day of the Maharajah's death, of his minister, Kunj Behari Lall, while driving to the Railway Station ;—accidents, fortunately of little consequence, to the Maharajah of Patiala at Polo, to the Rana of Dholepore at pig-sticking, and quite a series of mishaps, in carriage and train, to the Maharajah of Mysore ;—the installation as Rajah of Manipur, in the presence of the Naga chiefs, of Chura Chand, grandson of Nur Singh. Sir Asman Jah contributed Rs. 4,000 for the funds of the Afzulgunj Hospital ; and the claim of Mr. T. Palmer for Rs. 350,000 against the heirs of the Amir-i-Kabir was dismissed by the Court. Uzr Khan of Nagyr has been brought to Sirinagar under a guard from Iskardo ; and Safdar Khan of Hunza, asking to be allowed to return, has been told that his life is guaranteed, but no more. In a durbar at Gilgit, Col. Durand announced that Muhammad Nazim Khan, the half brother of Safdar Khan, was appointed to Hunza, and that Jaffir Khan, a previous ruler, was replaced on the throne of Nagyr. All is quiet ; but great difficulty is experienced in provisioning the Gilgit garrison, as supplies have to be carried 200 miles,—227 maunds being taken for every 174 that reach ;—the service employs 3,000 mules and ponies, 2,000 coolies, 200 pack bullocks, besides many asses. *Apropos* of Gilgit,

though the Russian Government censured Col. Yanoff for interfering with Younghusband and Davidson in the Pamir and made him apologize, the Czar has honoured him with the present of a superb ring.

The unprecedented fall in the exchange has caused a panic in India, and led to the formation of an Indian Currency Association, among the members of which are Sir A. Miller, Legal Member of Council, General Walker Director - General of Ordnance, Col. Pritchard of the Military Accounts, Mr. McKay, President of the Calcutta chamber of Commerce, and the Planters' association: branches are being formed in the larger cities. The Bengal Chamber of commerce has suggested that the free coinage of silver should be restricted and an Indian gold currency be established. The Indian Government has written to the Secretary of State urging that steps be taken in time to consider the whole question of Indian exchange and currency. An economic balance of exchange is, however, impossible while Council bills to the tune of £17,000,000 a year handicap purely commercial transactions.

Mr. A. O. Hume on leaving India published a letter full of gross exaggerations, unfounded statements, and seditious innuendoes in wildly inflammatory language. The standing Committees of the Indian National Congress at Bombay and Madras, and in London have disavowed Mr. Hume and his letter; and it has been generally condemned by the press. None but a very strong Government would have permitted the writer to live in peace. The charge made by him against Lord Harris of persecuting officials who joined the Congress was investigated in a court of justice and proved to be unfounded. The Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Commission has not yet reached the report state. A carefully prepared Code, founded on the Indian Penal Code, has come into operation in the Bhow Nagar State, so well known for its excellent administration. Mr. Carl Jost of Bombay and Mr. G. M. de Monte of Bangalore, Electrical Engineers, claim to have invented a system of automatic blocking of

any number of trains wherever danger may exist : a working model is in operation in Bombay and is to be exhibited in Chicago. Should it justify the hopes of its inventors, railway accidents should almost be things of the past.

The Hurdwar fair had this year to be broken up by order of the Government, owing to the occurrence of cholera. Unfortunately the disease has spread, and numerous cases have prevailed in various stations : Kashmir has been fatally distinguished. Smallpox has continued to rage in Bombay. The price of opium has risen by Rs. 113 per chest. Indigo cultivation in the N. W. Provinces has fallen from 321,000 to 252,000 acres ; and, owing to low prices, many factories are closed. The famine has not hindered India from exporting last year 1,500,000 tons of wheat, nor the fall in exchange hindered the Secretary of State in floating a 3 per cent. loan of £1,300,000 for the Oudh-Rohilkhand and the S. Indian Railways. A fire at Peshawur has involved a loss of Rs. 50,000 in Commissariat stores, and another fire at Aligarh fair did damage to property ; but no lives were lost ; and a worse one at Sirinagar.

The Steamer *Deccan* long overdue, with 200 souls on board, is supposed to have sunk in a Cyclone. The singular case of libel against the Bishop of Damaon by two of the Parishioners of Salvaçaõ for excommunication was dismissed by the Court. The Apostolic Delegate who was lately consecrated at Calcutta is engaged in delimiting the dioceses of Madras and Mylapore—the self-styled “Papal” and the Portuguese ecclesiastical authorities not being quite on the best of terms in Southern India. Mr. Lewis Rice, Director of Archæology in Mysore, has published a translation of the edicts of Asoka, the discovery of which near Chittaldroog we noted in our last Summary : he finds that they agree with the three previously discovered, which were first translated by Dr. Bühler. The Behar Cadastral Survey under the direction of Colonel Sandeman will be begun in October. The Indian Factories Act continues to work mischief, and is censured by the

Bengal Chamber of Commerce and by that of Upper India at Cawnpore. Dr. Robertson and party from Gilgit have visited Calcutta, Benares, Lucknow, Delhi, Agra, etc., and going from Bombay by steamer to Karachi, have returned home *viâ* Lahore. Dr. Robertson officiates as Resident at Sirinagar, during Col. Durand's absence on furlough. The new Governor-General of Goa, Admiral Teixeira da Silva arrived at Bombay, and after a stay of 3 days and a cordial official reception by the Governor, left for Goa, where he was quietly installed. The Goa customs show a great fall.

An outbreak in Lushailand arose from the arrest of the Chief of the Chins and Sharkwas for impeding coolie work, and the disobedience to orders by the Chief of Lalbura, resulting in a general rising of the South Lushais, from which Mr. MacCabe, and Captain Shakespear who was sent to aid him, and a convoy party were all at one time in so critical a state that 200 sepoy were ordered up at once and a similar body held in readiness, while the Nwengal Column had to co-operate from Fort White. Mr. MacCabe attacked and destroyed the villages of Lalhai, Lalrhima and Poiboi, besides Lalbura and Bungtaya. This led to the surrender of the Chiefs of Lalbura and Selbung, and other chiefs followed. The country is to be disarmed; but all is not yet quiet. A public meeting at Silchar has protested against the present denuded state of the Cachar and Assam frontiers, where the police are insufficient to oppose the Lushais; they demand from the government a larger body of troops on the frontier, the suppression of dacoity, and the abolition of the present system of occasionally impressing the village boats, carts, and bullocks, which much paralyzes local industry.

The Viceroy during his visit to Bombay inspected the East India Squadron, which now includes the new Torpedo Gunboats *Assaye* and *Plassy*. We notice again that at the State Parade on that occasion, the European Regiment could only muster 446, all told—so much for the strength of the Battalions in India being the cause of the weakness of those at home, as some military authorities pretend.

The list of Birthday honours has been severely criticized in India, both as to nominations and exclusions, especially for the inconsistency of suddenly creating a G.C.S.I. the Maharajah of Kashmir, who was, till but lately, held unfit to have charge of his own State. The nomination of the War Minister of Nepal as a K.C.S.I. is a happy step, which will be appreciated in that warlike and staunch State.

The Amir of AFGHANISTAN has long threatened the Bijawar district and especially Umra Khan of Jandol; but the attack, almost begun, has been staved off by a warning from the Indian Government that they lay beyond his sphere of influence. The other movements of his general, Ghulam Haidar, have been of no political importance. The Amir has his hands full; for besides the cholera which has long been raging in Caubul, a rebellion of the Urzaghans of Hazara has called forth 5,000 regular and 5,000 irregular troops, and an outbreak between Herat and Bamian, provoked by the outrages of his soldiers, has needed the despatch of troops from Caubul, Candahar and Herat. On the Russo-Afghan frontier there have been a couple of skirmishes which, though of no importance in themselves, may lead to much.

An important paper has been published giving the views expressed by the Amir in public durbar, regarding the respective value to Afghanistan of the British *versus* the Russian alliance. It is full of shrewd common-sense; and decides on preferring the English as the only safe allies, who do not seek the annexation of the country. The wide circulation of so important a document is of the greatest importance to British India; and it is to be hoped that the Amir and his people will always bear in mind the truths so plainly and pithily expressed.

The CEYLON return of Revenue for 1890-91 was Rs. 16,228,768 and Expenditure Rs. 15,316,223; but for 1891-92 the figures are Rs. 18,107,618 and Rs. 17,158,643.

In BURMA though want is still felt, rain has fallen and lessened the numbers on relief works, which at one time



had reached 28,000. The Imperial Government at one time cut down the wages for famine works to a mere subsistence allowance, but the remonstrance of the local Government soon caused the withdrawal of the order. It is expected that all need of famine works will have ceased by the end of June. The severity of the famine is seen from the fact that 16,000 families left Yamathin, Meiktila, and Yen for Lower Burmah, and between 30,000 and 35,000 families left other districts. The finances continue to improve. The Land Révenue of Lower Burma was Rs. 12,900,000 against Rs. 11,450,000 the year before which again was Rs. 1,300,000 over that of 1889-90. The amounts outstanding were never so small as now. Imports were Rs. 105,700,000, an increase of Rs. 4,700,000, and the exports Rs. 126,700,000, an increase of Rs. 3,100,000,—the imports and exports of Rangoon alone being Rs. 91,000,000 and Rs. 90,000,000. In the quinquennial contract with the Imperial Government, Burma gets Rs. 4,250,000, in place of the 3,100,000 offered and the 4,750,000 originally asked. This seems rather niggardly treatment ; as hitherto the surplus of Burma, about 1,800,000 Rs., has gone to India instead of being locally used, and money is urgently needed for public works, especially in Upper Burma for irrigation works. The Mogung Railway is being extended by a branch to Myitkyina, and the Mu Valley Railway is to be pushed on to Wuntho, which after the last rout of the Tswabwa is so far pacified that Government has offered an amnesty to all, except him and a few others. The operations of the various columns in opening out the districts have closed with success ; the country is quiet and the chiefs everywhere submitting. One European and two Bengal regiments and a garrison Battery are to be withdrawn from Burma. Dr. Griesbach of the geological survey has discovered in Bhamo great alluvial deposits of gold, and much lead ; and as capital has begun to come in from the Straits, there seems a good prospect for mineral and mining industries. Mr. Oertel and Major Temple have discovered

in the caves of Kawgun, Damathal and Bingi in Tenasserim, a valuable series of artistic remains extending from the earliest Buddhist to our own times. Sir Alexander Mackenzie having come home on furlough, Mr. Donald Smeaton officiated for him till the arrival of Mr. F. W. R. Fry, who holds the place till Sir Alexander's return to the scene of his valuable labours. A serious fire has occurred in Rangoon; another in Prome burning down one-fourth of the city; and a succession of fires in Mandalay, destroying two miles of streets, 4,109 houses, and several valuable monasteries, with a loss of thirty lives. The Burma-Chinese delimitation is at last agreed upon, and the relations of the two countries are all that could be wished.

The Orang Kaya still keeps the Pahang State in turmoil, in the STRAITS' SETTLEMENTS. He has been joined by several chiefs; two Europeans were murdered; and at Pakan eight Europeans and twenty-five Sikhs had to entrench themselves in the jail. Sir C. Clementi Smith, the Governor, was absent at Singapore, and at first declined to send aid though three war vessels were at hand. The aspect of affairs is serious, as there seems to be a real grievance at bottom. When the Governor of Singapore asked the Legislative Council for \$175,000 for the Pahang administration, only \$100,000 were voted after a brisk debate in which the Governor of Pahang was severely censured, and it was stated that faith had not been kept with the Sultan, who had asked only for a European to advise him, whereupon we had taken over the administration of his territory against his will. An investigation seems much needed. The reports for the last quarter of 1891 showed a falling off in exports of 10 and in imports of 12 per cent.

Raja Brook of SARAWAK has returned to BORNEO from his visit to Europe. The Coffee crop of JAVA is estimated at 90,860 sacks, equal to 495,430 piculs = 19,063 tons.

The French port of Yen Long was surprised by Chinese and Annamite pirates and the troops driven out with loss.

The Sikh regiment raised for HONG KONG has arrived under the command of Col. Barrow; but the barracks, owing to some bungling, not being ready, the men are living uncomfortably in tents.

In JAPAN the elections, conducted amid much disorder and loss of life, have given 140 Rikento (Ministerialist) and 150 Minto (Popular) members. The Mikado has appointed a commission of seven, including Counts Ito, Shojiro, Soyijima, Terashima Munenori, and Viscount Gomoth Takishi, to report on a draft revision of the treaties with the Western Powers. A great fire in Tokio destroyed twenty streets with 5,000 houses and a loss of forty-three lives.

In CHINA, the annual audience granted to ambassadors by the Emperor has not taken place owing to their own absurd disunion, and want of *savoir faire*. It was discovered that last year's audience did not take place in the palace—as it should. The German Minister, who is the *Doyen*, thought it a matter of little importance, but the French and Russian held out for the palace. The English proposed a compromise which the others accepted, that this year it might take place anywhere, provided that next year it took place in the Palace. The Prince Tsing asked them to send in a written memorial; but the President of the Tsung-li-Yamen finding it headed with the words “whereas the Sovereigns of the Western States are the equals of His Majesty the Emperor,” threw back the memorial and refused all discussion.

The Protestant Missions at Chinho and Kien-ning have been attacked and plundered, but no lives were lost. The Tsung-li-Yamen issued orders for the arrest of Chauhan, the chief plotter in circulating the Anti-Christian proclamations; and the Viceroy's deputy actually went to Hunan, for this purpose, but returned without accomplishing it. The Imperial troops have again routed the rebels with great slaughter. The report of the first year's trade at Chung King, the port 1,500 miles up the Yangtse River opened to foreign traffic March 1891, shows a great increase, which

however is counterbalanced by losses from diversion of traffic from Ichang and Hankow. The customs' receipts were Taels 23,518,021 against the previous year's Tls. 1,521,715; the exports (chiefly tea, silk and cotton) were Tls. 100,947,000 against Tls. 13,800,000; the imports were Tls. 134,000,000, among which American Drills were more by 263,000 pieces, and shirtings by 807,000 pieces, than last year; while Indian yarns rose to 1,138,000 piculs and English to 73,000. China is said to have sent troops to the Pamir to maintain its rights but withdrawn them on the remonstrance of Russia.

The Garrison of MERV is increased by two Regiments.

In PERSIA a heavy snowstorm did much damage in April to the telegraphs, which are now being worked on the Duplex system. Cholera has appeared at Mashed and extended to Sabzawar and Nishapur. The Tobacco monopoly has been compromised for the payment of £500,000 by the Shah, who takes over all the company's assets, except cash and exportable tobacco—the sum to be paid in four months. Russia at once offered to supply the money, but the Shah had the good sense to decline, and he has sought a loan in London, through the Imperial Bank of Persia, guaranteed by the customs of Southern Persia.

In TURKEY Sir F. Clare Ford has been well received on succeeding the lamented Sir William White. A Tobacco Monopoly has been quietly and successfully carried out; the Ottoman Railway Company has given a dividend of 5 per cent. while carrying forward £12,000; and a line, 12½ miles long, has been opened between Broussa and Moudania on the Sea of Marmora, whence a daily steamer runs to Constantinople. The revenue for last year is stated to be £780,000 and the expenditure £660,000, leaving a surplus of £120,000. The rebellion in Yemen has at length been quelled—all the towns being retaken, and only the mountain tribes remaining unsubdued. Of these the Erdjib (numbering 60,000) have submitted, each chief giving one son as a hostage. All active opposition has

ceased ; and reforms are being carried out in the administration. The Armenian Patriarch, having resigned, in order to call the Sultan's attention to the alleged grievances of the Armenians, he was ordered to draw up and present a memorial. We regret to hear that Wassa Pasha, Governor of the Lebanon, is in a dying condition.

In EGYPT, the Khedive has been decorated with the G.C.B. ; and the tardy delivery of the Sultan's firman completes the formality of the accession of Abbas Pasha. His brother, Prince Mehemet Ali, proceeds to Vienna to complete his education, though the late Khedive intended him for Oxford. The ill-advised attempt to remove the Sinai Peninsula from Egyptian rule was frustrated by the firmness of the young Khedive, and the vigilance of Sir Evelyn Baring, deservedly raised to a well earned peerage, as Lord Cromer, for long and great services both in India and Egypt. The hitch caused by this event has not increased the Sultan's authority in Egypt ; and Mukhtar Pasha, who used the occasion for trying to interfere in the administration, was sharply rebuked by the Khedive in public and reported to Constantinople. The Sultan gave a conciliatory reply, and ordered Mukhtar in future to be careful. A new bridge has been opened over the Nile at Cairo. The judicial reforms have been completed ; and there are native Judges of appeal all over Egypt, dependent only on the Minister of justice : the legal College is giving great satisfaction. As the prizes recently offered for English in schools excited the jealousy of France, Artin Pasha has decided on not allowing any private prizes for English or French. Dr. Milton chief of the Kasr Elein Hospital is prosecuting the *Bosphore* for £10,000, damages, for scurrilous attacks on surgical practice in that hospital. French obstinacy blocks the way for reducing, by 25 per cent., the Port and Lighting dues of Alexandria, of which shippers complain much. The proposal for investing surplus General Funds (now nearly £2,000,000) in European Stocks, so as to have investments divided equally between

foreign and local stocks, is favourably entertained by the *Caisse de la Dette*. Col. Kitchener succeeded General Grenfells as Sirdar, Col. Settle replacing the former as Inspector General of Police. One hundred Dervishes, on camels, from Suarda in the Soudan, plundered Serra, 30 miles N. of Wadi Halfa, and got off safe, though pursued hotly. Mahdism is said now to be extinct as a religious movement in the Soudan, though the Khalifa is enabled to maintain a military tyranny with the aid of the Baggara tribe.

Mr. J. de Morgan has already done much at Boulak. He is securing the Museum against fire, enlarging it to nearly double its present size, and setting out the additional rooms with objects too long packed away by his predecessor. Among these are 163 mummies of priests of Ammon, a collection of bronze idols found at Sakarah, and a number of stone slabs with sketches in black and colours; and he is arranging for the safe transport from Sakarah of 12 large stelae of the Vth and VIth dynasties. The great temple at Memphis is being excavated. Among recent finds are several inscriptions at the 1st cataract by Prof. Sayce belonging to the Xth Dynasty, which is thus shown to have ruled also in the South; and of fragments of a Dictionary of 3 if not 5 languages, which promises to be of great utility to Philology: it is of course on brick.

The Protocol of the Suez Canal Sanitary Conference held at Venice has been signed by 12 of the 14 countries represented by it. Its main features are that ships with clean bills of health pass freely; ships suspected will be detained at Moses' Wells, and after disinfection will proceed; while infected ships must land their passengers, be thoroughly disinfected and have a longer detention. The rules will not cause much delay, as statistics show that in the past 7 years only 50 ships would have come under their operation.

In CYPRUS there is much discontent, because the heavy tribute of £92,000 a year to Turkey prevents anything being spent on works for the improvement and prosperity of the island. The Imperial Government is asked to aid.

A plague of locusts has fallen on both ALGIERS and MOROCCO. Sir C. Euan-Smith's Mission Extraordinary to the Sultan of Morocco after being detained by heavy rains reach Fez safely and was well received by the people, the Sultan himself watching its entry from a tower on the walls. Sir Charles had two audiences, and the Sultan on receiving the Queen's letter said he would do his best to further friendship with England and to encourage trade. He has named 2 commissioners to discuss the proposed treaty, and a committee of merchants to help; but an attack of Dengue fever has prostrated the mission for a time. The French legation showed its hostility by not sending a representative to see Sir Charles start, as is the custom; but with the advent of a new French Minister the feeling is more cordial. The Sherif of Wazan—under French protection—is intriguing with the rebel Sheikh of Angera, against whom troops are being despatched by the Sultan.

In WEST AFRICA we have had successful expeditions, against Carimoo who in 1891 repulsed an attack with loss;—against Tambi which was captured;—against raiders near Bathurst;—and finally against the Jebus and Egbas, who had completely impeded trade and were threatening Lagos. They in fact anticipated our attack, but were repulsed and lost Pobo from which, as our base of operations, we occupied Magushin, and, after a 4 days' stubborn fight, Jebuode, killing 400, including 20 chiefs, with a loss of 4 killed, and 3 officers and 42 men wounded. The king, whose forces had mustered 7,000 strong, was captured by Captain Gordon: this has resulted in the submission of the whole tribe, and the trade route is open through their territory though still blocked in that of the Egbas. The French and English Delimitation Commission unfortunately fell out at Dahar; and have since continued their labours apart, on parallel lines, each for himself. In the Congo State, Captain Ponthier destroyed two strongholds of slave-raiding Arabs, freeing 250 slaves. France has voted 860,000 frcs. for the Soudan and 3,000,000 frcs. for

Dahomey, the king of which after sending an impudent challenge seized 6 merchants, 2 missionaries and 3 nuns as hostages, and threatened to attack Porto Novo. The French forces, raised to over 5,000, have occupied Whydah the chief port of Dahomey and the whole coast is blockaded : fighting is expected.

From CENTRAL AFRICA, *viâ* Tripoli, we learn that Commandant Monteil has explored the country from Say on the Niger to Baraoua on Lake Chad—a line, north of which is French and South English “influence.” He is now over a year away,—in May, 1891, he was at Ogaduku, capital of Massi, going to Sokoto, and in January last was at Kano making for Konka, capital of Bornou. Another explorer, Lieut. Mizon, met M. Brazza in April at Comasa on a branch of the Sanga River. He traversed 434 miles in an unknown country between Yobu and Comasa, with only 8 natives ! He claims to have solved several geographical problems about the Niger and Congo rivers. The French are naturally very jubilant, and declare that soon Algiers, Congo and Senegal shall meet at Lake Chad.

ST. HELENA seems to lose ground since it ceased to be a coaling station and a naval yard. Its revenue for 1890 was only £8,728 and its expenditure £9,032—a deficit of £304, which there is no chance of meeting, as there are no local means for improving the receipts.

From S. AFRICA, Mr. Rhodes the premier has paid England a second visit; and Natal has sent Sir John Robinson and Mr. G. M. Sutton to confer with Lord Knutsford on the objections against the granting of Representative Government. On the other hand, Mr. Simon has been delegated by the party opposed to such a grant. Applications for 300 farms in Mashonaland show that it is making its way. A temporary bridge over the Vaal river at Bethulia now enables trains to run from Cape Town *viâ* East London to 35 miles of Johannesburg.

In EAST AFRICA, the disaster on the Nyassa Lake was succeeded by the surprise of an outlying post of Fort



Johnson and the capture of a 7-pounder gun. The Missionaries and Mr. Johnson do not seem to agree very well. The Commissioners' hands will be strengthened by the placing of 2 steamers on the Lake. The rebel Witus were attacked by Captain Rogers; but having no guns he could not take their stockades and had to retreat after inflicting heavy loss. Mr. Portal then went up with 2 Companies of Marines, and seized the ringleaders whom he now has imprisoned at Mombasa. An expedition against the Wabura was also successful. From Mombasa, Captain Macdonald reports that from the coast the first 70 miles of the new Railway present no difficulty at all, and the rest he thinks will show no serious ones. The Hindu residents of Zanzibar have indignantly refuted the assertion of the Anti-Slavery Society that they lend money to slave raiding Arabs. The German East Africa Company has just declared a dividend of 5 per cent. on preferential shares. Baron Soden has expelled another of Wissman's partizans. Dr. Peters, having recovered from a bad fever, has joined the Anglo-German Delimitation Commission; but disagreeing with the Baron, he threatened to resign, and now awaits the coming thorough investigation into the whole system of administration by Dr. Kayser, chief of the Colonial Section of the Berlin Foreign Office. Baron von Bülow, Civil governor of Kilimanjaro, having warned all Missionaries to quit the territories of the Moschi tribe whom he was preparing to exterminate, Mr. Portal protested on behalf of the Missionaries. The Moschi however have routed the Baron, who lost one out of his five Europeans, his one gun and 100 of his 150 Soudanese, and was himself wounded: they retreated to Gonga, evacuating Fort Marang. The Missionaries are safe. The Italians at Massowah have been engaged in successfully repulsing 500 Dervishes who made a raid on Baria; two Amirs were killed and the plunder recovered. The Portuguese are still troubled with insurgents on the East coast. Regarding the state of affairs at Uganda we are unwilling, in the absence

of direct news from Captain Lugard, to accept all that is said in the papers ; but we cannot avoid expressing our disgust at the now well known and only too long continued opposition of the two rival missionary bodies, in flagrant violation of our Great Master's direct command.

The flourishing island of MAURITIUS was visited on the 29th April by a terrible hurricane, which demolished many public buildings, besides 24 churches, nearly all the houses of Port Louis, and half of the sugar crop. The loss of life has been immense. A relief loan of £60,000 is asked for from the Imperial Government, repayable in 25 years. The island is fortunately provisioned for 4 months. The Governor was absent in England when this catastrophe occurred. A Mansion-house fund has been raised and remitted ; but the Imperial Government has, up to date, done nothing—not even remitting the heavy quota of £260,000 which Mauritius pays as its military contribution to the Empire.

The FIJI Islands' report for the past year shows a great advance in prosperity. The revenue was £71,000, exceeding that of 1890 by £4,000. The total trade return was £727,000, of which £500,000 were exports, against £364,000 in 1890.

In AUSTRALIA, the most important event of this quarter is the new regulation for the introduction of Kanaka labour into Queensland, for 10 years. That it formerly was accompanied by some abuses and evils is undeniable, though these have been grossly exaggerated ; and others doubtless may occur, in spite of the provisions and precautions of the Government. Yet the introduction of more labourers is a necessity in Queensland, as in the rest of Australia. Parts are unsuited to European labour, and in others Europeans will not work, or find no work—at Sydney no less than 7,000 were unemployed. The Indian Government does not see its way to allow coolie immigration, probably owing to insufficient guarantees ; and the Hon. Mr. Playford, after visiting India for this purpose, has returned with

the conviction that sour grapes are not good. Except the rapidly dying out Polynesian, no other is available. The worst feature of the matter is that the other colonies of the group have taken Queensland to task and censured its Government for passing the act, and declared that the introduction of Asiatic and other coloured labour in Australia is inadmissible. A conference on the subject is projected for July, in which, needless to say, Queensland will take no part. If the colonies begin to snub and criticise each other, there is an end to all chance of Federation. Some of the statesmen still talk about it, and Tasmania is trying to reopen negotiations, but the idea seems at best absolutely dormant. Lord Knutsford has however got the colonies to formulate their statistics in future on a uniform plan. The long continued drought, which had caused great inconvenience and loss, has terminated with an abundant rainfall. A cyclone has swept over part of the country causing much damage. Sir Thomas Elder's exploring expedition is about to be reconstructed. The new office of Military adviser and Inspector of Stores for Australia has been given to Lt. Col. Harman, R.A. The local Easter manœuvres had to be generally abandoned, for economical reasons.

The following returns show the state of finances for the quarter ending 31 March :—

VICTORIA.—Revenue £2,016,000, less by £98,000 than in 1891; customs less by £27,000; returns from public works by £108,000, including £70,000 less for railways. The excise however increased by £45,000.

SYDNEY.—Revenue £2,410,000, an increase of £214,500 over 1891: customs were greater by £300,000; Railways by £20,000.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA (Adelaide).—Revenue £773,600; Expenditure £664,100—the credit balance being £107,500. A decrease of £8,000 in the customs was counterbalanced by a large increase in Railways, Land and Income taxes.

QUEENSLAND (Brisbane) shows an increase of £27,000

over the revenue of 1891; and WEST AUSTRALIA (Perth) shows an excess of Revenue over Expenditure of £48,065, leaving a credit balance of £166,000.

At Sydney 9 new members were added to the Legislative Council, raising the number to 76; and in future the prerogative of mercy, as in Canada, will be exercised not by the Governor but by the Executive. The premier, the Hon. Mr. Dibbs, has come on a visit to England. At Melbourne a dissolution in April ended in the return of 46 ministerialists, 25 opposition, 13 independent, and 11 labour candidates. Of this total of 95, there are 52 for, and 43 against the "one man one vote" cry. The Hon. Mr. Shiels continues as Premier, with a reconstructed ministry which includes Sir Graham Berry. A committee of 3 is investigating the charges made against Mr. Eddy, late head of the Railway Department. The Hon. Mr. Playford was defeated on a vote of want of confidence by 21 against 24 votes, and has been replaced by Mr. Holder as Premier and Treasurer.

NEW ZEALAND is flourishing. The treasurer's estimate of customs (£1,625,000, which was £98,000 over the customs of 1891) was exceeded in actual receipts by £90,000. Railway receipts were £8,000 over the estimate; and the revenue £295,000 over the expenditure. Of this £100,000 goes to pay off floating debt, £30,000 will be used in roadmaking, etc., and £165,000 will be carried forward. The Earl of Glasgow has succeeded Lord Onslow as Governor. The Government of TASMANIA has found it necessary to order an inquiry into the failure of the Van Diemen's Land Bank. At the NEW HEBRIDES the dual Anglo-French control is interfering with British Trade. Sir Thomas McIlwraith in admitting it to be unfair to British interests, recommended the importation of more British settlers as an alternative to simple annexation.

In CANADA accusations continue to be made in the interests of party strife: some Ministers of New Brunswick are now added to those formerly accused at Ottawa and

Quebec; and Mr. Mercer has been put on trial with others. England refused to abrogate her free-trade principles, declining the proposal that she should denounce the "most favoured nation" clause in her treaties, especially with Belgium and Germany, in return for which Canada offered a preferential tariff with the United Kingdom, of which all parties are beginning to see the importance as the great customer for all kinds of Canadian produce. The attempt to make a reasonable commercial treaty with the United States failed signally. Mr. Blaine insisted on a Commercial League between the two, with common tariffs against England: this of course could not even be discussed. In Parliament, the Liberal motion, that as England admitted all Canadian produce free, Canada should reduce its duties on British goods and give preferential rates was defeated by the Conservatives polling 98 votes against the Liberal 64; but the toll on grain passing the St. Lawrence has been lowered for wheat coming to the United Kingdom only, which we hail as a first step towards a real commercial union between the two countries.

Meanwhile Canada thrives apace. The Census returns for 1891 give 75,765 Industrial establishments against 49,923 in 1881; the numbers employed as 367,496 against 254,935; and the capital invested in machinery and tools as \$80,000,000. The Revenue was \$36,655,000, the decrease of \$3,000,000 being for sugar duties remitted; and the Exports exceeded those of 1890-91 by \$12,000,000. There was a surplus of \$2,235,000. Canada has 7,015 vessels, with a total tonnage of 1,005,475. The total mineral products, including bricks and stone for building, are returned at £4,000,000. Among these the principal metallic returns were: Nickel, £555,195; copper, £247,756; gold, £185,097; silver, £81,436; iron, £30,407; lead, £5,121; platinum, £2,000; and antimony, £12. Coal gave £1,558,431; petroleum, £200,909; and asbestos, £200,000. The official census of the Indian population gives 121,638, with 13,420 children of age for school, of

whom 7,574 attend, and are well taught. Progress is being made in teaching habits of settled life and industry.

The Government Railways show a deficit which it is proposed to meet by economy in the number of trains and employes. A serious strike on the Pacific Railway, which had extended to 3,000 miles of the line, was fortunately ended soon by arbitration. The Postmaster-General's annual report states receipts at \$3,374,000, and expenditure at \$4,020,000; and that the Japan and China mail traffic *via* Canada is increasing.

The Behring Sea Seal Fisheries difficulty is happily in a fair way to settlement by Arbitration. Each party prepares immediately a statement of its case, giving a copy to the Arbitrators and to the other side, who within 3 months may submit, if they choose, a counter statement; and 3 months after that, the Arbitrators must give their award: damages for losses in the interim are to follow the award. Both parties undertake to forbid, and as far as possible to prevent sealing, except the number fixed as needed for the natives. The arrangement is to last till October, 1893, or to expire after 2 months' notice. The United States have named as Commissioners Mr. Justice Harlan of the U.S. Supreme Court and Senator Morgan of Alabama; as Agent for preparing their case Mr. Foster; and as Counsel to help in so doing Mr. Phelps, Mr. James C. Carter of New York, and Judge Henry Blodgett of the U.S. District Court. The British Commissioners are Lord Hannen, and Sir John Thompson, K.C.M.G., Canadian Minister of Justice; the Hon. C. H. Tupper is Agent for preparing the case, with Mr. Christopher Robinson and the Hon. W. H. Cross, M.P., as Counsel. The Canadian Sealers sent in claims for compensation for not having been allowed to catch seal, amounting to \$650,000: they have been reduced to \$385,000. An idea of the wholesale destruction of seals may be got from the figure—400,000—caught in the Seas north of Newfoundland alone.

General Herbert, who has presented a flattering report

on the Militia, is preparing a scheme for Canadian defence, including the frontiers, 4,000 miles, and several points on the Pacific shore. At present there is not one large modern gun in the Dominion !

A tornado has just passed over Quebec and Montreal doing great damage, destroying houses with much loss of life.

NEWFOUNDLAND at first rejected the offer of Canada to return to the *status* of 1889, but finally accepted it, as the refusal failed to move England to recognize the Newfoundland reciprocity Treaty with the United States. A committee of both Houses is discussing the French Shore question, the bill for settling which was rejected by the House of Assembly as having been altered by the Premier after the delegates had arranged its points. The actual temporary act was renewed for 2 years, and the *modus vivendi* with France till the end of 1892. Returns show the Revenue as being in 1889, \$1,362,843 ; 1890, \$1,454,336 ; in 1891, \$1,554,000 ; the last 10 months' revenue exceeded the expenditure by \$4,350,000 ; and both exports and imports are increasing, especially as regards the United Kingdom. The debt is \$6,100,000. An interesting report has been drawn up showing the great mineral and forest resources of the Island, as yet quite untouched. The diminished price of Cod has prevented a greater development of revenue.

WEST INDIES.—The state of public feeling in JAMAICA is strongly agitated for a more extensive popular representation in the Government. The intense excitement is extremely pronounced ; and as much dissatisfaction prevails, a political concession seems quite called for. At the BAHAMAS an outburst of public sympathy was shown towards the Editor of the *Nassau Guardian*, imprisoned by the Judge for criticising his judicial conduct. The people sent a deputation to the Governor, protesting against the high-handed exercise of power ; and after hearing them the Governor ordered the prisoner's immediate release. The Chief justice, who at first protested against the Governor's

warrant, is said to have resigned and to intend appealing to the Home Government. A return from the LEEWARD ISLANDS gives Revenue at £119,359, Expenditure at £114,199, Imports at £451,760, and Exports at £513,557. BRITISH GUIANA seems likely to rise in favour as one of the gold-producing districts of the world. The finds are increasing annually, and are situated in the one locality. In 1884 it gave 250 oz.; in 1885—939 oz.; in 1886—6,518 oz.; in 1887—11,906 oz.; in 1888—14,570 oz.; in 1889—28,282 oz.; in 1890—62,575 oz.; in 1891—101,297 oz.: this year's yield already exceeds the total for 1891.

OBITUARY: We note, with regret, the deaths during the quarter, of Col. G. R. Goodfellow, C.I.E., of the Political Department;—the Hon. Framji Nussirwanji Patel, one of the first native members of the Bombay Legislative Council, distinguished for his charities and his efforts for female education, and called the "Nestor of the Parsees";—Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad Khan Bahadur, Extra Assistant Commissioner in the Punjab, sometime Political Agent with Cawnari in Caubul, and Member of the Kashmir Council of State;—Sir H. L. Harrison, Member of the Revenue Board, and Commissioner of the Police and Chairman of the Corporation of Calcutta;—Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.S.I., M.P., late of the Political Department, who did good service in Persia, Zanzibar and India;—Genl. Sir W. Russell, Bart., C.B., who served in the Mutiny;—Miss Amelia B. Edwards, the well-known Lady-Egyptologist, who left her fortune—about £400 a year—to found a chair for her favourite study;—Genl. Sir Francis Morley, K.C.B., who served under Napier in Scindh and Gough in the Punjab;—Genl. Sir Thomas Hooke Pearson, C.B., whose services extended from the days of Runjit Sing in India to the Crimean War;—Genl. Sir W. H. Noble, R.A., who took part in the Afghan war;—Sir Alexander Campbell, Lieut.-Governor of Ontario, and a distinguished Canadian Statesman;—His Highness the Maharajah of Ulwar, an enlightened Indian Prince, whose early and sudden death is a great loss to his State,



and to the distinguished body of Indian Administrators ;—Stephen Austin, the celebrated Oriental Printer ;—M. Joseph Martin the French Explorer who after traversing Mongolia last year, died lately at Khokand ;—the Hon. Mitchell Solomon, C.M.G., of Kingston, Jamaica, Member of the Legislative Council and Custos of St. Ann ;—John Douglas Sandford, sometime Judicial Commissioner of Burma and then of Mysore ;—General Thomas Augustus Carey, who served in the Indian Mutiny ;—the eminent Semitic scholar Isidore Loeb, and Prof. Joseph Budenz, the well-known Philologist of Buda Pesth ; Nursing Rao, a learned native astronomer of Vizianagram ;—G. P. Sander-son of the Mysore Elephant Kheddass ;—Captain W. Grant Stairs, one of Stanley's school, who had just reached the Zambezi with the remains of the Katanga expedition, after a year's exploration ;—and General Albert Fytche, C.S.I., late Chief Commissioner of Burma, whose services in India date from 1841.

Emin Pasha is reported to be dead ; but we are happy to say that the report still lacks authenticity.

*June 21st, 1892.*

V.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *The Land Systems of British India*, by B. H. BADEN-POWELL, C.I.E. (Oxford: Clarendon Press.) 3 vols. This is a truly monumental compilation of vast research, great labour, and painstaking accuracy. It is a standard book, and the name of its author alone is a guarantee of excellence. The first part of the work consists of a chapter devoted to certain general facts and features about the land, the climate, harvests, irrigation of rivers, which are likely to need explaining to English readers. After that a general sketch of the Land-Tenures is given, in which the main features of landholding—the aggregation of cultivating groups called “villages” is first of all dealt with. The mistakes of many of the earlier writers about villages are explained, and especially the important difference between villages held in shares (as in the Panjāb) and villages held (as in Southern, Western, and Central India) by isolated landholders, is pointed out; these forms are distinct in origin, and it is explained how the “co-shared” villages grew up; sometimes owing to the custom of the agricultural tribes who founded them (as with Jats in the N. West), sometimes by the acquisition of a village by ancient grant of some Raja, or by the disruption of a larger estate, or often by a revenue-farmer getting the headship. In time these persons are succeeded by a numerous body of descendants, who jointly inherit and form a co-sharing community laying claim to the whole. If this occurred in a village already occupied, the old landholding class become their tenants. Very frequently, however, the village has a new foundation; joint villages are also frequently due to curious co-operative colonies. According to the origin, so does the constitution of the village vary; *i.e.*, the *methods* of sharing, some of which are curious. Thus, in some cases, the sharers take according to the fractional share of the pedigree table; in others there is a curious plan of making lots of equal value, by selecting little bits of each class and kind of land to make up the holding (real Bhaiáchará). Sometimes there is no real sharing at all, but each takes the plot that pleases him; sometimes they divide by the number of wells sunk to irrigate, sometimes by the number of *ploughs*, and so on. The effect of Government grants to hold free of revenue is also discussed as giving rise to landlord tenures; the same effect is also produced by the arrangements for *farming* the revenues resorted to by the later Mughal sovereigns partly to save trouble, partly to give employment to the old Rájás and chiefs who were reduced; from this system grew up the Zaméndár Landlords of Bengal and the Tálúqdárs of Oudh. A section follows giving a history of the relations of Landlord and Tenant in India, and then one discussing the ideas of Hindus and Muhammadans as to “property” in land and what sort of right it was; also the question how far the Government was or is the supreme landlord or ultimate owner of all land.

A chapter is then devoted to the account of ancient and modern methods of assessing and collecting the revenue from land; how the old plan of taking a share of the grain in kind gave way to the form of taking a money payment.

All the modern systems of Land-Revenue Settlement are described—they consist of four main classes—(1) The Permanent Settlement with great Landlords in Bengal. (2) Settlement with village estates—treating the village (or some similar group) as a whole in the N. W. Province, Panjāb, and Central Province. (3) The Taluqdārī Settlement of Oudh. (4) Raiyatwārī Settlements, etc., where there is no landlord or middleman, but each separate holding is assessed. The Madras and Bombay systems are typical of this; but in *principle* the Settlements of Burma and Assam are the same.

After the general portion come the "Books"—devoted to some details about the Provinces, Bengal, N. W. Provinces and Oudh, Central Provinces, Panjāb, Ajmēr, Berar, Bombay, Madras, Assam and Burma and Coorg.

Under each, after a general introduction, a chapter describes the form of settlement and the work of assigning the revenue and valuing the land; a chapter on the Land-Tenures and the Tenant-Laws, and one on the duties of the Revenue Officers and their powers and mode of procedure.

Two maps are novel, one gives British India coloured to show how the provinces were gradually acquired by conquest, treaty, etc. Another shows the prevalence of the different systems of settlement (Permanent, Temporary, Village, Rayatwari, etc.)

2. The English translation of the second volume of the 1st Part of Mirkhond's general History called *The Rauzat-us-Safa* or *Garden of Purity* has just appeared. Like the first volume, it reflects much deserved credit on the translator, Mr. E. Rehatsek and the editor, Mr. F. F. Arbuthnot, as also much undeserved credit on the Royal Asiatic Society which figures as the patron of this admirable work, without, apparently, doing anything whatever to merit that title. We have already pointed out in our Review of the first volume in our issue of Oct. 1891, what the Society should do if its defunct "Oriental translation fund" is to be revived under its living auspices, as it is now in the mere shadow of a name. It is a great pity that Mr. Rehatsek should have died just as he was working at the translation of the third part of Mirkhond's voluminous history. However, the three volumes of the II Part containing the lives of the apostle Muhammad and of his four immediate successors had been translated by the indefatigable Hungarian scholar, whose 44 years' devotion in India to Oriental research has been so little requited.

The value of the present volume consists in the numerous sidelights and half lights which it throws on Bible history from the Muhammadan standpoint. The stories are so like and yet so unlike those of our Scriptures that their suggestiveness as regards the nature of their source cannot be over-estimated. Indeed, Mr. Arbuthnot seems to hold with Mr. Edwin Johnston that the religious literature of the Jews and Christians is based upon the Koran and the chronicles of Tabari, and that the teachings of the Synagogue and the Church follow the traditions of the Mosque. Without

going the same length or contending on behalf of the priority, in purity or corruption of Jewish, Christian, and Mahommedan legends, we should certainly have preferred, as material in such discussion, a really complete and scholarly translation of Tabari's Arabic chronicles to the much later growth of Mirkhond's Persian "Garden." No scriptural reader, however, should be without the two volumes that we have noticed, which contain a mass of historical information regarding Prophets, Kings, and Philosophers. Curious details are given, concerning the death of Socrates who, it appears, married Xanthippe for the following reason: "If there be no escape from matrimony, I shall take a woman notorious for her stupidity and remarkable for her domineering spirit, so that by patiently schooling myself to suffer her tyranny, I may accustom myself to bear with the follies of high and low people."

The book abounds in similar anecdotes and incidentally throws light on the use of such titles as "Qaisar" or "Kaisar" whose first application is naturally connected with the Cæsar of Western, and then of Eastern, Rome (Rûm) before it became a title of the present Queen-Empress of India. Many details are also given in this volume about the death of Moses, the life of Jesus, and the biographies of Alexander the Great and of the kings of the Persian four dynasties.

3. *Persia and the Persian Question*, by the HON. GEORGE N. CURZON, M.P. 2 vols. (Longmans & Co.) Mr. Curzon has set himself so great a task in producing his work on Persia that it is not a matter for surprise if the result does not altogether come up to the author's high ideal. Curzon's 'Persia' is not so much a standard work of reference on that country as a book of great present political importance. The author has added much general and special information, rather as an immediate compilation from numerous sources, than as the result of his own elaboration of material. Yet, for many years, Curzon's 'Persia' will occupy the first rank amongst books dealing with Iran.

We propose in our next issue to devote some pages to 'Persia and the Persian Question' and our remarks are therefore to be taken as merely a brief reference to one of the most important publications of the quarter.

4. *The Ainu of Japan*, by the REV. JOHN BATCHELOR. (London: The Religious Tract Society.) This is an unassuming but well written and interesting record of personal experiences among the Ainu or "the hairy aborigines of Japan." These Ainu are a peculiar race altogether though they hardly merit the epithet "hairy" as most, or many, of them have apparently not much more hair than Europeans. To judge by the illustrations, they seem quite an intelligent race, indeed the frontispiece, representing an Ainu, reminds us very strongly of a well-known and eminent Orientalist whose name is only withheld as the comparison might be considered offensive either to the Ainu or the Orientalist. According to the author the Ainu in common with most Aborigines of the world are gradually decreasing; the relentless persecution and the extermination of whole villages practised by the Japanese of old, as well as the supply of alcoholic poisons are its causes. The Japanese were and are, it appears, conversant with the approved methods of civilized nations for instilling

culture in primitive people ; only the missionaries seem wanting to complete the system.

It is a pleasure to read Mr. Batchelor's carefully elaborated, scholarly chapters which show a thorough grasp of the whole subject, a deal of research and above all a kind, Christian-like sympathy with the poor, out-cast, despised Ainu and their beliefs and customs, that other missionaries might with advantage endeavour to follow.

5. *To the Snows of Tibet through China*. By A. E. PRATT, F.R.G.S. (Longmans & Co.) is an interesting description of a journey to these regions by a naturalist in search of birds, insects and reptiles as also for specimens of the vegetable kingdom. The charm of the book lies in the unaffected simplicity of style and narrative ; it will not only be appreciated by men of science but by the ordinary reader as well ; the author besides being an entomologist and botanist is also quite an artist, for like him he has the gift to portray to us so vividly, with a few strokes of his pen—instead of the pencil and brush—the scenery he passes through, that we fancy ourselves with him in the boat on the river, passing the rapids and beautiful gorges, and ascending the snowy mountains through jungles and precipitous paths to the summit of several of the Tibetan plateaux.

Mr. Pratt does not speak highly of the Chinese at whose hands he suffered much persecution. The Catholic missionaries, who treated him well are much praised for their Christian charity and lives of self-denial. We owe the author thanks for a delightful book enhanced in value by well-executed illustrations.

6. *Har-Moad, or the Mountain of the Assembly*, by O. D. MILLER, D.D. (New Adams, Mass., U.S.A. : S. M. Whipple.)

*Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah*, by J. WELLHAUSEN. 3rd Ed. (London and Edinburgh : A. and C. Black.)

*The Foundations of the Bible*, by CANON R. B. GIRDLESTONE, M.A. (London : Eyre and Spottiswoode.)

*The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, by PROFESSOR J. ROBERTSON SMITH ; 2nd Ed. (London and Edinburgh : A. and C. Black.)

Here is a quartet of cognate yet very different books—touching the Bible. The first serves to show that a man may be very erudite and well-read and yet waste the stores, which could have been utilized for a good purpose, in building up fanciful and vague theories, groundless, vain and useless. Neither the spot whence the human race first proceeded, nor the writing of the history of man's fall and other Biblical matters in the heavenly constellations, nor the 12 stars of Phœnicia, nor Babylonian chronology, can help one iota to prove the inspiration and truth of scripture, or to solve even one of the numerous difficulties which it confessedly contains. This book is made out of a confused mass of valuable information, which in the hands of a scholar who had well digested its details, might be utilized for partly proving the authenticity and authority of Scripture. Prolix and without method or legitimate conclusions, the author's own comments on the monuments and works he cites partake greatly of the nature of Scotch Metaphysics. Professor Wellhausen is one of the mainstays of disbelievers in the Bible ; yet we welcome this work

as one of the best antidotes to the poison he—doubtless in good faith—administers to the public. To read this book is sufficient to show the astounding amount of baseless suppositions in which the new school deals. The real sources of Hebrew History are three: the Bible, Jewish tradition and contemporary monuments. In opposition to all three, this school sets up its own *ipse dixit*: thus it should have been, thus it must have been, thus it *was*. And underlying the entire system of this supercilious sophistry is that absurd begging of the whole question, involved in the first principle of this school—there is no supernatural, and miracles are impossible. We invite all Biblical students to read in this book the condemnation of the entire system of which it is a part; for here, better than elsewhere, becomes evident to any intelligent reader how suppositions are for a purpose treated as realities and prejudged assertions dignified with the title of History. Like Balaam, the book gives a blessing where it meant to curse. It lessens one's confidence in the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, to find so important an article as Hebrew History entrusted to so prejudiced, onesided and therefore unreliable an author.

Our third book is of the usual orthodox type, admitting that difficulties do exist in the Bible and trying to solve them out of the Bible itself. Canon Girdlestone's book shows much loving study and careful analysis of the scripture, coupled with much skill, wide reading, great erudition and reverent handling. It indicates useful lines of Biblical defence, develops strong arguments, with convincing reasoning and many authorities; and while admitting many conclusions of the new School, very rightly limits them to what is really proved by something more than mere dogmatic assertions. A deep study of Semitic Languages, manners and customs and history, helps to establish most of the author's conclusions; yet many are far from being demonstrated by his system, and fail to go beyond the region of verisimilitude; for this defence is not, and cannot be extended to all the points of attack, and it cannot therefore be truly said that the attack is foiled. The foundations of the Bible are not and cannot be their own support; they must rest ultimately on the principle of authority. Still we welcome Canon Girdlestone's learned work as a strong ally in defending the truth and authenticity of Scripture. Professor Robertson Smith gives us a work worthy of his great reputation. It contains a truthful statement of the last word, up to date, of the so-called Higher Criticism—methodically arranged, fully illustrated and plainly stated. It is absolutely necessary that the Biblical student should have such a book, to learn what are the nature and the arms of the attack. The professor seems merely to state the case; and he does not draw conclusions as to the authority and inspiration of the Bible. He states it in detail, and states it perfectly. These four books, in the hands of learned controversialists will be of immense value in the warfare now being waged for upholding the Word of God. The Bible, as the revelation of God for the Salvation of mankind, can bear and defeat all assaults, when properly defended, though much of the groundless veneration, not to say indiscriminate book-worship, that, as a reaction, has been given to it from the XVIth Century, must be abandoned. It consists of a human and a divine

element mingled together; it was written under divine guidance, at various times, by various persons, from various documents, and has suffered like other books from interpolations, errors of copyists and loss of portions. How far that guidance extended, which are the divine and which the human influences in it, how far the one controlled the other, form the great question of the nature of inspiration,—the great question of the day so far as the Bible is concerned—which must sooner or later be faced manfully; and it can only be decided, after long discussion, with the aid of books on both sides, like those we have the pleasure of introducing to our readers.

7. *The Hibbert Lectures*, 1891. 'Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Conception of God as illustrated by Anthropology and History,' by COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA. (Williams and Norgate.) The book before us is of absorbing interest to us, and none the less so because the conclusions arrived at by the learned author seem to us unwarranted and his views one-sided. The writer evidently belongs to the accepted orthodox school of savants who start with the assumption that the foundation and source of religion is to be found amongst past and present savage races. Why then do we find in ancient religious systems, truths which only the most developed philosophical minds of the present age can grasp? Why too, amongst most barbarous and ignorant people do we frequently or occasionally discover glimpses of deep sentiment and abstract thought which those same savages could never have evolved of themselves? Does this not show that we have to deal with religious truths which, as always must be, were first adapted to the comprehension of a people who, degenerating themselves have dragged their religion with them until, save for those occasional flashes pointing to pristine purity, it has become quite unrecognisable.

Count D'Alviella is fond of disporting himself about the outskirts of the various religio-philosophical systems; he prefers treating of superstitions and obvious outgrowths rather than attempt to penetrate into the inner sanctum to search for essentials and to offer a solution of apparent contradictions; learned and deeply read, as the author no doubt is, he is incapable of freeing himself from entirely preconceived notions; in accordance with the practice obtaining nowadays, a theory is first conceived; subsequently a search for facts is made, and those that fit in tolerably with the theory are accepted, the others are rejected. Pearls upon pearls are strung together in this necklace with which the author presents us; yet the string of a previously determined length supplied by the author, is ever conspicuous. Count D'Alviella's admiration for his illustrious predecessors in the chair of the Hibbert Lectures, and especially for Prof. Max Müller is great; perhaps this accounts for what we consider his shortcomings and the standpoint he occupies, of regarding the best thoughts and noblest aspirations of the past as childish attempts compared with the lofty intellectual standard of the school of which he is so distinguished an exponent.

The comparative method is of the utmost value, yet judgment must be exercised in its application. An examination of Christianity based upon the

facts that the red Indian of America blows a whiff of tobacco-smoke heavenward in order to give pleasure to the Great Spirit and that this custom finds its analogue (?) in the incense burning of the Catholic Church, would surely only result in worthless conclusions regarding the great religion founded by Jesus Christ. We have not actually discovered this application of Count D'Alviella's method in his book, but it would not have surprised us if we had, and the author may perhaps thank us for the suggestive hint.

We conclude our remarks, regretting that the exigencies of space have only allowed adverse criticism; the merits of the work are great, the information conveyed is vast, and its suggestiveness in reasoning is worthy of the brilliant genius of the author. All thinking men should read the book.

8. *History of the Church in Eastern Canada and Newfoundland.* By the REV. J. LANGTRY, M.A., D.C.L. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1892.) If we except a few expressions calculated to give needless pain to Dissenters and Catholics, this book presents an excellent history of the Anglican Church in the East of our North American possessions. Its origin and progress, the gradual establishment, and extension of its episcopate and institutions, its system of government, its means of support, and its educational establishments are all detailed. In the part devoted to the Bishopric of Newfoundland are some details of the early history of the Colony, which, read by the light of recent complications, show unpleasantly how England with regard to that island has acted always rather for the benefit of France than of our own people. The book contains careful biographies of Bishops and other distinguished churchmen, and presents many an edifying sketch of lives faithfully spent and labour heroically endured by the clergy who naturally followed in the wake of the Anglo-Saxon Colonizers of those parts. We find the words "Mission" and "Missionaries" often used; but they seem rather misapplied to the generally too tardy arrival of the clergy to look after their only too long neglected fellow countrymen. The author admits failure among the Indians. We find also little or nothing of the establishment and progress of the Catholic Church, strong as it notoriously is in Canada. If Mr. Langtry intended to confine himself to the History of one Communion only, he should have prefixed in his title, the word "Anglican" to Church: as such his book is both very complete, detailed, and interesting.

9. *Games Ancient and Oriental, and how to play them.* By ED. FALKENER. (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1892.) Wide reading, long study, persevering research, and acute ingenuity combine to make this book of not less interest to the general reader than of utility, not to say necessity, to the specialists who delight in tracing how mankind amuse themselves. Of ancient games, the author has most ingeniously recovered and reconstructed the rules and mode of playing of three Egyptian games, till now quite unintelligible, though noticed and played subsequently by Greeks and Romans. The modern Italian *Mora* too is traced up to its Egyptian source. Then come some very interesting chapters on Chess, with its variations, among which that here called the "Maharajah and the Sepoys" is oftener in North India, called "The Mad King," and is an excellent though



little known variation for teaching beginners to be careful in leaving no piece unsupported. The next two divisions treat of the varieties of Draughts and Backgammon, including the Indian *Pachisi*, which we saw last Christmas played with as much eagerness in London by four Europeans as the author describes to be the case with Bengal. There is a treatise on Magic Squares, very thorough and comprehensive; and another on the very fascinating solitary practice called the Knights' Tour, of which numerous entertaining specimens are given. Of all the varieties of games treated in the book, amounting to over 30, not only are the rules stated, to enable any one to play them, but specimen games, on an easy system of notation, are given to exemplify the working of the rules. The book is sure to be a favourite.

10. *The Philosophy of Religion*. By HERMAN LOTZE, edited by F. C. Conybeare, M.A. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co.) It is relief to find a Philosophy of Religion which does not degrade the divine existence to a merely subjective concept of the human mind, gradually creating for itself its own Creator, who is different in each mind, and has no objective existence. Lotze has more sense. Admitting and upholding the existence of God and that it can be proved, the substantive reality and immortality of the human soul, and the necessity of religion, our author in eight chapters discusses, with reverent freedom, a great number of spiritual and religious subjects, with the aid of reason alone. Yet he by no means denies, what other writers on the subject often forget, that but for revelation and Christianity many of these questions would never have become known to man, much less have been flooded with that amount of light which those twin sources of knowledge, rightly understood, have so beneficently shed on the nature of God, His relation with man, and man's final end. Lotze examines several arguments for the existence of God, some of which he rejects as insufficient, and others he upholds as helping to establish it: this point, however, of religious belief is not to be built up with reasoning alone. The creation and maintenance and government of the world, the nature of good and evil, are discussed; and though we do not agree on all points with the author, it is a pleasure to find reason put to its right use in establishing such matters of religious belief as are the fair objects of purely human knowledge. We cannot accept his explanation of the words "Son of God"; but he is quite orthodox in maintaining the fundamental points of religion which are demonstrable by human reason alone, and as such should be common to all mankind, and would be, if adequately put forward more generally in the lucid way that our author does.

11. *Hebrew Tenses, and some other Syntactical questions*. By S. R. DRIVER, D.D. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 3rd. Edition.) Canon Driver's well known, justly appreciated and scholarly work is again presented with several emendations, modifications and additions, increasing greatly its value to the student of Hebrew and of Scripture. Its admitted utility dispenses us from the detailed notice, which we should wish to give it, but which our space forbids; and we content ourselves with emphasizing its absolute necessity for those who wish to master the Hebrew language and to relish the

beauty of the original of God's word, often lost or but imperfectly expressed in even the best of translations.

12. *Among the Mongols*. By JAMES GILMOUR, M.A. (London: The Religious Tract Society.) This small volume is full of information at first hand, of a not much known people. It is simple in style though the author attempts at times, not very successfully, to do some word-painting. The connection also between the chapters is conspicuous by its absence; and there is the strong bias against local religions and customs, inseparable from the work of any foreigner especially a Missionary: altering the poet's couplet, he is

"Nor to their virtues over kind,  
Nor to their vices at all blind."

Yet the book is not only pleasant reading; it is absolutely fascinating, both as to what the author expressly tells us of the manners and customs of the people, and as to what he almost unconsciously shows regarding them in the course of his narrative. A delightful collection of local tales and proverbs concludes this excellent volume, which is further enriched with a number of illustrations from sketches by native artists.

13. *Mashonaland*. By G. W. H. KNIGHT-BRUCE, Bishop of Mashonaland. (Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.) This book represents the journals of the Mashonaland Mission from 1888 to 1892. Those who are deeply interested in the vicissitudes undergone by Mashonaland's bishop should read the book, as it is full of the bishop and his trials.

14. *The Catholicos of the East and his People*, by A. J. MACLEAN, M.A., and M. H. BROWNE, LL.M. (London: Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, 1892.) This is a very welcome work, the model of what such works should be—simple, precise, detailed, methodical, and utterly free from the common fault of sectarian cavillings and bigoted diatribes. If you want to know about the Syrian Christians, go to this book, where, better than in any others we have, you will find all that there is to tell, well told, in a friendly way, and with perfect accuracy, except perhaps in the rather exaggerated importance attributed to their former missionary efforts. Persons and places, manners and customs, faults and virtues are all faithfully described, with, as should always be the case, a friendly word to whatever is good even in those with whom the authors "agree to differ." The interest of the book is very great; and we note with pleasure, that in the Schools of the Mission, which is laudably trying to improve the present rather degraded condition of the people, every effort is made to check the aping of European manners, customs and dress, and that the difficult task is being tried of giving a high standard education, and yet keeping the educated scholars content to till their soil and do their domestic duties. Well may we ask, after our Indian experience, if the two are quite compatible? and what is likely to be the result with the people of the Catholicos? Our authors themselves note, that already too many leave their own country, to beg or do worse in Russia and Europe.

15. *Round the Empire*. By G. R. PARKIN, M.A., with a preface by the Right Hon. the Earl of Rosebery, K.T. (London: Cassell and Company, Limited.)

16. *Imperial Federation*. By G. R. PARKIN, M.A., with map. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1892.)

While a daily increasing number of British subjects think and at times even speak of the great and important yet still by no means sufficiently appreciated problem of Imperial Federation, for the success of which all who love their country cannot but be anxiously wishful, there are a few who manfully set the shoulder to the wheel to aid the gradual accomplishment of that vast, difficult and comprehensive scheme: chief among them is the author of these two works, which we welcome with delight and on the merits of which we congratulate Mr. Parkin. The first is one of a school series, well written, well illustrated, and got up in the specially beautiful style for which Cassell and Co. are so well known. It is meant to form the rising generation to a just appreciation of the great inheritance, which the energy of their forefathers has left them, in the present British empire, and to a serious realization of the duties incumbent on them for its maintenance in their own time and the transmission, undiminished and untarnished, of its glories to their posterity. The other and larger work deals directly with the subject of Imperial Federation in a series of excellent essays on each constituent part of the Empire. Clear and plain and terse in style, he points out the natural dependence of all on each other, and mercilessly exposes the fallacies of its opponents, the pessimist prophets who decry the great work, or think it unachievable. The chapter on India is a very good specimen; and though it is by no means thorough, he points out, what we said in our Review of Sir Charles Dilke's book on this same subject, that India alone takes already its right place in Imperial Federation. But it is not so much those in the mother country who need to be taught the necessity for Federation. The ignorance, which he justly thinks is the most to be dreaded cause of possible future dissolution, is greatest in the Colonies, which with their inexperience in self-defence, their narrow-minded, touchy and jealous self-assertion, and their utter ignorance of the amount of their indebtedness for commercial, financial and political importance to the mother country require to be taught by such works as these; and the best way to build up an Imperial Federation is to flood the colonies with cheap publications to prove to them this rather self-evident fact. We cordially wish Mr. Parkin's books the success they so well deserve.

17. *Mountstuart Elphinstone*, by J. S. COTTON, M.A. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press.) Another volume of these popular and well written biographies of the *Rulers of India* presents us with the graphically executed portrait of one of the most distinguished of the class of British statesmen in India, who helped to form that Empire, in spite of all that we now look down on as evil. Nominated, without competitive examination, while still a lad and knowing less than many a girl of 17 does nowadays, Elphinstone showed himself a man of diligence, activity, good sense, resolution, bravery and talent, and by continual study acquired not only the languages he was supposed to, but had not as a fact learned at his school, and others, needed in his duties and became a good ruler and administrator. His failure in Afghanistan was due to circumstances rather than to his fault; but it effectually

ally quenched his ambition. He was a success in all he undertook, in study, in authorship, in fighting, in civil administration. Yet we honour him more for the wise and liberal policy of his Educational system, which, improved and extended in after years, has done so much for indigenous education in the Bombay Presidency. There is not much in this biography that is new, though the author had access to numerous private papers; but it is an excellent volume of an excellent series.

18. *Through Famine-stricken Russia*. By W. BARNES STEVENI. (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1892). This is a graphic and therefore gruesome detail of the horrors of the Russian famine by an acute observer and a good writer, whom previous knowledge of the language and country had well qualified for his task. If there is a blemish at all, it is that there is too much Tolstoi for our taste. Next to the kindly pity which all must feel for a sturdy, patient and good-natured, if somewhat slothful peasantry, that is slowly but surely being dimidiated rather than decimated by an awful calamity, there rise in the mind of the reader two questions: Why has not Russia, on which no one wishes to encroach, disbanded three-quarters of its army? and is this the nation and this the Government to prate about its mission for *civilizing* Asia?

19. *Russian Characteristics*. By E. B. LANIN. (Chapman and Hall.) In the words of one of the Government organs speaking the truth for once: "The main evil of Russian society is that it suffers from complete, absolute dissoluteness, recognises no moral discipline and has practically emancipated itself from duty." This and much more will be the conviction of all who peruse the pages of this admirable book (reprinted with revisions from the *Fortnightly*) on which its able author, who writes under the name of E. B. Lanin, has lavished the charm of his style and the wealth of his great personal experience, knowledge and acute powers of observation. The barest reference to the leading points in this work would occupy pages; we must content ourselves in recording our appreciation of the book and in recommending all to read it. It ought to be translated for the benefit of the inhabitants of India; in Turkey too, and in Persia much good would result by its circulation. A more hopeless state of complete barbarism than is represented by the Russian colossus, according to Lanin, cannot be conceived.

20. *A Grammar of the Old Persian Language*. By HERBERT CUSHING TOLMAN, Ph.D. (Boston: Ginn & Co. London: Ed. Arnold.) This is but a small book, and half of it is taken up with a transliteration of the "Behistan" inscriptions. The remainder is only confusing and useless to beginners, and utterly worthless for scholars. Why, or wherefore, or for whom the book was written, is a mystery. There is not a single cuneiform letter from beginning to end; and the author seems to wish to teach languages without their alphabets: how would Greek look in a transliterated Grammar? What the book contains is without order or method, lucidity or depth, and is full of printer's errors.

21. A suggestive and highly interesting pamphlet by PROF. VAMBÉRY has reached us; it is entitled, *Aus dem Geistesleben persisches Frauen*, i.e., "The intellectual life of Persian women." Prof. Vambéry has

become possessed of a manuscript by a court poet of the early part of this century, by name Mahmud Kajar, and one of its sections deals with the subject of contemporary, and past Persian poetesses of distinction. The much misunderstood and misstated seclusion of the harem, in the East, does not apparently affect disadvantageously the mental development of its (so-called) victims. Prof. Vambéry refers to, and quotes extracts from, at least twenty poetesses; several are of the royal family.

22. *Guzerati Grammar*. By W. ST. C. TISDALL, M.A. (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.) We have had occasion to notice, with due praise, several grammars of this admirable series, (Trübner's Collection of Simplified Grammars); and the present is one of the best we have yet seen. Clear, terse, concise, it is a good guide to the study of an interesting and useful though by no means difficult language. Half the book consists of a series of reading lessons, selected with an eye to the usefulness of variety. A copious and carefully compiled vocabulary completes the excellent work, in which the student will find all that is needed, without being confused with unnecessary details and excursus.

23. *The History of the Jews*. By H. GRAETZ, translated by Bella Löwey. Vols. iii., iv., and v. (London: David Nutt.) We had the pleasure of reviewing vols. i. and ii. in our January, 1892 issue; and the three volumes now to hand continue the history in the same satisfactory style down to the present day, concluding with a good index to the whole work. There are the same defects—an absence of interesting and important details on some points, as *e.g.*, the Kabala,—a slight tinge of prejudice, which after all cannot be absent from any history,—a little harshness in judging Christian men and things, not unnatural considering what the Jews have suffered,—and of course the absence of citation of authorities, deliberately but we think not wisely adopted in this edition: all these we noticed in our first review. Notwithstanding these defects, these three vols. complete an excellent and reliable history of God's chosen people, which gives without undue prolixity a detailed account of all that is needed by the general and even the more advanced reader. It should find a welcome place in every library.

24. *The Book of Joseph and Zuleikha*, by MULLANA ABDUL-RAHMAN JAMI; translated into English Verse by ALEXANDER ROGERS. (London: David Nutt.) This favourite love-poem of the East has hitherto been practically unknown in the west, because no one ventured on the translation of a work whose entire spirit and letter, in spite of many beauties, are essentially alien to the European mind. As a study however of oriental thought, sentiment and diction, it is of surpassing value; and we therefore welcome this translation by so thorough a Persian scholar as Mr. Rogers, already well known for previous similar works. It was certainly no easy task to reproduce in good English over 7,000 couplets of a literal translation from a foreign language and idiosyncrasy; and we heartily congratulate Mr. Rogers on having achieved a success, not unusual indeed in him, but quite phenomenal among ordinary translators. There are defects no doubt, in occasional inaccuracy of version and faultiness in style. Some of the verses halt a good deal and others are rough not to say uncouth,—solely

because sufficient time and pains were not taken for producing a better result. Still on the whole he presents the learner of Persian with a great help to understanding the original, and the student of the East with a vivid and clear picture of Oriental love and the modes of its expression. V.

The Law Magazine and Review for May 1892 had an important article on *The Fusion of Executive and Judicial Powers in India* by John Dacosta.

It deals with a constitutional question, which has attracted the attention of the administrators of our government in India as far back as 1793. Mr. Dacosta gives some very remarkable details, which, on the unimpeachable authority of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, go far to prove that the blot brought to light by Lord Cornwallis is a blot to this day,—as nearly as possible a century later. Lord Cornwallis said it was obvious that if the regulations for assessing and collecting the public Revenue were infringed, the Revenue officers themselves must be the aggressors, and that individuals, who have been wronged by them in one capacity never can hope to obtain redress from them in another. It therefore followed, in the view of this distinguished Governor General, that the Revenue officers must be deprived of their judicial powers. That Lord Cornwallis was perfectly right can well be gathered from the various cases adduced by Mr. Dacosta. The delays of the Law are, we know, proverbial; but when a Government intervenes on the side of delay, the result is an almost hopeless position for one who, *ex hypothesi*, is simply seeking a declaration of the Law applicable in his case; thus, in a suit for recovery of property seized by Government, commenced in 1862, the stage of a decree for recovery of the property was only reached in 1870. In 1883 Government again claimed the same property, and this is one of the cases only now at length decided in favour of the native proprietor (in November of 1891, and February of 1892). Mr. Dacosta has a strong case, and lets it speak for itself. The facts are in themselves enough for most people.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We have to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of the following publications, some of which arrived too late for notice in this issue, or were excluded for want of space, and are accordingly to be reviewed in our next:

1. *Pahlavi Texts*, translated by E. W. West (Sacred Books of the East, Clarendon Press, 2 vols.).
2. *Jātaka Mālā*, edited by Dr. Hendrik Kern (Edward Arnold).
3. *Arakan, Past, Present, Future*, by J. Ogilvie Hay (W. Blackwood).
4. *Studies in South American Native Languages*, by Dr. D. G. Brinton (Philadelphia: MacCalla and Co.).
5. *Lerghundi y Simonet, Crestomatia Árábico-Española* (Granada: Ventura Sabatol).
6. *The Boletín de la Sociedad Geográfica de Madrid* (Fortunet).
7. *La Revue des Revues*.
8. *La Revue Générale*.
9. *Bulletin des Sommaires*.
10. *The Contemporary Review*.
11. *The Review of Reviews*.
12. *The Scottish Geographical Society's Journal*.
13. *The Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*.
14. *The Society of Arts Journal*.
15. *Lucifer*.
16. *La Civiltà Catholica*.
17. *The Allahabad Review*.
18. *Gesellschaft*.
19. *The Rajah's Heir* (Smith, Elder and Co.), which has reached another edition.



THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review,*  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1892.

BAM-I-DUNIA;  
OR, THE ROOF OF THE WORLD.

BY ROBERT MICHELL.

THE general public has not sufficiently noted the many geographical and other discoveries of Russian explorers in Central Asia, since the year 1871. This is the more to be regretted because our own boasted discoveries have mostly been sealed up in secrecy by the India Government. Excepting the accounts rendered by Shaw, Hayward and Johnson, the Journals of the Royal Geographical Society cannot boast of having helped to give the public any light on the improvement of our maps of Central Asia.

The Report of Sir Douglas Forsyth's Mission to Kashgar in 1873 was, indeed, the creditable result of a great endeavour by the India Government to explain some of the most enigmatical points of Central Asian Geography, and to open up relations with Kashgar; but it was not followed up. Kashmir and Ladakh have been jealously guarded by our Indian officials, and doubtless for very cogent reasons no one unconnected with government could pass north out of India. There was a strict limit, even, as to the number of officers allowed to penetrate into or through Kashmir, whether for sport or for scientific research.

Our Geographical Society has thus had no part in the revelations which have now shown us all the errors of

former Central Asian Cartography. It has, indeed, taken note of the labours of the Great Trigonometrical Survey in India and waited on the map-making process of General Sir John Walker, but this itself has waited on the Topographical Department of the Russian War Ministry, and our Geographical Society has lagged far behind its sister Institution in St. Petersburg.

Only a very few of its members, as, for instance, the late Colonel Yule and our distinguished Nestor of Central Asian Historical Geography, Sir Henry Rawlinson, have kept a steady eye on the Russian proceedings, incorporating in their writings and works the materials which from time to time, and however late, became accessible to them from Russian sources. Rawlinson's learned researches and Yule's "*Cathay and the Way Thither*" and "*Marco Polo*," as well as numerous other recondite papers, are monuments of learning, wisdom and authority which all admire and to which all defer. In respect of such erudition we have kept above the level of Russian geographical science and maintained a superiority. But while we have been subjecting items of Russian geography to the test of ancient and mediæval light, Russians have practically unravelled the mystery. The Russian and British surveys were linked in the year 1873 at Chatyr-kul above Kashgar ; but since that date the India Government has kept us in ignorance of its information concerning the Bam-i-Dunia, or Roof of the World. We have been kept so much in the dark, that but lately we were astounded on learning from the press that one British officer had been arrested within a measurable distance of Wood's own, or Victoria Lake, while others were challenged to produce Russian passports, and not being provided with such permits, were politely requested to quit the ground.

Our Government has not even yet published the account of the journey performed by the *Pir* M.S. in the year of grace 1879, and in the brief allusion to this journey in the official "*Memoir of the Indian Surveys*," 1891



(pp. 142-143) General Walker's primitive notions of the hydrography of the Pamirs are perpetuated. These might have been rectified if only by the aid of the map attached to the Report of Sir D. Forsyth's Yarkund Mission, let alone the numerous circumstantial accounts rendered since the year 1880 by Russian explorers. But in the light of the information which we have received from St. Petersburg the value of the journal of "M.S." has been greatly depreciated by its relegation to official pigeon-holes, except in its politico-historical part.

Had the observations of "M.S." been communicated to the outside world of geographers, we should not have done as the *Pir* said, "what we like with rivers and mountains," while he pointed out that his evidence showed the Aksu to flow "towards Marghilan." "*Its*" banks were erroneously interpreted for him as the banks of the Suchan Ghund in one. Trotter's notions had been perfectly correct, and it is much to be regretted that his evidence and that of Abdul Subhan were discredited, to be ultimately adopted by Russian explorers.

It is intolerable that the public should be misled on the geography of Central Asia, and of the Bam-i-Dunia in particular, or be left with an impression about that region tending to incline the British public to accede without any demur to its appropriation by Russia.

The Geographical Society does wrong in creating geographical obfuscation. I allude to the observations made by General Strachey and by Sir M. E. Grant Duff after Mr. Littledale had read his paper on the Pamirs at the meeting of the 23rd November last,\*—and to the subject of the paper read by Captain Younghusband at a meeting of the same Society held on the 8th of February.†

Mr. Littledale gave a very graphic account of the ease and comfort with which he and Mrs. Littledale with a numerous retinue and a caravan of baggage animals crossed from

\* Vide Proceedings R.G.S., Jan. 7, 1892.

† Vide *Times*, Feb. 18, 1892.

Russian Kokan to Kashmir and into British India. The difficulties of the journey, he showed, began only when, having crossed the Darkot pass (15,000 feet), they had to surmount the superior rugged and glacial elevation of the Karakorum Mustagh, on their way to Leh.

By way of neutralising the effect of the introductory remarks made by Mr. Douglas Freshfield, General Strachey led off by comparing the region in question with the Tibetan tableland.\* He accepted Mr. Seeböhm's reminiscences of a conversation at St. Petersburg with the Russian zoologist Severtsof reflecting on the *prodigious*† elevation of the Bam-i-Dunia and on its "ultra-arctic" climate. He concluded: "It is a wonderful thing that rational people should talk about a region of this sort as something to be coveted and something even possibly to be fought over, and one might really almost as rationally talk of fighting for the possession of, shall I say, a square mile of the moon, or of Sirius. This would be just as wise, really, just as rational, as possibly you will be able to judge for yourselves from Mr. Littledale's account of his journey. *With a very small number of horses,—ten, twelve or fourteen—gradually dwindling away as they perished, (?)* obliged to carry his food with him, nothing in the shape of fodder available, having to carry fuel to cook their dinner. The possibility of anything like military operations being carried on over a country of that sort is so perfectly ridiculous that to my mind it is perfectly astounding that it should appear to be seriously discussed.‡ The

\* Severtsof and later Russian travellers say that the Bam-i-Dunia is in every respect totally different from the plateaux of Tibet, Severtsof saying that the Pamirs are a region not of tablelands but of steppe country. And *Pamir* is not to be taken literally as meaning according to Dauvergne "plateau aride balayé par les vents." (*Bulletin*, Paris.)

† A characteristic erroneously applied to the Pamir elevations by the late Col. Yule.

‡ I do not know who has discussed this; nor would I contemplate any other than an amicable process for adjusting a question of limitation in that quarter. Late events have, however, shown that the possibility of military operations on the Pamirs is not perfectly ridiculous.

way in which the question of the occupation of this region, either by Russia, Afghanistan, China, or Britain, occupies some people's minds, I can only regard as an illustration of the folly of humanity."

This was strong enough for a politician of the school which in the time of Sir Roderick Impey Murchison set its face severely against Sir Henry Rawlinson's ardour in battling over the field of Russian military encroachments. Sir Henry Rawlinson had to deal with the matter when a Russian Chancellor was systematically volunteering plausible and "mendacious" statements, tendering empty assurances and perverting the sense of international engagements. It was then next to impossible to refrain from reflecting on Russian duplicity in the process of annexation. The ground which the Russians were covering had but recently been the arena of rival political and commercial views. The Geographical discoveries then made were made by conquests under various pretexts. *Autres temps autres mœurs*. Why follow now the habit of talking politics in the sense of beckoning the Russians on by disclaiming any interests whatsoever on the Upper Oxus? It is enough to have lost all share in the glory of elucidating geography, without smoothing the way for a power which seeks to make its weight felt on the Indian frontier. If General Strachey and others anticipate an unmixed blessing from a closer connexion, then it is high time they demonstrated, before inviting it, the advantage to humanity from such propinquity.

The President endorsed General Strachey's words. "It appears," he said, "to be an extremely horrible country; if its name does not mean desert, it certainly ought to do so; and I think that the moral that was drawn so well by General Strachey, from all we have heard this evening, commanded the general approval of all who listened to it." (We trust not.) "It is extremely agreeable to me," Sir M. E. Grant Duff concluded, "knowing that there are present two gentlemen from the Russian Embassy, to acknowledge,

and it is by no means the first time that a President of the Geographical Society has had to acknowledge, the extreme courtesy shown by the Russian Government to an English traveller." To acknowledge the courtesy was right ; for the kindness shown to Mr. and Mrs. Littledale by the Russian authorities throughout the journey was so great that the Russian Government must undoubtedly receive the credit of it. But our Government is not behindhand in such amenities ; for Prince Galitzin with his servants was surely treated in British India with marked attention and passed on from the north frontier with the kindest solicitude. Then again why should the Russians object to any simple traveller exploring the way from their possessions to those of Great Britain ? They need all the information they can get, and they have no cause to hide any light under a bushel. But our own Government systematically conceals every scrap of information which it picks up, and prohibits all from venturing forth from India through Kashmir. It is not so very long since no Englishman was allowed to pass from Orenburg, or from Siberia, into Russian Turkestan, while "O. K." and Mr. Lessar were craning their necks over the Herat entrance into India, and studying every confidential detail of the British railway extension to Quetta.

I join issue with these two exponents of the prevailing opinions of the Council of the Geographical Society on the points of their observations ; and I adduce the evidence of English as well as of Russian travellers on the Pamirs, to show that this region is habitable, inhabited, traversable at all times, well watered and much less near the heavens than they wish the public to believe. We are now authentically informed of a large body of Russian cavalry and artillery operating all over the Pamirs and not far from the Kashmir frontier, and of reinforcements proceeding thither.

Mr. Severtsof was a professor of Zoology, a man of learning, and an eminent Scientist. His writings and experiences are well known to me, as they ought to be to

the Geographical Society ; but he was no authority on the Climatology, or for that matter on the Orography, of the Bam-i-Dunia. When he spoke of a perpetual snowline at 15,000 feet and of slopes of 18,000 feet he did not mean that the broad face of that region was at those elevations. Perhaps, too, Mr. Seebohm may not have brought away a clear recollection of Mr. Severtsof's characteristics of the Pamirs. He said, "Among his" (Severtsof's) "remarks about this country—the Pamirs—he describes it as being four-fifths composed of huge mountain ranges, with comparatively no valleys between, the lowest valley being twice the height of the Engadine, or 6,000 feet above the sea, and the ridges many of them rising 1,000 feet higher than Mont Blanc."

Mr. Severtsof made only a very rapid excursion as far as the Alichur river which feeds the lake Yashil-Kul and is the headwater of the Ghund affluent of the Oxus in Shighnan ; his only traverse was meridional from the Kizyl-Art to the Ak-Baital river. Neither his opinion nor that of Dr. Regel the botanist, can be set against those of Mr. Ivanof, Col. Grombchevski and others. These are the primary authorities ; and the Royal Geographical Society ought to be well acquainted with their papers in the Russian Proceedings since April, 1884.

I shall presently give a short description of the Bam-i-Dunia as pictured by Mr. Ivanof, Colonel Grombchevski and Mr. Kosiakof, which will meet these points, and which, I think, will show that if the Russian Military Authorities are labouring to develop communications with the Sunny South they are on at least as good a track as any across the terrible sandy wastes of the Aralo-Caspian depression. On this ground the President of the Geographical Society is perhaps as disposed now as he was in the past to argue in justification of the Russian necessities for outlets.\*

I come now to another point. On the 22nd November last, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, at a meeting of the Historical Society,

\* Vide *Times*, August, and *Pall Mall Gazette*, September 25, 1875.

dwelt on the necessity of acquiring a proper knowledge of geography. The diffusion of such a knowledge rests in so large a measure with the Geographical Society that, on the strength of this, I am disposed to charge him with not practising what he preaches. In the matter of Central Asian Geography, if the Government withholds or suppresses "the mass of knowledge, general and scientific, acquired by the servants of the State in our frontier and transfrontier lands," as it was aptly put by Mr. Douglas Freshfield, "and sparingly gives only expurgated copies of official reports of public interest" (I have known it to give expurgated copies even of very ordinary translations from the Russian), then it behoves the Geographical Society to do as Berlin and Paris do: keep the student informed up to date of Russian discoveries by publishing the interesting and important Russian accounts of travel.

I find the President and Council of the R.G.S. responsible, as already said, of obfuscation by neglect of Russian publications, by implication, and by complicity with our Government system of keeping dark. The translation of the papers of Severtsof, Ivanof, Kosiakof, and Grombchevski might have fully enlightened the British public on the nature of the region within the limits of the Roof of the World.

The implication consists in the confusion of the tablelands of Tibet with the Pamirs in question. The idea conveyed in the summing up on Mr. Littledale's paper was not strictly in accord with Beattie's principle of the immutability of Truth, but rather with Hume's metaphysical doctrine. Truth and Sincerity appear to have been treated as convertible terms, equally under the empire of circumstance and association. The Truth here, as defined in Brown's "*Philosophy of the Human Mind*," was based on circumstance fitted, "like the dispatches of the late Prince Gortchakof, to excite the feeling of Truth."

That Mr. Littledale "had to carry his food with him," does not disprove the fact that a Russian expedition of 75

men with 69 beasts of burden has traversed the entire region in many directions without receiving anywhere relays of supplies from their Northern base, and dropping down into Ceres only to seek a tinker to reshoe their horses. Mr. Littledale did not set out with any idea of living by the chase, and though there are no *Rabats* or station houses on the Pamirs, all the Kirghiz whom he hired for the journey accepted the condition of finding themselves in food. Mr. Littledale did not say that his horses dwindled away and perished from want of fodder. He started with 25, not "10 or 12 or 15," horses, purchasing more as he advanced. Neither he nor Mrs. Littledale suffered the slightest discomfort on the greatest height (over 15,000 feet), which is not the height of the best pass from the Alichur to the basin of Victoria Lake. The only "prodigious" height or serious difficulty of those travellers occurred within the limits of Ladakh, for from the Baroghil pass and along the Mastuj river they had, if they had chosen to follow it, an easy route to Chitral, which in 1873 Colonel Matveyef was instructed hastily to explore as the proper route to the Khyber by Jelalabad.

The Society keeps in countenance our Government system of hiding away knowledge. Thus it rather effusively accepted without any expression of disappointment, Captain Younghusband's paper on his journey in 1889 to study the peculiar ways of robbers: this, too, when we all expected to hear an account of his interesting discoveries and experiences in the summer of 1891! Yet more remarkable was it that the paper had no reference to the Pamirs. Captain Younghusband likewise travelled, taking his food with him, from Leh to Shahidula; and he recounted simply an adventurous journey over the Karakorum Muztagh between 75° and 76° of West Longitude and not much farther than 37° North Latitude. He made, towards the end, a passing allusion to a short and rapid visit to the North Eastern confine of the Taghdum-Bash where he encountered Colonel Grombchewski and enjoyed that officer's kindly hospitality;

but he nowhere touched in that year on any of the Pamirs. So was the mind of the entire meeting diverted, that no one seemed conscious of the absence of Hamlet from the play. The entertainment was a cheap one, for the proverbial red herring was the only *hors d'œuvre*.

In the face of the very rapid progress which the Russians are making towards Afghanistan, Kashmir and Tibet, it is much to be lamented that the veteran and dauntless champion for all geographical truth, the great Sir Henry Rawlinson, is now so conspicuously absent from the Council, and from the ordinary meetings of the Society. I must here also express my grief at the great loss recently sustained by the death of the distinguished Assistant Secretary, Mr. W. H. Bates, to whom I owe obligations for a friendly disposition and for many acts of kindness.

With the exclusion, then, of the Sarikol district, described by Marco Polo, and of the Taghdum-Bash,\* the Bam-i-Dunia, as we now commonly understand it, embraces the basins of the Kara-Kul, Rang-Kul, Yashil-Kul and Victoria lakes;—also the whole of the Aksu-Murghab-Bartang river, the Alichur river, and the Ghund river down to Sardym village at  $72^{\circ} 20'$ ;—also the Pamir river ascended by Wood;—and the Wakhan river. Its limits may be said to be: On the North, the trans-Alai Mountains and the Muztagh-taú; on the East, the Kashgar meridional range; on the South East corner, the Taghdum-Bash; and on the South the Hindu-Kush which forms the great water-parting of the Indus from the river systems of the Western half of Inner Asia. The Western limits remain to be defined; for here arises the question of where the line is to be drawn between the mountain valleys and the plateaux above them,—of the small Afghan dependencies of Shighnan and Roshan.

In the Hindu-Kush, immediately south of Wood's lake, is a remarkable depression with an easy, almost imperceptible, pass into the Valley of the Mastuj. We are to comprehend

\* The *Taghdum-Bash* implies by its name that it caps the region of the Pamirs.



thus in the Bam-i-Dunia an area varying from circa 34,000 to circa 37,000 square miles. The drainage of this tableland is to the West, and the courses of the rivers show that whatever ridges surmount it run latitudinally or N.W.—S.E. The Kashgar chain alone stretches North and South, connecting the Thian Shan system, through the Muztagh-tau mass on the North with the Tsung-Ling (Kuen-Lun) and Himalayas through the Kashgar Muztagh mass above Chinese Tash Kurgan and through the Karakorum Muztagh on the South.

The Aksu river alone runs a circular course of about 217 miles from a source in the Little Pamir almost common with that of the Wakhan river, first along the Eastern watershed of the Bam-i-Dunia, and then winding North-West and West until it pours its accumulated waters into the Oxus at Kila Wamar in Roshan. From the centre of this region the Chinese many hundred years before the time of Hwen Tsang (A.D. 629-645) drew in a circular form the courses of the four great rivers of their Cosmogony: the Tarim, the Oxus, the Indus, and the Ganges.\* Nor were they so very far wrong in their idea. Here was *Imaus* of the ancient Greeks who have left only a vague tracing of an overland route to "Serica" which they imagined to be China, the silk-yielding country.† Marco Polo traversed the Great Pamir in the XIIIth Century; and Benedict Goetz, following in his footsteps in 1603, passed by Victoria Lake to Kashgar. Mongol troops have penetrated into Badakhshan by the same route, and the Chinese have pursued fugitives to Yashil-Kul where is actually the extreme Western limit of their dominions. On the North human streams avoided the Bam-i-Dunia, following easier tracks

\* Vide "Voyages de Hiouen-Tsang."

† I am inclined to believe that this name did not correctly apply to any part south of Manchuria, then a home of the Silk Industry, and an independent kingdom, in relations and alliance with the "outer barbarians" against China. So perfect were they in this branch of industry that in 650 A.D. the ruling Sovereign sent to China a laudatory ode woven in silk texture.

connecting "Turkestan" and "Mongolistan" through the lower ranges of the Thian Shan Mountains.

From the West, colonies of agriculturists have pushed far up into the valleys to elevations of from 6,000 to 9,000 feet, at which altitude agriculture flourishes; apricots, plums, grapes being in their season in abundance at the height of 6,000 feet.

The characteristic physical features of the Bam-i-Dunia are its wide flat valleys—"flat as the palm of your hand,"—flanked north and south by buttresses in the shape of mountains and hills some 3 to 4 thousand, in some instances 5 thousand feet high. There are passes in every direction, and you may travel, my authorities say,\* wherever you choose, so long as you hold to the direction of the mountains. The altitude of these pamirs or flat valleys varies from 7 to 9 and 10† thousand feet above sea-level. The passes are all practicable and are from 2,000 to 4,500 feet above the plateaux. Eternal snow lies only on the marginal ranges of this region. On the North are the Fedchenko Glacier and Kaufmann peak (23,000 feet), the frozen Muztagh-tau (over 20,000 feet); on the East the Kashgar Muztagh soaring to 24 or 25,000 feet; and on the S.E., and also outside the radius of the Bam-i-Dunia, the culminating heights of the Tsung-Ling and Himalayan mountain systems.

Geographers have subdivided this region by name into so many pamirs: the Little, the Great, the Alichur, the Khargosh, Khurd, and other Pamirs. Mr. Ivanof has

\* Messrs. Ivanof, Grombchefsiki, Regel and others in *Proceedings of Imp. Russian Geogr. Society*, 1875 to 1891, also Severtsof's *Orograph. Survey*, and *Turkestan Gazette*, April, 1879.

† It has been erroneously stated that the elevation of these tablelands is 14,000 feet. M. Tillo, the president of the mathematical section of the Imp. R. Geogr. Society, has worked out all the tables of measurements of Col. Grombchefsiki, and the result is a marked reduction of nearly all the altitudes even on the latest maps, or, to put it more correctly, of all those determined by the distinguished and intrepid Russian Colonel. So that the late Mr. Severtsof was as wrong in his estimates of the altitudes of the Pamirs and of the passes as he was entirely wrong in saying that "It is not open to doubt that the Alichur falls into the Aksu at Basik" (*Orogr. Survey of the Pamir Mt. System*, p. 341). On this last point he altered his opinion in his "*Anciens itinéraires*."

objected to this system, because the word *pamir* (frequently pronounced even now as it was written by Hwen Tsang, Pamilo) is a generic term. This however seems but hair-splitting, and in the absence of any other characterization, this is a sufficiently good one for the different sections of the region. The natives will easily guide the traveller to the particular Pamir on which he bestows the name of the lake, the river or pass, etc., which may belong to it; *and many a pass is a pamir in itself.*

I will not venture an explanation of the word Pamir, which may be derived from *Bam*—top or crown (as of the head). The Russian, Father Hyacinth, observed that the word was not known to the Chinese before Hwen-Tsang's return from his travels.

But few complaints have been made by even Russian exploring parties, of any lack of grass at their encamping grounds, though they have almost invariably travelled in large numbers. So, on the Alichur, Captain Younghusband found a large Russian cavalry force (one hundred horse!) under Colonel Ionof.\* Messrs. Ivanof, Putiata and Benderski, in 1884, had a very large retinue. Even Colonel Grombchewski lost only one horse in a solitary scramble over a wild bit on the Raskem river. All these and other parties have scoured every nook and corner of the Pamirs, crossing nearly every pass. They have naturally taken barley for their cattle; fuel they have taken up with them from the depressions to the high grounds, and food for themselves they have brought all the way from Ferghana. This is what travellers, far from railway stations and from houses of plenty, usually do in wild uncultivated countries; and the Instructions to Travellers given by our Geographical Society prescribe such a course, but they have also; as did Mr. and Mrs. Littledale, provided themselves all along their lines of march with "flocks of sheep" which accompanied them on their journeys.

Wood in 1837, and others subsequently, have recorded

\* Corrupted in all recent telegrams into Yanof.

more fair weather than foul on the Pamirs. The Kirghiz pasture their flocks on many of the passes. On the succulent grasses of the great Pamir in the South a man may feed his horses and flocks into an over fat condition in less than 10 days, Wood observed :\* the Kirghiz now say in 3. It is the same in the Alai Valley. Colonel Gordon states the same regarding the North East, and at Yashil Kul the conditions are even far better. Judging by the soil in the vicinity of Victoria Lake, Lieut. Wood "did not see why it should not be cultivated to raise crops." This district, with the region of the Baroghil pass similar to that of the Kizyl-Art, is the Northumberland of the Bam-i-Dunia.

The climate is indeed cold, and the exposure on the Pamirs to the prevailing westerly blasts great ; but as a traversable region, this circumstance is no impediment to any moving body ; and Russian authorities state that there is a leeward side to most valleys, where no snow lies and where passage is always practicable. Also it must be noted that there are in all directions positions which afford very tenable and excellent sites for posts and other establishments. It is in many parts a region well suited for sanatoriums, and it was one of the mediæval travellers, I believe, who mentioned the salubrity of the climate.

On any selected line of march there is, I observe, forest growth in the deeper and more sheltered valleys, and in many directions, gloomy and inhospitable-looking haunts of the wild goat and of the *ovis poli* mercilessly followed by the voracious wolf which, in piles of horns of that noble beast, leaves monuments of its depredation. Some say, however, that the piles are erected by Kirghiz as beacons.†

The length of the journey from the Taldyk pass on the Kokan side to the Baroghil in the Hindu-Kush is something over 200 miles ; and it is counted in days, not in months. Instead of the howling wilderness, as there are some who wish to represent this region, we read of the gay

\* Benedict Goetz had made the same observation.

† These piles are alluded to even in the annals of the Han dynasty of China.

valley of the Igrikiak River, which flows into the Little Kara-Kul lake in the Sarikol Pamir. The entire valley is a "moist verdant meadow bedecked with the blue-forget-me-not."\* After picturing the Alai valley, of which an oleograph may be seen in the late Mr. Fedchenko's Travels, Mr. Ivanof proceeds to say: "I have intentionally lingered over this subject because in advancing from the Alai straight to the Pamir, and passing farther and farther to the South, we moved in time and distance gradually up to greater altitudes. It was this ratio of our progress to the South and to the higher lands which enabled us to traverse the whole of the distance, accompanied along the way by the same spring vegetation which we had found in the Alai valley. We beheld the blossoming of the same spring flowers, and the same kind of meadows, which we had seen and studied in the Alai, spread before us as we went. If there is anything new to be learned from the flora of the Pamirs, it is in its less diversified and complex nature. Its character is more easily studied over smaller areas, for there are not on the Pamirs such immensely wide expanses of meadow as in the Alai. There on the Pamirs, in the basins of the lakes and in the river valleys, the schistous soil produces blade grass, and where mixed with sand gives the pod, clover, etc., where the earth is drier and more mixed with stone we find a kind of brush called "tersken" which Gordon has identified as a species of lavender. On nearing moist meadows, we at once fall in with that particular sedge grass which has given so many proper names to the Pamirs; as for example: *Rang-kul*, *Rang* river, *Rang* locality, etc. Ascending the drier slopes of the mountain foregrounds we find the clay and turfy soil yielding expanses of silver tufted prairie grass; next comes a lumpy bog with moss which in some places makes a turf. At greater heights in the defiles we find immense patches of wild onion; of all the flowering kind the small star petaled one attains the greatest altitude."

\* Ivanof, Proceedings, Russ. G. S., April, 1884.

Mr. Severtsof wrote on all this himself, showing that the forms of vegetable life on the Pamirs are those of a Cold Zone, mixed with alpine forms and with those of the *steppe*. But he prided himself on the Botanical results of his expedition to the Pamirs where, including the Alpine districts of Ferghana the Botanist Kushakevitch enriched the herbarium with one thousand various species, or more than 20,000 different specimens. And this was quite independent of M. Skorniakof's herbalizing on the same occasion in the Alai Valley at the head of the Kashgar Daria and on the Pamir. But the late Mr. Severtsof exulted still more over his Zoological trophies, and it is best to quote his own words on the subject, since his works have not been translated for English benefit: he says. "The remarkably full collections brought home by the Pamir expedition constitutes a matter of thrilling interest. As regards natural history, the Pamir, before my visit to that region, was a *terra incognita*. Hwen Tsang and Marco Polo had long wakened the lively curiosity of the scientific world by the scraps of information which they gave of its biological peculiarities. The labours of our expedition will satisfy that curiosity. As regards its *fauna* and *flora*, the Pamir at once emerges from total darkness and becomes one of the most thoroughly explored regions of Asia. The open nature of the country which facilitated the process of collection, coupled with a favourable season, of course, conduced to this end."\*

A region, stated off-hand by geographers to be as sterile as the moon or Sirius, could not have produced the numerous zoological specimens collected by Messrs. Severtsof and company. To believe otherwise bespeaks either a disinclination to be informed or a studied incredulity. But we need not wait a year or two longer to learn what the life-giving properties of the Pamirs actually are, for on this question Mr. Severtsof has said enough.

The late Mr. Fedchenko, likewise a distinguished

\* *Turkestan Gazette*, April 24, 1879.

naturalist and a most indefatigable and keen observer, discovered 110 species of birds in the Alai ; but Mr. Severtsof found that the Pamirs yielded a still greater variety and made up the number to 350. Rapid as his journey was, with but two slight divergences from his direct course there and back, he accumulated on the Pamir 112 varieties. Corresponding situations in the Alps yield only 12 species, and in the Thian Shan 60 :—a comparison greatly in favour of the region which has been compared with the moon. Out of this number no less than 62 species of birds' nest on the Pamirs\* ; and if no more varieties were discoverable there, these suffice to show that the conditions of life on the Pamirs are many, and that the climate is more favourable than adverse to life. Whereas the late Mr. Fedchenko found 3 or 4 varieties of fish in Ferghana, Mr. Severtsof brought back 20, of which 6 belonged to the Pamir ; and Fedchenko's collection was from the Zarafshan and from the Jaxartes near Chinaz. We have also the evidence of Col. Grombchevski and others as to the abundance of trout in the rivers of the Pamirs.

"As we advance westwards across the Pamirs," continues Mr. Ivanof, "descending say from a height of 9,000 feet on the north and from one of 12,000 feet on the south, we at once enter the region of forest growth, beginning with the creeper. With this we find the reed, the *Lasiagrostis splendens*, and a little lower the rose, willow, birch, mountain poplar and the bramble which here attains the dimensions of a tree, invariably decorated with clematis ; the licorice root, honey-suckle, spurge, black currant and *Juniperus pseudosabina*, etc., are there also. Side by side with this forest growth we find the cultivation of corn ; first barley, next wheat."†

The valley of the upper Aksu, though bearing a desert appearance, owing to the bare surfaces of the sandy and stony terrace-shaped elevations confining it, has its emerald setting of alpine verdure, yielding grass and roots. On the

\* *Turkestan Gazette*, April 24, 1879.

† *Ibid.*

South Eastern skirts of this region there are some dreary waterless tracts, which are yet so smooth that, as Colonel Grombchefski said, they may be traversed in a *calèche* from the Istyk river. As for the region of the Sources of the Aksu, "it is a verdant valley containing a series of lakes presenting a lovely picture from the Urtabel pass (15,040 feet), a pass which descends in an abrupt terrace to the Aksu, but which rises imperceptibly from the North."\*

Messrs. Ivanof, Putiata and Benderski acquired on the Bam-i-Dunia in 1884 the necessary experience for pronouncing authoritatively on all the parts of the region. They penetrated to almost the very source of the Almayan feeder of the Wakhan river, visiting in this extreme S.E. corner the wildest part of the whole tract under review : and in order merely to acquaint themselves with the character of the mountains between the Pamir river and the Alichur in a N.W. direction, they ascended a pass called the Bash-Gumbaz. "This was the highest pass we had experienced on the Pamirs, most of them having been 14,500 to 15,500 feet ; the Kara-art alone exceeding 16,000 feet ; but the Bash-Gumbaz attains 17,000."† But even this pass is said by the natives to be sometimes used by caravans.

Mr. Ivanof details the difficulties of the Bash-Gumbaz only in order to depict the character of the traverse across the rocky ridge of the mountains of the Little Pamir which fall away towards the East. He continues : "But on descending from the rocky upper portion of this defile, we find ourselves at once in better circumstances : here is fodder, and brushwood for fuel, a tolerably good path leading presently into the wide valley of the Alichur, which is of a pure *pamir* character. I have no occasion to describe this valley, because it has been explored and depicted before by Mr. Severtsof ; I will only say in a couple of words that the advantages of this valley consist mainly in its extensive irrigation and consequently in its rich pasturage."‡

\* *Turkestan Gazette*, April 24, 1879.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*



The road from Yashil Kul passes through a gorge. One of its sections requires improvement to make it perfectly easy ; and then : " On entering the Valley of the Ghund the traveller over the Pamir *Steppe-lands* involuntarily gives way to feelings of gladness under the influence of the bright landscape which opens upon him, . . . such as his eye had not been accustomed to above . . . ; the whole of the valley is beautifully green with the foliage of trees which are picturesquely grouped on the surrounding hills and eminences, and around and about are numberless umbrageous and inviting nooks along the banks of the beautiful river."\*

We are here in Shighnan, where Afghans have opened an excellent road from Faizabad to Kila-Bar-Panj at the mouth of the Ghund affluent of the Oxus.

And is all this of the nature of a novelty to the president and council of the Geographical Society ?

A word more, before closing a subject which to do it full justice requires more pages than I dare monopolise.

The Report of the Yarkund Mission and Colonel Gordon's " Roof of the World " may be referred to, among other works, for further information as to the character of the Pamirs. I must satisfy myself here with the evidence mainly of Mr. Ivanof, whose literary productions of various kinds are, by their excellence, the pride and admiration of all Russians, Orientalists and educated people.

Snow does not lie everywhere on the Pamirs, nor are the passes invariably covered with it even in winter. This is certainly a sign of the dryness and severity of the winter months. The phenomenon is accounted for by the action of the wind which occasions an unequal distribution of the drift as of atmospheric deposit generally. It has, however, been observed by every traveller that on the majority of the passes the Kirghiz find excellent pasture for their flocks in winter. This on the Pamirs lasts seven months ; how many out of the twelve may be considered summer months,

\* *Turkestan Gazette*, April 24, 1879.

Mr. Ivanof found it difficult to determine. "If," he says, "we are to consider as the summer season the period when slight frosts do not set in, then we could not count more than one month of summer. Night frosts are experienced in June, July and August, but this occurs at elevations of from 14,500 feet" (therefore only on the passes). The frosts he speaks of are 2°, 3° and sometimes even 6° Centigrade. "In the early morning," he says, "you may see a fringe of ice and icicles along the river banks, which when the sun begins to mount give place to variegated flowers." At the same time the southern sun is so powerful that even in the winter the snow melts rapidly on the more open levels.\*

Every part of the Bam-i-Dunia is peopled by Kirghiz of their four different tribes. Their headquarters are in the Rang-Kul district, on the Ak Baital, on the Aksu, on the Alichur, and in the basin of the Kokui-bel river. There is an encampment of Kirghiz near the Urta-Bel pass, also on the Upper Tagharma river. The Kudara Valley is a recognised portion of Shighnan.

The head and chief of the Kirghiz of the Alai Valley is a certain Sahib Nazar,—in his palmier days a noted plunderer of caravans. He is now old, and his occupation is gone. He derived his power from the control which the brethren of the Kipchak tribe ever had over affairs in the Khanat of Kokand. Another Kirghiz Bek camps at Muji on the Southern Gez, at the head of the Sarikol Pamir. He has always been a subject of China.

The Russians trumping up a claim to the Pamirs through Kokand and a pretended allegiance of these nomads to the Khans of Kokand, have found themselves "at home," they would make it appear, with another Kirghiz Chief seated at Bazai-i-Gumbaz near the sources of the Wakhan river.† Thus the Kirghiz, who are really Chinese subjects, command on the Roof of the World all the points of vantage. They

\* Colonel Gordon's "Roof of the World."

† The particulars given by M. Dauvergne concerning this quarter are interesting, but they conflict with Russian statements.—Vide *Bulletin*, Paris, 7<sup>me</sup> Serie, Tome III., 1<sup>r</sup> Trimestre, 1892.

number, within the radius of this sketch, some 3,000 individuals. This population is more dense as we near the large centres of sedentary, agricultural and commercial life on the East. Three times as many may be said to be *en congé* in and about Kashgaria.

With this brief and superficial sketch I will leave my readers to draw their own conclusion as to the character of the steppes and valleys of the Pamirs.

We may, indeed, not want or covet this region; but it is my design to show its strategical value. There are some among us who would encourage the Russians to seize it, blinding themselves to its importance and misleading their countrymen also. I feel bound to add, lest I be mistaken for a violent and unreasonable Russophobe, that I would not advocate any opposition on our part to an absorption of the Pamirs up to certain and definite limits by the Russians,—provided they do not entirely sever our relations with Kashgar. My only contention is that, whether it be this or any other territory the possession of which we would not dispute with them, it behoves us, before it fall into a rival's hands, to study and to know it while we may, and more than that, to realise the value at which that rival estimates it as a *pied à terre*. It may be that the Russians are actuated in their present pursuit on the Pamirs, as in Tibet and Mongolia, mainly by a greater knowledge than we possess of the mineral wealth of that part of the world. It would appear that they have discovered, in the mountains of Northern Tibet, sources of immense riches in badly worked gold diggings. We know that nearly all the Pamir waters bring down gold dust. M. Dauvergne informs us that there is a *Zarafshan* or gold-bearing tributary of the Yarkand river, and alludes to beds of copper. The Russians are touching now on the jade quarries of China, and such places as Marjanai, between the Alichur and Murghab, suggest in name similar storehouses of precious stones.

Pending a settlement of the Afghan and Kashmir frontiers, it might be well understood between our Government and

that of Russia that no rights of possession or of ejection shall be claimed or exercised by any of those two powers, south and west of the Aksu-Murghab-Bartang and east of a line drawn from the farthest inhabited point of the Wakhan and Pamir river valleys, crossing the head of the Suchan, following the Toghuz Bulak affluent of the Ghund river below Yashil Kul Lake, and passing to Ceres by the Langar pass.

In after ages railways may bring to this world's centre the materials for the erection of a monument of civilization in the shape of another city of Quito, in which the East may finally unite in brotherhood and peace with the West ; but in the meanwhile I see no reason why international outposts or pickets should not be established to insure security and perfect neutrality, where a desire for appropriation on the part of an encroaching ambitious military power cannot possibly be prompted by purity of motive.

Castle Horneck Cottage, Penzance.

P.S.—In respect of the various Russian contentions I would add a few more lines.

The great Russian authorities Khoroshkhin and Arendarenko, among many others, may be cited in proof of the fact that no Kirghiz Bek on the Pamirs ever recognised the authority of a Khan of Kokand ; on the contrary, it was the Kara-Kirghiz of the Alai Valley who invariably gave support to the Kipchak party in Kokand which governed the throne in that Khanate without acknowledging any allegiance under it. The Chinese, on the other hand, when masters in Kashgaria invariably exercised a sovereign power on the Pamirs. As regards the rightful claims and possessions of the Ameer of Afghanistan, we have abundant proof,—both English and Russian,—that they extend to the extreme Eastern limits of cultivation in the valleys penetrating into the Pamirs from the West. The population of the Ghund Valley with Bar-Panj is estimated at 5,000 individuals, that of the Shahdara 4,000, and Roshan, along the Panj, 4,000. The population of Shighnan is however alone calculated by Mr. Ivanof at 13,000, or Shighnan and Roshan together 25 to 30 thousand. It was on the Toghuz-Bulak affluent of the Ghund, where evidences of cultivation exist, that Mr. Ivanof was challenged in 1883 by the Afghan authorities.

"Here on this pass"—the Koi-tesek, at the source of the Toghuz-Bulak,—"is the Afghan limit" Mr. Ivanof declared to the Afghan Emissary from Bar-Panj—and to the assembled Aksakals of Sardym and other places ; "beyond this is God's own Pamir whereon he is master who is first comer.

I am first here, and this Pamir is mine. Since you have not allowed me to pass through Shighnan, I forbid you to go farther. You must go back. I am possessor of this Pamir." And under protest, the Afghan soldier and the official bevy withdrew, taking however a note in pencil from the Russian claimant.

As regards the Bartang-Murghab Valley, the road up that river extends some 73 miles beyond Ceres.

Although there was no mention of Shighnan in the Clarendon-Granville-Gortchakof Correspondence to 1873, yet Prince Gortchakof acknowledged the right of the Ameer of Afghanistan to bring under subjection those Khanates, which were considered by Russia to be quite independent, so long as in doing so he did not attack Bokhara. And it must be noted that subsequently, viz. in January 1873, the Russian Government finally accepted the Afghan frontier in this direction as broadly designated by our Government, *i.e.* including the whole of Badakhshan, with its dependencies not then specifically mentioned, and with Wakhan which was distinctly named.

In my humble opinion we are now touching on the settlement in one way or another of the most intricate and vital question of the whole of the Central Asia Correspondence. I do not myself think that any satisfactory result can be arrived at diplomatically. In spite of all the Russians will advance to the Hindu Kush, and as they were at Merv and even at Pendjeh before we could bring ourselves to believe that they could or that they intended to proceed so far, so we shall find them over the passes of the Hindu Kush while it still remains the popular belief that those passes are all blocked with snow, that they are "prodigious" and quite impracticable. I see only one course of action which we can and ought to adopt, and that course should run parallel with the marches which are being stolen in that remote corner of Central Asia by Russia, viz., to occupy Chitral and forestall the Russians on the passes alluded to.

The question of keeping open our relations with Kashgar by way of the Kara Korum or by way of the little Pamir and through Tash Kurgan should be at the same time very carefully considered, for we must either secure this line of communication or be prepared to see ourselves entirely intercepted in that direction. In the spring of next year we shall doubtless see the accomplishment of a Russian design to which we are even yet, it seems, too much inclined to shut our eyes. With the Russians on the Kashmir border we shall have very great trouble indeed unless we are there to confront them ourselves. And it is of the utmost importance to us in every respect to protect with a jealous care all the rights of Afghanistan in its extreme North Eastern dependencies.

R. M.

## THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF HOSPITALS IN INDIA.

BY SURGEON-GENERAL SIR W. J. MOORE, K.C.I.E.,

Hon. Physician to Her Majesty the Queen.

THE institution of hospitals in India must be regarded as one of the beneficial results of British supremacy in that country. In ancient times, excepting during the comparatively short period of Bhuddist ascendancy (as afterwards referred to), there does not appear to have been anything of the nature of a public hospital, nor any means by which the poor, suffering from disease or injury, could obtain care and relief. The ancient Dravidians, Kolarians, or Aryans of the remote past, on descending through the Himalayas and entering the plains of Hindustan, found the task an easy one of driving before them the *Dasyus* or aborigines of the land. These Aryan conquerors of India are described as sober, industrious, courageous, and virtuous. They lived a pastoral life, and knew not the toil and turmoil of cities. Therefore on their invasion of the plains of Hindustan they required no other physic than that "drawn from the fields." This was perhaps supplied by each father of a family, whom we know to have been not only warrior and husbandman, but also priest, and probably physician, in his own household. It was the more energetic and learned of these "fathers," who composed the "Vedic Hymns," or "Sacred Books of the Hindus;" who committed their productions to memory (thus handing them down to posterity, until the Hymns were written in Sanskrit); and who by virtue of this superior knowledge arrogated to themselves priestly supremacy, and so became a class above all others under the name of Brahmin, signifying the "Offerer of Potent Prayer." But we do not find in the "Shastras" or Vedic Hymns any reference to public Hospitals or Dispensaries. As these Vedic Hymns enter minutely into the social life of the ancient Aryans, it is certain that had

hospitals been in existence they would have found mention among the multitudinous subjects referred to. One of these subjects is a "funeral dirge" or farewell to the dead and dying; and had public care of the sick been practised it seems improbable that the association of ideas would not have led to some reference thereto. A similar silence prevails in the *Brahmanas*, which were compiled some centuries after the *Vedas*, when, to a great extent, nomadic pastoral life had been abandoned. Something, however, of medicine and surgery appears to have been known; for the *Rig Veda* mentions physicians and contains passages in praise of the healing virtue of herbs, and the *Atharva Veda* contains an invocation against the demon of fever. It has been remarked that as observations of the firmament were necessary to fix the date of recurring and continually increasing festivals, so anatomical knowledge was required for the dissection of the sacrifice, in order that its different parts might be appropriated to the proper deities and the jealous priests. But the anatomy of the human frame was not studied. Yet as the Aryans, having driven the aborigines into the distant hills, became organized into village communities, built cities, and eventually formed kingdoms, the want of medical aid seems to have been more felt; for we have Brahminical medicine developing as an *Upa Veda* or supplementary revelation, about 350 B.C. Still there were no public hospitals. The Brahmins were too busy degrading the pristine purity of their faith and deluding the ignorant, by evolving new gods and schools of philosophy, to pay much attention to the requirements of sick people;—too much occupied in upholding and perfecting the system of caste, in elevating themselves above all others, in monopolizing to themselves all knowledge, that of medicine included,—to trouble themselves about public institutions for the sick. They, moreover, abhorred contact with the lower castes, and especially shrank from pollution from the morbid materials of diseased persons of the lower caste. By the Institutes of Menu a physician was classed as an unclean

person to be excluded from feasts. The early Brahmins, indeed, sought to establish for themselves the most elevated holiness and sanctity. It has been stated that the predominance of the priesthood was the chief cause of the failure of early Egyptian medicine. And so it was in India; for the Brahmins neglected among other duties that of care of the sick. It was not until Buddhism had attained both a social and a political ascendancy over Brahmanism (from about 250 B.C. to 600 A.D.) that public hospitals for man and beast were established in the large cities by the Buddhist Princes. Buddhism differed from Brahmanism in scrupulously reverencing the vital principle in man and beast, in proclaiming the spiritual equality of all, thereby dethroning those who had arrogated to themselves the privileges of a priestly Brahminical class. Buddhism announced salvation to all men, not through the intermediacy of Priests and Brahmins, but through men's own works. What a man sows he must reap, was a fundamental axiom of Buddhism. Knowledge of medicine, as of other sciences, was to be attained by study and penance only, and not by virtue of being born a Brahmin. Thus when Buddhism temporarily replaced Brahminism, no Brahminical feeling of superiority or Brahminical shrinking from lower castes, or even from morbid matter was admitted as pertaining to the new religion—for all were proclaimed equal. In place of Brahminical rites and sacrifices, a code of practical morality was inculcated—one outcome of this great change being the establishment of public hospitals.

One of the principal seats of Buddhist medical learning was Benares; and Asoka the King of Behar or Putra, as we learn from rock inscriptions, published fourteen Edicts for the conduct of his Government, one of which devised a system of medical aid for man and beast. At this time, too, at Benares, flourished Charaka, probably B.C. 320—a rival in reputation if not contemporary in date of Hippocrates—whose name is yet revered among native practitioners as the principal of ancient Hindu physicians. The study of



medicine now became separated from occult science, astronomy, and religion, with which it had been the policy of the ancient Brahmins to confound it. And although distance and absence of communication prevented any influence from medicine as then practised in the west by the Greeks, or even by the nearer Arabians, still great advances were made by the Buddhists. They treated disease by the hot and cold system with medicines manufactured chiefly from herbs and trees, and they performed in a rough manner many of the surgical operations, so comparatively *cito, tuto, et jucunde* accomplished in the present day. But Buddhism rolled away to the countries East of India—to Burmah, Ceylon, China and Japan. Brahminism again became ascendant. The Brahmins, again asserting their superior holiness, re-instituted the barriers of caste; and, as before, shrinking from the contact of the lower orders, and from diseased matter, left the practice of medicine to the *Vaids*, a class supposed to spring from a Brahmin (or priestly) father, and a Vasiya (or cultivator) mother. In this the Brahmins would appear to have in some measure adapted themselves to the popular desire; for finding themselves unable again to confuse medicine with occult science, astronomy, and religion, they ignored its practice as beneath their holiness, but allowed a *quasi* Brahmin to pursue it. The *Vaids*, however, had neither the *status* nor the inclination to continue the hospitals which had been established, for all social power remained with the Brahmins; and the *Vaids*, priding themselves on their one-sided Brahminical descent, ignored the duty of attention to the sick poor, and chiefly confined their ministration to those who could pay. Hence followed the abolition of the Hospitals which had been established by the Buddhist princes; with the natural result that medical knowledge declined, until sinking into the hands of the village "*Kabiraj*," it became, much as it is now, a compound of Sanskrit texts, spells, fasts, and herb-quackery. The only remains of the Buddhist Hospitals are those institutions for beasts found in various cities and

principally supported by the Jains—a comparatively small but wealthy class, who have been described as the Protestants of the once prevailing Buddhism of Hindustan.

The different Muhammadan invasions of India, from 977 to the commencement of British supremacy, placed the country more or less under the domination of Turki, Afghan, and Mogul dynasties. But although about A.D. 1000 a new class of medical practitioners known as “hukeems” was introduced, whose lines of practice were derived from Arabian and Grecian sources, no establishment of public hospitals proceeded from Muhammadan supremacy. The whole of the lengthened period mentioned above was indeed one of intermittent turmoil, the constant wars of the Muhammadan Princes with the semi-conquered Hindus or with their own rebellious chiefs denying the element of stability, and affording little opportunity for the pursuits of peace, in which the establishment of public hospitals might take a place. As a rule the Muhammadan hukeems were attached to, and employed in attending on nobles and chiefs. It does not even appear that the Muhammadan invaders supplied their own troops with medical aid. Coming from the uncivilized north, and imbued with the fatalism of Muhammadanism, they failed to appreciate the fact, hailed by the Greeks long before, that

“A wise physician skilled our wounds to heal,  
Is more than armies to the public weal.”

Neither need this indifference on the part of the Muhammadan invaders create surprise, considering their savage nature as represented in history. For instance, the Emperor Muhammad Tuglack in 1324, as an amusement, enclosed a large circle of country by a cordon of troops which gradually narrowed to a centre, when every living thing,—men and animals,—was slaughtered by the hunters! Even the greatest of Muhammadan Emperors, Akbar, whose liberality of mind is demonstrated by the encouragement he accorded to the free discussion of other religions, founded no public hospitals. He certainly *attempted* to put down

various inhuman rites of the Hindus, such as human and animal sacrifices, and trial by ordeal; he endeavoured to prevent child marriage, and to legalize the re-marriage of Hindu widows; and he had *hukeems* in attendance on his forts and forces. But he did not attempt to abolish *suttee*, or widow-burning, or stop female infanticide, or establish public hospitals. It remained for the British Government to *perform* what Akbar only *attempted*, and also to achieve that which Akbar shrank from even attempting.

The condition of the whole of India in former days in the matter of medical relief was doubtless such as prevailed a few years since in most of the Native States; so that we are able to judge very correctly what must have been the general aspect previous to the institution of medical relief and sanitation in British districts. Recently, in the Native States, there might be witnessed disease proceeding unchecked and uninterfered with, to a degree which certainly would not be allowed at present in civilized Europe. And especially was this evident in surgical disease, as illustrated by the following extract from an official document:\*

"In former reports I have mentioned the extreme ignorance displayed by native 'hukeems' or 'vaid's' of surgical principles. As a rule, all surgical disease is either wrongly treated, or let alone until treatment is unavailable by these uneducated practitioners. Their errors of omission and commission are not so easily ascertained in their medical, as in their surgical, practice. But in the latter, there is a glaring ignorance not only from things requisite not being attempted, but from things unnecessary being performed, leading to the serious injury and often to the death of the patient. Thus, during my last tour, I saw at one village, an open scrofulous sore of the neck with the carotid artery isolated, and apparently on the point of giving way. At another village I witnessed an advanced cancer rapidly

\* Selections from the Records of the Government of India. Foreign Department. No. CVIII. Rajputana Dispensary, Vaccination, Jail, and Sanitary Report for 1872-73. By Surgeon-Major (now Surgeon-General Sir W.) Moore, C.I.E., Honorary Surgeon to the Viceroy of India.

killing a man. In another place a woman had remained for days with a dislocated jaw, which was easily put *in situ*. Other forms of dislocation and fracture neglected are almost daily sights. At Bikaner I amputated the leg of a man, who eight months before fell from a camel : the bones of the leg protruding through the skin of the heel, and the foot being driven half-way up the front of the leg, *in which position it had been permitted to heal !* At the same place a woman was rapidly sinking from the results of extensive sinus of the breast, following abscess, and which only required free incisions for the restoration of health. I also saw a man dying of strangulated hernia, without the slightest idea of or attempt at relief on the part of the native practitioners. And so on, throughout almost the whole range of surgery, I have from time to time witnessed the most lamentable results from the malpractices, or from the absence of practice on the part of the Native Doctors."

As mentioned in the above extract, the errors of omission and commission are not so easily ascertained in medical as in surgical cases. But the great majority of those stricken by disease, such as inflammations and fevers, derived as little benefit from medicine as did the Romans, when according to Pliny, physicians were banished from the Imperial City during many years. For few indeed of the higher class and comparatively better educated "hukeems" or "vaids" would minister to the poor who were unable to pay their fees ; and of the populations of India the great majority are and always were poor. Steeped in continually augmenting superstition and ignorance, if the poor received medical aid at all, it was from the hands of the equally ignorant and superstitious village "Kabiraj," who, unlike their more noble Aryan predecessors, did not even "draw physic from the fields," although they may have used a charm, such as a peacock's feather tied round the affected part ! If the poor got well, they got well ; and as most diseases have a tendency to terminate in health, many did recover. If a fatal termination resulted, it was attributed to *nusseeb* or destiny,

or the gods were blamed. Insane persons, if harmless, were allowed to ramble about the streets; if violent, they were chained in the most convenient place. The jails of the Native States were also in an unparalleled unsanitary condition, for no medical aid whatever was provided: as Coleridge said of Coldbath Fields, these jails might have given His Satanic Majesty a hint for improving Hades. Fatalism combined with ignorance, and a consequent utter unbelief in any measures of sanitation resulted in the absence of all measures of precaution during epidemics of contagious disease. Small-pox was supposed to be under the peculiar protection of the goddess "*Mata*," whose shrines were, and still are, to be seen near the majority of the villages. Interference with the progress of small-pox was regarded as an offence which the goddess would punish. It was permissible to pray to "*Mata*" for a mild attack, but nothing further was allowable. During the prevalence of small-pox, children might be seen by scores, in every stage of the disease, playing or lying about the streets. During an epidemic of cholera, not one precautionary measure was ever adopted—except by the wild Bheels, who invariably moved, leaving their villages for a time for the open jungle; thus forestalling the most approved method of preventing cholera adopted for British troops, viz., marching away from the infected area.

Not only were there no hospitals proper, or contagious hospitals, or asylums for the insane, but neither were there any asylums for lepers. Regarding the latter, difference of opinion would appear to have existed, among scientific investigators, then as now, as to whether leprosy is a contagious disease or not. Then, as now, in some parts of the country, lepers were permitted to live among the people; in other localities they were thrust out from the towns or villages, generally forming a little colony on the adjoining plain. This expulsion of lepers from the towns and villages, then as now, was not so much the result of fear of contagion, as the Brahminical dread of contact

with impurity. Then as now, these outcasts lived miserably in mud or grass huts, obtaining food by begging. When tired of life, or when being old or disabled their relatives were tired of keeping them, they often submitted to "sumajh" or burial alive. But they more frequently threatened to perform "sumajh" with the view of extracting alms from the charitable, who were induced to believe that the death of the leper would be credited to them, unless they bought off the sacrifice. "Sumajh," or leper burial alive, has been practised comparatively recently in more than one of the Native States.

The Native Principalities are now much more advanced in most respects than they were only a few years back. By coming into contact with the progressive civilization of adjoining British districts, the Governments of Native States were forced to advance; for they felt their existence would be imperilled. And this advance was most materially assisted by the successful endeavours made by the Indian Government to secure the better education of the young Indian princes and nobles. The Imperial Government also, and especially under Lord Mayo, enunciated care for the sick as one of the most urgent duties of the feudatory rulers of India. Owing to such measures, aided by the personal influence of the Political, and the assistance of the Medical Officers attached to the Native Courts, a hospital or dispensary has, amongst other features of civilization, been established at every large capital; while in some States ramifications of such central establishments have rendered the people almost as well off, in the matter of medical relief, as those in British territory. As it will not be necessary to refer again, except incidentally, to the Native States, I may here remark that all the medical institutions are supported at the cost of the Durbar or Government of each State. They are, as a rule, superintended by the European Medical Officer attached to the Political Residency, aided by native assistants.

Although the recent condition of the Native States

represents what formerly prevailed all over Hindustan, it must not be understood that the people were devoid of charity; only the charity of the well-to-do classes did not take the form of medical relief. In the absence of a qualified medical profession recognised by the State, the confidence felt in the physic of the "Vaids" and "Hukeems" was something akin to the faith of Byron, who without any such excuse designated medicine as "the destructive art of healing." Moreover the organization of hospitals was not understood, and the necessary discipline of such establishments was foreign to the habits and ideas of the people. The poor (who now throng the Hospitals of India), having had no experience of the advantages of such institutions, would probably not have resorted thereto had hospitals and dispensaries been opened under native control. So suspicious were the people on the first opening of a hospital in one of the Native States, that sweetmeats, of which they are very fond, were ordered to be given daily to each patient, as an encouragement to attend! So in former times the charitable preferred spending their money in sinking wells, in constructing *serais* or rest-houses for travellers, in endowing temples, and in feeding the poor, particularly Brahmins. In this manner, enormous sums have been disbursed and are still expended, especially in food for the destitute. This laudable charity of the Indians, although often confined to their own caste people, and to occasions of family festival, is one of the reasons why it has never been thought necessary to establish any system of poor-law relief in British India. Of late years native charity has been often directed towards building and endowing medical institutions, and many Indian gentlemen have given most liberally for such purposes.

It was said at the commencement, that the institution of Hospitals in India must be regarded as one of the beneficial results of British supremacy. And in this wise. It may perhaps be recollected that when in 1879, the British occupied Cabul, almost one of the first things established was a

hospital for the treatment of natives of the city, in which nothing of the kind existed. This was done both as a matter of humanity and of policy :—of humanity towards the vast number of sick and suffering, who had never previously had a chance of obtaining the benefits derivable from European medicine and surgery ;—of policy, as a means of gaining the sympathies and obtaining the confidence of the people. As it was thus nearer the end, so it had been in the beginning. It is not forgotten that some of the earlier more important concessions to the Hon. East India Company were obtained by Surgeon Gabriel Broughton, in 1645, for professional services rendered to the Mogul Emperor Shah Jehan. Throughout British advance and domination in India, it is certain, that the services of medical officers have silently, unostentatiously, yet surely proved, *par excellence*, a bond of union between the conquerors and the conquered. When, after the Sepoy mutinies of 1857 the Sepoys began to discover the mistake they had made, one of the lamentations was, that if they were sick no care was taken of them, whereas when “ true to their salt ” they were well looked after in a comfortable hospital, and attended by a qualified surgeon. The hospitals, which, as more recently in Cabul, were roughly and tentatively established as a matter of policy and humanity in almost every large city coming under British supremacy, formed, as a rule, the nucleus of the Civil Hospitals as they stand to-day. Some of the larger Hospitals date from the period of the governorship of Warren Hastings, when, in 1772, the whole service was reorganized. At first such hospitals were, as recently in Cabul, conducted and worked by the military medical officers attached to the Army of occupation. But as matters settled down, and civil officials with their establishments appeared on the scene, the need of providing special medical attendance for civilians became apparent. Then medical officers were selected from the Army Medical Department, and under the name of “ Civil Surgeons ” were required to attend to the civil service



generally, to medico-legal cases, and also to take charge of the civil hospitals for natives. As these posts were more lucrative than military employment, and as less camp life was involved, civil surgeoncies were eagerly sought after by the military doctors of the period. Thus the annexation of a province or district led to the establishment tentatively of a hospital for the natives, while the after influx of the Civil Service, or in the non-regulation provinces of officers performing civil duties, led to the permanency of such hospitals, and to the entertainment of a special medical officer. It may be added that so great was the amount of practice at various of these hospitals, that numerous Indian Medical Officers have attained a skill in various branches of their profession, rendering them second to no practitioners in the world.

At first the whole cost of the Civil Hospitals was necessarily borne by Government; but as time passed on, and Municipalities were established, a portion of the cost, varying in different localities, was defrayed from Municipal Sources.

The successful working of civil hospitals in the large towns and stations, soon led to the formation of branch hospitals or dispensaries in the neighbouring towns and villages. In most instances, especially at the outset, these subsidiary institutions were originated through the influence, or at the mandate, of the district civil authorities. As the benefits to be derived became clear to the people, numerous applications were made for the establishment of dispensaries. Some of them, doubtless, originated in the desire of interested persons to curry favour with the civil authorities; but most applications were *bonâ fide* expressions of the desire of the people. Government, therefore, instead of defraying the whole cost determined to institute a system of "Grant-in-aid Rules," by which about one-half of the cost is defrayed by Government, the other moiety being found by Municipalities if existing, or from "Local Funds" where there was no Municipality. Government very wisely

decided to supply, as their contribution, the medical officer, and some of the servants,—thus securing a certain qualification, as the medical officers are usually sub-assistant surgeons, native doctors, or hospital assistants, who have been educated at the Government medical schools. Recently it has been proposed to curtail, or to even withdraw all aid from institutions in large and wealthy localities, as it is considered that the advantages of the institutions have been sufficiently demonstrated to induce the people to undertake the whole burden of support. It may be mentioned that most of the dispensaries are built on a standard plan affording every convenience.

Although so much work is accomplished at the dispensaries and therefore much good is doubtless effected, the benefit afforded by the dispensaries is small compared with that derived from the civil hospitals. This arises from the latter taking in large numbers of in-door patients, who are fed, clothed, and medically treated; whereas most of the dispensaries do not take in-door patients, or their capacity is limited to a very small number. Also while the large hospitals are under direct European supervision and control, the dispensaries are remotely situated, and are conducted by a class, whose education does not, as a rule, fit them to treat surgical cases of importance. Still the dispensaries are generally popular, and are of great service to the people.

In 1859-60, there were not, I believe, more than 181 recognized hospitals and dispensaries in British India, treating 111,116 patients. From the reports for 1889-90 I find the number had increased to 1,641 institutions, treating 265,000 in-door patients, and 11,978,000 out-door: total 12,243,000. There were also 25 lunatic asylums containing 4,976 insanes, and 23 leper hospitals. In connection with this subject it should not be forgotten, that by the exertions of the Marchioness of Dufferin, aided by Lady Reay, Lady Lyall, and others, women's hospitals have been established at many places, and lady doctors, midwives, and female nurses have been supplied. From the last report of the "National

Association for supplying medical aid to the women of India," it appears there are 48 female hospitals or dispensaries in operation, nine being in the Native States. In 1891 there were treated, 412,591 females, including 51,973 in the hospitals of the Native States. It must not, however, be understood that formerly no women were treated in Indian hospitals; for the number of females in most hospitals was only limited by the number of beds available. But the lady doctors and female hospitals reach a class of Indian women, who were by social mandate, unable to avail themselves of previously existing means of relief in sickness.

Although the record is so good, the relief afforded by the hospitals and dispensaries does not reach 5 per cent. of the population. Neither is this a matter of surprise, when the vast population and extent of India are recollected. Among its teeming millions are many remotely situated populations, and many semi-wild tribes; as Bheels, Meenas, Gonds, Santals, Khands, etc. While there is, in the large cities, a civilization in many respects scarcely inferior to that of Europe, there are still among the Indian hills and mountains, tribes scarcely more advanced than those who used agate knives and flint weapons, erected Druidical stones, and formed mounds, at a period even antecedent to that remote age when the Aryans, as previously referred to, conquered the aboriginal people. It was only in 1871 that the women of the Juangs, or leaf wearers of Orissa, were induced to use any kind of clothing.

There is, therefore, much call for the extension of the hospital system in India; and we may be sure that, as in the past so in the future, such extension will be made.

## SEA-VOYAGES BY HINDUS:

## II.

*IS SEA-TRAVEL PROHIBITED TO BRAHMINS?*

BY PUNDIT S. E. GOPALACHARLU.

UNDER this head we propose to settle from the orthodox stand-point the most important of the issues in connexion with our all-absorbing topic; and we hope to be able to show that the Sástras are not opposed to it. But before so doing, a few remarks relative to Indian methods of legal interpretation will have to be made in order to enable the reader to grasp the methods employed by Hindu exegetical writers in the settlement of Indian legal questions.

There was a stage in the advancement of the Indian mind when such questions as "What is law?" "What is right?" "What is wrong?" were seriously discussed and settled once for all, from the stand-point of the Indo-Aryan mind. That was the period of the *Mimámsa Sūtras*, or rather of Jaimini, the author of a set of *Sūtras* or aphorisms on the "inquiry into Vedic ordinances," as the term "*Mimámsa*" may be explained. Now, Jaimini's work is the only one of its kind that has reached us.

The belief in the infallibility of the *Vedas* was handed down by tradition long before the time of Jaimini; and this article of Hindu faith found a great supporter in him. His work itself was called forth by the adverse criticisms of Bouddhas, *Nayáyikas* and other "heretics" relative to the infallibility and interpretation of the *Vedas*; and these objections have been grouped under 999 *adhikaranas* (propositions) and replied to categorically then and there. His arguments, more especially those relating to *Sāstraic* interpretation, and the priority of the *Vedas* to all other Indian writings, were considered so very conclusive, that subsequent Indian writers on whatever subject

they wrote, or whatever school of Indian thought they belonged to, readily introduced them into their own writings. We see, at the present day, the Vedantin referring to the arguments of the Mimámsa writers for a settlement of some of the questions relating to the import of Vedic passages; while according to the orthodox Pundit no one is well versed in Dharma Sástras (law) who has not properly studied the Mimámsa.\* For instance, take the definition of "Sástra," which every Hindu should obey. It is derived from the root *Sás*, and means the same as *Sásana* (law); and it is defined to be "a command prescribing a course of right action, and of forbearance from doing wrong." The definition of Sástra as given by a most famous writer on Mimámsa, Bhatta Kumáрила, or Kumáрила as he is more generally known to Western Sanskrit scholars, includes the Mantras and Brahmanas, both going together to form the Veda; and also those writings which explain the ideas and commands therein contained such, for instance, as the Smrities or Dharma Sástras (law, canon, and civil), the reason being that they teach what is good and right, and distinguish therefrom what is bad, and, therefore, wrong.

Jaimini† defines "Dharma" to mean "that which is commanded to be performed," and also "what is taught by the Vedas to be conducive to the good (of mankind)." Similarly Manu says (I. 108): "The rule of conduct is transcendent law whether taught in the revealed texts or in sacred tradition; hence the twice-born who possesses regard for himself should always be careful to follow it."

Thus the only way we have to judge of right and wrong is by the sayings or rather the commands contained in the Vedas and Smrities. This statement is in strict accordance with the Sayings of Manu and Goutama that "the origin of

\* The word "Mimámsa" is employed in the course of this paper to signify the "Purvamimámsa" of the Jaimini School.

† I. 1-2. I must here add that I have been greatly indebted to the labours of Oriental Scholars for the rendering of passages quoted from the Sástras. It is only occasionally that I have had to translate differently from them.

all *Dharmas* are the Vedas" (II. 6), and that "the chief authority by which we can understand what is *Dharma* is the Veda." Similarly we find Āpastamba saying, "those that are learned in the laws [*i.e.*, the elders] speak to the effect that the Vedas are the chief authorities." Vyāsa, another well-known author of *Dharmasāstra*, echoes the ideas of Jaimini, as did others before him.

Perhaps a brief account of the *Smrities* may be of help to such of my non-Sanskritist readers as may wish to have an idea of them. The sources of Hindu Law are: the *Sruti* or Vedas, *Smrities*, *Itihāsas* and *Purānas*. The *Srutis* are so called since they were perceived by revelation. These are the four Vedas, including the *Samhita* and *Brahmana* portions. *Smriti* is the collection handed down by *Rishis* in prose or verse. As the Veda was transmitted from teacher to pupil, various versions arose. To facilitate their teachings strings (*Sutras*) of rules were framed to serve the purpose of a *memoria technica* by which the substance of the oral lessons might be recalled to the mind. These *Sutras* are either *Kalpa*, *Grihya*, or *Dharmasutras*, generally all composed by one and the same author. The first of these are rules for the performance of sacrifice, being based on the *Brahmana* portions of the Vedas; but with these, however, we are not now concerned. The *Grihya Sutras* treat of the household duties of a Brahmin. Modern Oriental research has brought to light the names of the following as the authors of *Grihya Sutras*:—Āsvalāyana†, Śāṅkhāyana†, Śāmbavya, Sounaka for the Rig Veda; Kāthaka†, Bodhāyana†, Bhāradvāja, Sathyāśhāda†, Hiranyakesin, Manu†, Vaikhānasa, Maitrāyiniya†, for the Black Yajur Veda; Gobhila, Karma-pradipa (Kātyāyana's) Khadira†, for the Sama Veda; Vaijāvapa, Pāraskara†, for the White Yajur Veda; and Kausika-sutra for the Atharvā Veda.

Of these only ten however appear to exist, being those that are marked †. These again are not of any great help in the settlement of our question. The *Dharmasutras* are

those which deal with the rules of practical life as laid down by the head of each school (chárana), and therefore embody the precepts and obligations common to all. These rules were handed down from father to son, or teacher to pupil. There appear to have been several authors of the Dharma-sutras, as Āpastamba, Bodháyaṇa, Vishnu, Vasishtha, Goutama, and others who also wrote Grihya and Srauta-sutras; but these are the only works that now exist. In chronological order they stand thus: Goutama, Háríta, Bodháyaṇa, Āpastamba, Hiranyakésin, Yama, a Manu (author of Mánava-sutras, of which the "code" is considered an abridgment), Vishnu, Vasishtha, Usanas, Káśyapa and Sankha.

Next to the Dharma-sutras, we have the Dharmasāstras of Manu, Yágyavalkya, Parásara, and Nárada. Next to these may be ranked the secondary law books, such as those of Āngiras, Atri, Daksha, Dévala, Prajapati, Yama, Likhita, Vyása, Sankha, Sankha-Likhita, Vriddha Sútítapa, Pitá-maha, Káśyapa, Gúruga, Kátyáyana, Práchétas, Samvarta, Budha, and Yogayágyavalkya. Most of these have the Vriddha (old) and Brihat (large) versions, which with those already mentioned make up 84, the number fixed by Indian writers, although according to Bühler and West's *Digest of Hindu Law* (p. 13 ff) there are 78 Smrities and 36 different reductions of individual Smrities, making a total of 114 texts—several being of little or no importance. The more important of Smriti writers are known as the "36 Smartas," and are referred to for decisions of vital questions, by such writers as MádHAVÁCHÁRYA (Commentary on Parásara). There is again a minor classification into 24 Smartas, who are more frequently consulted in disputed questions, and these are the Sutra writers and those mentioned by Yágyavalkya (I. 4. 5). According to Parásara (I. 24), Manu's was the code for the Krita age, Goutama for Treta, Sankha-Likhita for Dwápara, and Parásara is for this age (Kali). It may not be out of place here to state that nearly all the available Smrities (41) have been consulted with regard to this question.

With regard to these writings, Jaimini says : " the Smrities should be accepted as authoritative when they do not clash with the dictum of the Vedas, but rejected if otherwise "; Āpastamba too is careful to observe that if there are any contradictory passages in the Vedas, Smrities, and Puranas, the order of precedence should be the Vedas first, then the Smrities, and then the Puranas. Vyāsa repeats this, and so does Kātyāyana when he says that when any of the Smrities contradicts the Vedas it should be rejected altogether. The twenty-four well-known writers on Dharmaśāstra—the " Chaturvimsati Smartas " in the mouth of every Brahmin Pundit, also speak to the same effect. It is an established principle of Indian jurisprudence that custom which has gradually acquired the force of law should not be followed any longer if contradicting the written law, or Smriti ; and so observes Mādhavāchārya as a great authority on Hindu Law in his Jaiminiya Nyāyamā-lāvistara. The Smrities include the Grihya and Dharma Sutras such as those of Āpastamba as well as the metrical codes of Manu and Yājñavalkya, and the prose Smrities like those of Vishnu. Among these, however, the authority of Manu reigns supreme. The Veda\* itself admits his superiority in a passage which has been explained in more than one way by Śāyanāchārya himself. Yājñavalkya, no mean authority on Hindu Law, admits the superiority of Manu ; and so do several others. But Brihaspati†

\* *Yadvaikincha manuravavat tadbhēshajam*. " What Manu says is like medicine." This passage occurs in Taittiriya Samhita of the Black Yajur Veda II. 2-10-2, and is also explained in Mādhavāchārya's Commentary on Parāśara. In the former place Śāyanāchārya explains Manu to mean " Mantra," and in the latter, the famous lawgiver.

I have carefully gone through both the passages, and am rather inclined to believe that both the interpretations may hold good. The interpretation of the word into " Manu " the lawgiver is also followed by Mahādēva in his Commentary on Hiranyakēśi Grihya Sutras.

† Brihaspati XXVII. 2. In the case of a conflict between two Smrities (texts of law), equity should be resorted to ; when the law books are inapplicable, that course should be followed which is indicated by a consideration of the circumstances of the case. 3. (However) the first rank (among legislators) belongs to Manu, because he has embodied the essence



declares in unequivocal language that of all the Smṛiti writers Manu stands foremost, and any other smṛta differing from him should at once be rejected. But although Manu is pre-eminent, still it does not mean that he should be exclusively followed. His decisions are highly authoritative, no doubt, but the other writers should be consulted on points which he does not touch in his "Institutes"; and this is the reason why we have to depend on the other Smṛities. When two or more of such Smṛities lay down different rules not touched upon by Manu, any of these rules are optional: preference is however given, and reference is made, to Parāsara whose Smṛiti is, with a few exceptions, *the* Smṛiti for this age, although our Indian Law Courts more frequently rely on Yāgnavalkya and Mitākshari. But this principle is only observed in Southern India. Another principle is the fiction of interpretation. The Dharmasastras being quasi-revelations, it is assumed that there somewhere exists a method by which two apparent contradictions can be reconciled: indeed, it is assumed that the Smṛities are not contradictory to each other. But when, however, a general penance is laid down by one Smṛiti for a particular sin in common with several others, it may be overruled by another Smṛiti, which prescribes a special penance for that sin, or wrong committed.\* But the penance in every case loses its severity, and will have to be lessened in case of offenders and sinners in the Kaliyug.

Next to the Smṛities come the Commentaries and Digests. Of the Commentaries, those that are held authoritative for settlement of questions of canon law (*e.g.*, sea-travel) are those on Manu, more especially those of Médhāthithi, and Kullooka, Vignānésvara's Mitākshari, on Yāgnavalkya and Mādhavāchāryas on Parāsara. Haradatta's Commentaries

of the Veda in his work; that a Smṛiti (or text of law) which is opposed to the tenor of the laws of Manu is not approved.

\* *Vide* Mādhavāchārya's Introduction to his Commentary on Parāsara's Dharmasāstra. Viséshādarsanam yāvat tāvatsāmānyadarsanam mánamévānyadhāstésyāt sarvagnatvédbhikārīta.

on Goutama and Āpastamba, and Govinda's on Godhāyana are also very high authorities in Southern India. Of Digest writers, we have, Vaidyanāthadikshita who may be placed in the 17th century B.C., Hémādri about 1200 B.C., the writers of *Nirnaya Sindhu*, *Dharmasudhu*, *Smṛiti Ratnākara* 15th century B.C., *Smṛityarthasāra*, and a few works called *Ānhikas*' (such as those of one Gopālāchārya who lived three centuries ago) and special compilations on a single subject like "*Prīyaschitta Kadamba*" on penance. These Digests too, are, it should be borne in mind, sources of Indian Cañon Law, and not of Civil Law to which the lists given by Mr. J. D. Mayne in his "*Hindu Law and Usage*" refer.

*Itihāsas* and *Purānas* are only valuable when they touch on legal points not dealt with by the *Smṛities*; but such cases being extremely rare, they exercise very little authority in matters of Hindu Law.

We have now seen that the term "*Sāstra*" can be applied by pre-eminence to the *Vedas*; and such being the case we shall have to find out whether they prohibit sea-travelling in the same way as "*Thou shalt not steal.*" I shall now subjoin a few extracts from the *Rig* and other *Vedas* immediately bearing on this question, and in the order in which they occur, and then discuss their import.

#### RIG VEDA.

I. 112, 11. With those (your) favours, O liberal (gods), whereby the clouds sent down sweet water for the sake of the merchant *Ausija Dirghasravas*, (and) with those (favours) with which you protected the poet *Kākshivan*—with those, O *Aswins*, do come hither.

I. 116, 3. O *Aswins*, *Tugra*, as it is said, left *Bhujyu* on the sea as a dying man leaves (his wealth). Him you brought home in live ships that moved in the air (and they were) free from contact with the water.

4. O truthful (*Aswins*), you carried *Bhujyu* on the wings of the birds that travelled during three nights and

three days in three cars of a hundred wheels on six horses to the dry shore of a humid sea.

5. O Aswins, that was an act of heroism that you in the bottomless, shoreless, and supportless ocean placed Bhujyu in the hundred-oared ship and safely took him to his house.

6. O Aswins, that has become (renowned as) your great (and) praiseworthy generosity that you gave to (Pedu) who had an evil horse, a white horse that ever brought success. The noble steed of Pedu has become worthy of perpetual invocation (by others.)

VII. 88, 3. When (I, Vasishta) and Varuna ascend the ship together, when we send it forth into the midst of the ocean, when we proceed over the waters with swift (sailing vessels), then may we both undulate happily in prosperous swing.

4. So Varuna placed Vasishta in the ship, and by his mighty protection made the Rishi a doer of good works: the wise Varuna placed his worshipper in a happy day of days; he excluded the passing days and the passing nights.

#### BLACK YAJUR VEDA.

I. 5, 11, 5.

This Earth Prithvi (which is) like a ship, (is) built by Devas, and which protects us from (our) enemies, that which has no holes and that purges off impurities, this (Prithvi) we shall obtain for our good. This (which is of the form of earth), that which possess many weapons, also many trees, without impurities, (and) that which grants our wishes—this ship I have entered into.

#### SATAPATHA BRÁHMANA (I. 3, 1.)

1. In the morning they brought to Manu water for washing just as now also they (are wont to) bring (water) for washing the hands. When he was washing himself a fish came into his hands.

2. It spake to him the word "Rear me, I will save thee!" "Wherefrom wilt thou save me?" "A flood will carry

all these creatures, from that I will save thee!" "How am I to rear thee?"

3. "As long as we are small there is great destruction for us: fish devours fish. Thou wilt first keep me in a jar. When I outgrow that, thou wilt dig me a pit and keep me in it. When I outgrow that, thou wilt take me down to the sea, for then I shall be beyond destruction."

4. It soon became a *ghosha* (a large fish); for that grows largest (of all fish). Thereupon it said, "In such and such a year that flood will come. Thou shalt then attend to me (*i.e.*, to my advice) by preparing a ship; and when the flood has risen thou shalt enter into the ship and I will save thee from it.

5. After he had reared it in this way, he took it down to the sea. And in the same year which the fish had indicated to him, he attended to (the advice of the fish) by preparing a ship; and when the flood had risen, he entered into the ship. The fish then swam up to him, and to its horn he tied the rope of the ship, and by that means he passed swiftly up to yonder northern mountain.

6. It then said, "I have saved thee. Fasten the ship to a tree, but let not the water cut thee off while thou art on the mountain; as the water subsides, thou mayest gradually descend." Accordingly he gradually descended, and hence that (slope) of the northern mountain is called "Manu's descent." The flood then swept away all these creatures and Manu alone remained here.

The first of the passages quoted speaks of Rishi Dīrghasravas having carried on traffic over the sea, as Sāyanāchārya tells us in his Bhāshya.

The second is still more important inasmuch as it distinctly alludes to the practice of making sea-voyages, and mentions one Bhujyu, son of Tugra, having, by the assistance of the Aswins, made a return journey to his native land. The ship is described as "hundred-oared." So large a ship could only be built in a country where naval

architecture was greatly advanced. We might even institute a comparison with the best ships of Alexander, if not those of Modern Europe, before the application of steam.

Sáyanáchárya explains that Tugra was a Rájarshi, and a favourite of the Aswins. He sent his son Bhujyu with a large army to invade the kingdom of his enemies beyond the sea. One of the ships which conveyed Bhujyu was wrecked in a storm. Bhujyu therefore at once prayed to the Aswins, and they being very much pleased saved all the crew, and the armies, by taking them into their own vessels and after a voyage of three days and nights they brought him to the shore of his father's kingdom.

These passages, selected out of dozens, show that sea-voyages were made in the ancient days of Vedic sacrifice. There are several other passages in the Vedas in which the sea (*samudra*) is simply alluded to, as in Rig Veda I. 55.2 ;\* I. 182.5 : getting over difficulties is compared to being carried to the shore by means of a boat or ship ; ships on the sea are alluded to in Rig Veda I. 25.7 ; I. 46.7 ; I. 97.8 ; I. 99.1 ; I. 131.2 ; II. 39.4 ; V. 54.4 ; V. 59.2 ; VIII. 42.3† ; IX. 70.10 ; Black Yajur Veda 26.1.1 ; while reference to Bhujyu's travel is made in Rig Veda I. 117.14 ; I. 112.5 ; I. 158.3 ; VII. 68.7 ; X. 143.5. Taittiriya A'ranyaka I. 10.2-6).

The third passage is addressed by Vasishtha to Varuna. A wooden ship is here mentioned, as having appeared in the sea, into which Varuna and the Rishi entered ; here he was taught knowledge by the virtue of which he became a Rishi. The fourth here appears freely translated in accordance with the commentary of Sáyanáchárya. Nearly the whole of it appears again in the White Yajur Veda (*Vájasaneya Samhita*, XXI. 6, 7) where it is differently

\* The references are to Mandalas and Suktas ; and so throughout this paper.

† The word *nan* occurring in this passage has been explained by the Commentator to refer to sacrifice.

interpreted by Mahidhara, who remarks that it has one application in sacrifice, and another in Smárta deeds and refers to Párasara\* for the latter.

The fifth and last passage contains the Brahmana version of the well-known story of Manu Vaivasvata who at the instance of the fish constructed a ship in which he and the people escaped from the deluge. Manu is here taught divine knowledge by the fish. These passages are so plain in themselves that they need not be discussed: the immediate inferences being that the Vedic Rishis had ships frequently in their minds, and they often compared them with the disappearance of their woes. It is also evident that sea-travel was not prohibited, and that their wooden ships were large enough to require a hundred oars.

*(To be continued.)*

NOTE.—To the *Asiatic Quarterly* belongs the credit of having first appreciated the full importance of a thorough investigation of the subject of *Hindu Sea-Voyages*; the advantages for some Hindus to travel, in modern times, are patent, but it remains to examine the Hindu scriptures, the Hindu written and unwritten laws, the records of the past, on the subject. Did the Hindus of remote ages cross the seas and return without loss of prestige? An affirmative would practically settle the question, and it is therefore for the *A. Q. R.* to encourage and publish research in this field. As an example of the importance the matter is assuming, we quote the following telegram from the *Times* of August 22nd, 1892: "For some time past the question has been much discussed among the more enlightened section of orthodox Hindus whether their scriptures really sanction the common belief that a sea-voyage involves the penalty of loss of caste. The subject was fully discussed at a large representative meeting held on Friday under the presidency of one of the most respected leaders of the orthodox party, the Maharajah Sir Narendra Krishna. The opinion was all but unanimously expressed that some practical steps should be taken. Pundit Mohesh Chunder Nyaratna, a great authority on Vedic literature, stated that he had thoroughly studied the question, and had come to the conclusion that nothing in the Shastras was opposed to sea-voyages or to residence in foreign countries provided that Hindu usages were observed. This meeting marks a distinctly forward step on the part of the Hindu community."—ED.

\* Grihyasutras III. 15, 10 and 11.

## ENGLAND'S HONOUR TOWARD INDIA.

BY DADABHAI NAOROJI, M.P.

THAT England has done great good to India goes without saying. She has given to India a new political life, she has taught her the greatest political lesson:—that kings or governments are for the people, in place of the older and Oriental maxim and principle that the people are for the king. To enable India to understand and feel this new political life and enlightenment and to rise to modern civilization, England has not hesitated to give to India its own literature, science and arts, and to educate the Indians to the level of Englishmen. England has also freely given to India some of its most cherished institutions—institutions for which England has herself fought hard and bled. She has given freedom of speech and freedom of the Press—security of life and property, and law and order. Never in all past history have the rulers of any Empire bestowed such blessings and earned a corresponding gratitude.

I do not dilate further upon England's good work in India, more than to say that the educated and thinking Indians fully appreciate these blessings and are beyond all manner of doubt deeply grateful.

Here is the testimony of the Government of India itself. In their letter of 8th June 1880 to the Secretary of State they say:—

“To the minds of at least the educated among the people of India—and the number is rapidly increasing—any idea of the subversion of the British Power is abhorrent, from the consciousness that it must result in the wildest anarchy and confusion.”

The more deeply the Indians are grateful, and the more they feel induced to be attached to and wishful for the long continuance of the British rule, the more they deplore and feel grieved that all these blessings should be nullified by one act of unfaithfulness to, or dishonour of her most solemn pledges by England.

The people of India know full well that the British people are not responsible for this dishonour. In fact it is the British people who have given these pledges in the most solemn manner possible, but it is their servants—the British Indian officials—to whom the fulfilment of their pledges is entrusted, who have been untrue to their charge. I am not writing this in any indignation nor do I mean to blame any individual official. I take it for granted that every official does his duty as is required of him. It is the system, which the British Indian Government (first the East India Company and now the Crown) have adopted and persistently adhered to, that is at fault. I must also explain here that the remarks of this paper apply only to British India and not to Native States. The Native States, not suffering from this system, have every reason to bless their stars, that under British supremacy they benefit in every possible way. I may just remark in passing, that it is a great pity that by a little want of tact, and the want of discretion and thought on the part of Political officials at their courts, unnecessary irritation and dissatisfaction is produced among them. This however is a subject I must for the present leave alone. It is the system of administration of British India, in which British solemn pledges are deliberately broken, and the British word is beginning to be felt by the Indians to be a sham and delusion.

I shall now make a simple statement of these pledges which have not been honourably fulfilled, and then point out the only way which officials of eminence have deliberately laid down to relieve the British name from this dishonour. The Indians have given up all hope from the officials. They appeal to the British Public; and they ask the British Public to insist that the pledges and word of the British People shall be faithfully carried out.

#### THE PLEDGES OF THE LAST SIXTY YEARS.

The first deliberate pledge by an Act of Parliament was given in 1833.

The Act said :—" That no native of the said territories



nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them, be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said Company."

Macaulay then called this measure "that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause. . . . I must say that to the last day of my life I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in the framing of the Bill which contains that clause. . . . We are told that the time can never come when the Natives of India can be admitted to high civil and military office. We are told that this is the condition on which we hold our power. . . . Against that proposition I solemnly protest as inconsistent alike with sound policy and sound morality. . . . We are free, we are civilized to little purpose, if we grudge to any portion of the human race an equal measure of freedom and civilization. . . . I have no fears, the path of duty is plain before us; and it is also the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour."

I am sorry I cannot give here his whole speech. In the same strain did other eminent statesmen of the day speak.

The Court of Directors wrote grand despatches, but never fulfilled honourably this great pledge. I let Mr. Bright give his testimony as to this. In 1853, after stating the provisions of the clause of 1833, he said :—

"Whereas, as matter of fact from that time to this, no person in India had been so employed, who might not have been equally employed before that clause was enacted." Lord Monteagle then said :—"There had been a practical exclusion of them from all 'covenanted services' as they were called, from the passing of the last charter up to the present time." Further extracts are unnecessary. So the Act of 1833 remained a dead letter and a dishonour to the British name.

After the Mutiny came the great Proclamation of 1858,—India's great and most cherished Charter. This proclama-

tion revived in more clear, emphatic and decided terms the pledge of 1833—

“We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations by the blessings of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

“And it is our further will, that so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity, duly to discharge.

“In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all Power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.”

Can pledges be more solemn, and more binding than this?

All we ask is let this be honourably and faithfully performed, which is not yet done.

These promises have been repeated to the day of the Jubilee.

We appeal to the British people to make these promises a reality and give them an honourable fulfilment—instead of making them, as the British Indian authorities have done, a seed of discontent and a distrust of Britain's word as a mere sham and delusion. What is the remedy? How is this pledge to be performed honourably? The answer has been given a third of a century ago by eminent British Indian officials. Before giving this, I may point out that in 1853 Lord Stanley (now Lord Derby) had to a remarkable extent foreshadowed the true remedy. He then said “He could not refrain from expressing his conviction that in refusing to carry on examinations in India as well as in England—a thing that was easily practicable—the Government were, in fact, negating that

which they declared to be one of the principal objects of their bill, and confining the Civil Service, as heretofore, to Englishmen. That result was unjust, and he believed it would be most pernicious."

Now the remedy is most deliberately laid down by a Committee of five Members of the Council of the Secretary of State for India, appointed by Sir Charles Wood, the then Secretary of State, and composed of Sir J. P. Willoughby, Mr. Mangles, Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Macnaghten, and Sir Erskine Perry.

This Committee made a report on 20th January 1860—since which the Indian Universities have prospered and an immense progress in education and other ways has taken place. I cannot give here the whole report. The Committee admitted that though the law declared the Natives as eligible to the services, practically they were excluded—and they then said that were the inequality which compelled the Natives to compete in England removed, "we should no longer be exposed to the charge of keeping a promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope." Here then is the admission of eminent members of the India Office itself, that the British Government were guilty of the dishonesty of making "a promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope." Then what is the remedy this Committee proposed—to fulfil their promises with honour and honesty? I give it in their own words.

"Two modes have been suggested by which the object in view might be attained. The first is, by allotting a certain portion of the total number of appointments declared in each year to be competed for in India by Natives and by all other natural-born subjects of Her Majesty resident in India. The second is, to hold simultaneously two examinations, one in England and one in India, both being as far as practicable identical in their nature; and those who compete in either country being finally classified in one list according to merit, by the Civil Service Commissioners. The Committee *have no hesitation* (the italics are

mine) in giving the preference to the second scheme as being the fairest, and the most in accordance with the principles of a general competition for a common object."

Here then is the true remedy and the principal one of all India's evils, excepting that of representatives in the Indian Legislative Councils, and in the Imperial Parliament. Simultaneous examinations, both in England and India, for all the services for which Examinations are held in England is the chief means of England's true honour, greatness and glory,—of India's satisfaction with the British rule,—of the removal of India's "extreme poverty," and not only of promoting India's material and moral prosperity, but of the far more increasing prosperity of *England herself*. To use Macaulay's words it is "sound policy and sound morality." It is "the path of duty" and also "the path of wisdom, of national prosperity, of national honour." . . . "That would, indeed, be a doting wisdom, which, in order that India might remain a dependency, would make it an useless and costly dependency—which would keep a hundred (now 285) millions of men from being our customers in order that they might continue to be our slaves."

## KOREA.\*

BY A. MICHIE.

THIS ancient cockpit of Extreme Asia finds itself in a kind of eddy in which political corks and driftwood are whirled and washed about in a confusing mass of froth. The main currents which meet in the peninsula are, first and foremost of course, the secular policy of the Chinese empire which requires Korea as a buttress, in defence of which Chinese dynasties have never hesitated to lavish blood and treasure. With ten-fold force has the value of Korea come home to the government of China since it learned to realize the suicidal character of its cession of the Manchuria coast to Russia, by which act China barred her own access to the Japan Sea, excepting by the way of Korea. Then there are the Japanese, who by right of invasions and in virtue of their having for 300 years maintained a small commercial foothold at one port, Fusan, considered that the honour of their country was engaged in asserting a theoretical claim to suzerainty over Korea, but who had long since got tired of the expense of keeping up the formality. Out of this lapsed pretension however Japan extracted material for her assumption of a leading part in the external relations of the country, which she has since amply justified by her commerce. Thirdly, there is the arctic current of Russian domination. Russia marches with Korea, and has the same permanent interest in embracing the peninsula within her sphere of influence as China has in retaining it within hers. Besides these three positive currents, which are strong, there is a kind of negative or passively resisting current, if the metaphor may be so outraged, representing the unavowed policy of the other powers of the world who, having no direct concern in

\* Such is the spelling now generally adopted in the East, and if the letter K is to serve any purpose whatever in our alphabet, it could not be more legitimately employed than as the initial of this word.

the peninsula, yet think they have a reversionary interest in preventing or retarding its absorption by any great Power, whether Asiatic or European. There may, moreover, be mentioned a sentimental current operating in Korean affairs, of which the propagandism of the United States is perhaps the best representative. This is a great force, as it combines politics with religion.

In the midst of these alien and conflicting forces the position of the government of Korea is not to be envied, or admired. The government has, apparently, no political backbone, nor could it stand upright for a week without leaning on some other Power. The Power which bears the weight of Korea is China, standing to the King as a judicious guardian to his ward, wielding supreme authority but exercising it only in emergencies. Light-hearted foreigners, who act as if they thought the history of the country dated only from 1882, never cease to instigate Korea to throw off her bonds, and declare her independence even as did the revolted colonies of glorious memory. A caged bird given its liberty would not be more helpless, or be more expeditiously gobbled up.

Some ten years ago China's awakened instincts, stimulated by a forward movement on the part of Japan in 1876, warned her that the *status quo* in Korea could not be indefinitely maintained, and the King's government was advised to open the peninsula to general foreign trade. Li Hung-chang drafted the first treaty, to serve as a pattern for all the rest, put it in the hands of the American Commodore Shufeldt, and escorted him to Korea with a Chinese squadron. Within a month the whole series of treaties was concluded. So sudden was the decision; so swift the execution of the Chinese behest. By this means it was thought to enlist the common interest of the Western Powers as a protection against the possible assertion of special interests by any one of them; but judging from what has already followed from these treaties China's object in causing them to be made has not been very

successfully safeguarded. Indeed the seeds of future commotion were embedded in the very text of the treaties. They were prefaced by and based on the untrue statement that Korea was an independent State, which was, however, qualified by a letter from the King to each of the treaty Powers declaring that although he was independent enough to sign treaties, he remained in fact the vassal of China—a contradiction in terms, certain to work woe to the country.

The Treaty Powers adopted diverse attitudes towards Korea, according to their several interests and sympathies. Some of them assumed, in spite of the King's letter, the actual independence of the kingdom, while others kept up in a wavering and inconsistent manner an allegiance to the royal holograph. The outside Power which, next to Japan, has most consistently taken the lead in Korean affairs, and more particularly since 1871, is the United States, which on the conclusion of their treaty at once accredited a Minister Plenipotentiary to the Royal Court. Russia sent a Consul-General and *Chargé d'affaires*; France sent a Consul and *Commissaire*; Germany a Consul; Great Britain a Consul-General; Japan a Resident Minister and *Chargé d'affaires*; China a "Resident." Of these various forms of representatives of the Western Powers that of Great Britain happens to be the most, while that of the United States is the least, in harmony with the actual facts of the situation; the British representative being strictly subordinate to our Minister in Peking, while the American is himself a Minister of full rank, accredited to a Prince whose policy is controlled by a Suzerain to whom the Minister is not accredited. The positions of the others are nondescript and inconsistent.

The results of such a diplomatic *pot-pourri* have of course been anything but satisfactory, and the end has not yet been reached. There is enough in the confused and illogical relations into which the government has been forced with the foreign representatives to provide a perennial crop of misunderstandings tending no one knows whither.

The element in the situation which reduces the present

diplomatic relations of Korea to an unworkable impossibility is the special position of the Chinese Resident, the only one free from ambiguity. That official occupies quite another platform than that of the ordinary diplomatic agents, and is accorded in the royal presence privileges which none of his colleagues enjoy. They, for example, have to stop their sedans at the palace gate and walk a considerable distance to the audience hall, while the Chinese Resident's chair is carried through the gates and into the precincts. Many other like distinctions emphasize the fact that the Resident is quite another personage from the rest of the foreign representatives, no matter by what title they may be designated. In a word, he represents the Suzerain, exactly as the Resident at the Court of an Indian rajah does.

Had the true relation between China and Korea been thoroughly realized before making the treaties, or even after making them, it is open to doubt whether the Western Powers would have appointed any representative to the kingdom above the rank of Consul. But now that the thing is done it may be impossible to revoke it. One boot has in fact been made, and though it does not fit the foot the only alternative is to make the foot fit the boot, which is exactly the process that has been going on since the day when foreign representatives established themselves in the country. Some foreign Powers which are inclined to rest on the verbal construction of their treaties, disregarding the King's express reservation, make believe to act as if Korea were indeed the independent country she is fictitiously held out to be in her treaties. But the ulterior consequences of all such living contradictions must be disagreeable, at least to some of the parties concerned.

No doubt the responsibility for these contradictions rests primarily on China; for they have arisen entirely from her favourite tactics of blowing hot and cold with regard to Korea *vis-à-vis* with other Powers, though in her direct relations with Korea there has been no vacillation. Resolute in disclaiming responsibility for the acts of the Koreans



where foreigners were aggrieved, she yet retained and exercised as she pleased, her full Suzerain authority. In short, she sought to combine the advantages of two incompatible theories of the *status* of Korea ; and if she should eventually suffer the fate of those who try to sit upon two stools it will be her own fault.

The effect of the diplomatic mess on the Koreans themselves is anything but wholesome. They are an indolent, docile, but highly intelligent people, albeit deficient in some of the qualities which are essential to the success of modern states. How far such deficiencies are racial, and how far they result from the circumstances of their national history may be a question for Sociologists to discuss. What meets the eye are a court and hierarchy, to outward appearance, without any developed ideas of nationality or patriotism. Foreign observers are perhaps too prone to regard this defect as a result of historical evolution, and some are no less prone to suggest as a remedy the reversal of the historic stream.

It is sufficient however for practical purposes to note this one effect of the sudden relaxation of political ties brought about by the intercourse with foreigners, that egoism is become the ruling force in the State ; for it is on this discovery that adventurers of all kinds trade. The country was found by foreigners phenomenally poor, as nations go, and the officials from high to low eager to get money. In order to profit by putting money in their pockets in the form of bait, schemes of the most bizarre description were set on foot ; loans were made to Government on certain considerations, the proceeds going into the palace to be squandered on follies ; steamers were bought ; machinery of costly descriptions was imported ; and extravagant buildings were erected—all at the instance of foreigners and for the purpose of enabling certain coteries of officials to exact a percentage. This worthy purpose having been accomplished, the expensive toys were allowed to rust, and were put aside for new schemes, to end in the same manner. The King

himself was gracious, and would sanction anything that cost money and enriched the *protégés* of the Court. Presuming on the royal *complaisance* indeed foreigners have been found bold enough to tempt him to sell his country to foreign bond-holders, certain Chinese schemers having been particularly distinguished for the assiduity with which they have plied this temptation.

Western nations, speaking of them in the block, have never presented themselves to the Koreans in an engaging light. The two with whom, misled by bad advisers, and ignorant of what they were doing, they came into actual conflict, carried fire and sword into the country without a rag of justification; while if Japan be considered, no words can adequately depict the unprovoked ravages she has inflicted on the unhappy country. Even in the way of peaceable negotiation, Great Powers have condescended to use subterfuges with the helpless little kingdom such as a Korean child might see through. The pretence of making treaties for the protection of shipwrecked persons was a gross insult to a nation which had always been distinguished for its hospitality to castaways—without any treaty whatever. With one thing and another none of the foreign nations inspired Korea with any feeling of respect either for their morality or humanity; for of those of which she had no experience she could only judge by what she knew of those with which she had had dealings. Whether the fear and deep distrust engendered during the close time have been altogether removed by the blandishments which have been exchanged since the establishment of free intercourse, is at least open to question. With all their virtues and failings the Koreans are credited with powers of dissimulation far exceeding those of other Asiatics, and he would be a dupe who accepted their caresses as other than bids for illicit favours.

The opening of the country to trade had no doubt a more legitimate ring about it than any of the other pretexts on which intercourse was attempted with Korea, and it was

eventually under this flag that general foreign intercourse with the peninsula was established. Ten years have since elapsed, time enough to afford some indication of the value of the commercial basis of foreign relations, and thanks to the admirable statistical system which China has extended to the little kingdom, the data are served up to us in a very digestible form. From the Customs returns for 1891 we learn that the whole foreign trade of Korea is practically divided between Great Britain, China and Japan, the last named disposing of the whole of the exports. Yet the circumstances of the respective countries are so different that while a Japanese population of some 7,000 settlers at the three Korean ports conduct the Japanese portion of the trade, not a single British merchant is established in the country, British goods being imported by the medium of Japanese, Chinese, or others. The following synopsis of the trade of 1891 tells its own tale :

IMPORTS FROM					£ STERLING.	NUMBER OF NATIONALS RESIDENT.
Great Britain and dependencies	-	-	-	-	420,000	0
Japan	-	-	-	-	140,000	7,000
China	-	-	-	-	110,000	2,000
Germany	-	-	-	-	35,000	2
United States	-	-	-	-	27,000	1
France	-	-	-	-	10,000	0
Holland	-	-	-	-	4,000	0
Austria	-	-	-	-	3,000	0
Belgium	-	-	-	-	400	0
Russia	-	-	-	-	130	0

## EXPORTS TO

Japan - - - - £ 285,000.

The shipping table is also interesting :

## TONNAGE ENTERED AND CLEARED DURING 1891.

British	-	-	1,430	Japanese	-	-	311,754
Chinese	-	-	11,263	Russian	-	-	18,893
German	-	-	7,657	Korean	-	-	7,148

On this table the only remark to be made is that the Russian tonnage represents the official calls of two subsidized steamers at two Korean ports during the year, on their voyages between Vladivostock and Shanghai ; and that the German tonnage consists of the repeated entries and clearances of one steamer sold to the Korean Government, but for financial reasons, still carrying her original flag, and employed solely by the Government in coast service.

Chinese merchants it may be observed are making rapid headway in Korea ; and as to their superior commercial instincts they add remarkable popularity with the Korean people, they are not unlikely in the long run to gain the lion's share of the future foreign trade of Korea, though their genius for organization will doubtless enable the enterprising Japanese to retain the carrying trade which they manage so well, in which moreover their absorption of all the export products of Korea gives them a decided advantage.

The hollowness of the commercial pretext being thus exposed the Korean government now see their suspicions of the true designs of the foreign Powers fully justified ; but since they cannot rid themselves of the incubus they naturally cast about for means of turning their unwelcome guests to account. As the foreigners have set up a ferment in Korea, so the Koreans retort by setting up a ferment among the foreigners who come within their reach, sending them on all sorts of wild-goose chases if by any means some needful coin is to be extracted through their exertions. It is hard to imagine what would ere this have been the fate of the kingdom did not China supply ballast to the government. But she is always ready to impose her veto when the wild-cat schemes of Korean and foreign intriguers threaten to disturb the international equilibrium. It is in fact China alone that has prevented the peninsula going into pawn for the private benefit of individuals.

The royal family, especially on the Queen's side, are universally pronounced to be greedy, and the government of the country is popularly believed to be carried on pri-

marily to enrich the family of Min. All offices of power or trust are being filled by its members, and everything lucrative is put in their way. Naturally the good fortune of the "Haves" excites the envy of the "Have nots," and there is a chronic and perhaps increasing discontent among the nobles, from which the King himself is under a constant apprehension. From the same source is also fed the popular dissatisfaction which is said to be spreading; but the people have griefs enough of their own to justify insurrection at any given moment. They are reputed to be the most oppressed people on the face of the earth, and the exaction of officials is always given as their reason for idleness, it being quite useless for the common people to own the least property, personal or real. All that is doubtless true; and yet the back has so adjusted itself to the burden that the Koreans are entirely free from the outward signs of misery so common in other countries: no squalor meets the eye either in village or city, and their only crying want, which most strangers would agree upon, is that of soap. The oppression of the nobles may have had the effect of checking the increase of population, a doubtful blessing perhaps, but yet a feature in national life which is not without its advantages. Recent estimates by the way have reduced the nominal population of the peninsula very considerably, some writers putting the figures as low as five millions.

Under such a régime as the present men of true public spirit have naturally no show, and as has so often happened in misgoverned countries the patriots are in exile. Such is in fact the condition of one of the best and most loyal of modern Korean statesmen, Kim Yun Sik, who was Foreign Minister during the Port Hamilton incident and the Russian scare of 1885. It fell to this official to take over the *damnosa hereditas* left by a clever but wrong-headed man whom China sent to Korea to pilot the Government through the unknown waters of international intercourse, whose financial and political enterprises plunged

the country into difficulties from which it has never recovered. But Kim Yun Sik was too pure a man to keep his head above water in such a time of confusion when treasonable intrigues were stronger than the claims of disinterested service; and he was glad to escape into retirement and poverty.

In different circumstances the Koreans might be allowed to misgovern or sell themselves as much as they pleased without ruffling the serenity of foreign nations. But like some other thriftless people they happen to occupy a piece of territory which greatly interests some of the other Powers in the world. In one view they are like an unimprovable family on a valuable estate, an eyesore and an obstruction to their neighbours; in another they are Naboths, neither more nor less. The paternal interest which China under successive dynasties has taken in the affairs of the peninsula has, we may be sure, been by no means platonic. In all times of danger the "big country" has come to the rescue of the "little country;" nor has she withheld assistance in times of famine, or when the reigning house needed support against insurrection. Of her pecuniary advances to Korea, China has never demanded the refund of a cent—a fact that, by the way, may in part explain the extreme levity with which Korea now regards financial obligations generally. During the Japanese invasions of 1592 and 1597, China threw as much energy into the protection of the peninsula as if it had been an integral portion of her own territory. And if she has exacted from the King the full tale of homage due from a vassal, it was from no promptings of Oriental bombast, but from a most practical sense of the value of an outpost of her empire, which, in Korean phrase, is as "the lips to the teeth," and of whose allegiance the Emperors could never afford to leave the faintest doubt.

The bearing of China and Japan towards each other in relation to Korea, since both have ostensibly joined the comity of nations, is interesting to observe, though difficult

to define. They are like combatants who have long been fighting in the dark but are now dragged out into the world's daylight where they are partly ashamed and partly pleased to find that they cannot continue the feud without the risk of other parties taking a hand in the game. In past times these great nations had no other battle-ground than the Korean peninsula, each using it in turn as a stepping-stone to the territory of the other. China has throughout been the consistent friend and patron of the "little country," and not merely in the general sense of endowing it with her literature and civilization, while Japan has been the equally consistent and ruthless enemy, notwithstanding that Japan stands indebted to Korea as the intermediate source of all her literature, art, and civilization.

It was an odd outcome of the wars between China and Japan, both countries claimed the submission of Korea; but in the one case the claim was real, practical and operative, while in the other it was fantastical and vainglorious. China calmly maintains her historical tutelary relation to the peninsula, in which Japan acquiesces, yet not without some chafing and jibbing at the position; and she has even given shelter to a kind of anti-Chinese propaganda. The revolutionary party in Korea—for the country would be poor indeed that could dispense with such a luxury—base themselves by instinct on Japanese support—not that of the Government, of course, but of the sciolists of the malcontent classes who never cease from troubling either their own or some other country. The different circumstances of China and Japan may be expected to always keep a clear distinction between the attitudes of their respective representatives in Seoul; and allowing for the personal characteristics of the successive incumbents of the office, the one may be generally expected to be an intriguer, the other an anti-intriguer. One thing, however, which steadies the hand of the Japanese representative is the rapid development of Korean trade, of which his countrymen enjoy so large a share. It is just the absence of any such substantial

and avowable interest that renders so uncertain the course of the majority of the other foreign representatives, who are called on to construct their bricks of policy without the straw of any national interest that can be decently expressed in words.

The invertebrate political character of the Koreans, as at present displayed, is irreconcilable with either their ancient or recent history. The dogged resolution with which for many centuries they guarded their frontiers, often desolating wide tracts of their own territory to prevent invaders from obtaining food or cover; their jealousy of encroachment, which even China was obliged to respect; the decided stand they took against the introduction of Christianity; and the courage with which they held their ground, as far as their antiquated means allowed, when attacked by the French in 1866, and by the Americans in 1871, avouch a race not devoid of manhood and a government that knows its own mind. The signature of half a dozen parchments has not, we may be sure, subverted the national character, though it may have induced a temporary suspension of its activity. The new forces, which have from without been let loose on the country, have not as yet arrived at any accommodation among themselves; and the Korean rulers, conscious that their destiny is not in their own keeping, yet unable to foresee where the balance of power is ultimately to settle, probably consider the present a time peculiarly appropriate for circumspection. While waiting the issue of events, Government and officials attend to their private affairs and diligently make hay while the sun shines.

Whether the present quiet interval in Korean affairs be the introduction to a permanent calm, or whether it be as the ominous lull which is experienced in the vortex of a cyclone, one thing is sure, that the country is passing through an important crisis. Hence those among the foreign Powers which feel practically interested in the fate of Korea keep the broader issues always in view, little recking of the daily trifles that fill up the official life of the capital. The Power



having the deepest interest in Korea is, as has been said, China, and her representative holds himself carefully aloof from the squabbles of the hour, keeping his head clear and his eye fixed on the great secular issues. The Power whose interest is second only to that of China likewise maintains an attitude of vigilant reserve, not perhaps altogether displeased to see occasional triturations going on among the others ; for in every scrimmage he who waits and watches generally secures whatever prize may be of value.

In the meantime, while great changes may be in process of incubation, it is satisfactory to note some improvement in the condition of the people. The soil is generous, and capable of producing much more than it has yet done. The demand for their products for export has offered to the cultivators and traders fresh inducements to exertion which have already led to good results, and the trade of the open ports has caused a new stream of wages to circulate among some thousands of labourers. The moral and intellectual nature of the people is being at the same time operated on by Government teachers imported from abroad, and by missionaries who have been attracted in great numbers to the "Hermit Kingdom." The result of this mental stimulation will be for future observation. It will be a compound result ; for the missionaries mix political socialism largely with their religious instruction, and many of them believe that a democratic form of government is the panacea for worldly ills. This new wine may intoxicate, or it may fortify, the Korean people, but it will not leave them as they are. Something will come out of all this social commotion. What ? is the question.

Island of Pontiatine, near Vladivostock,  
3rd July, 1892.

## THE CONDITION OF MOROCCO.

BY A RESIDENT.

### THE ANGERA REVOLT.

THE chief interest of the Angera revolt consists in the illustration it affords of the usual condition of this most Western of all the Mohammedan governments.

As the readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* are doubtless aware, the Sultan of Morocco is an independent sovereign owing no allegiance to Constantinople. The present ruler, Mulai El Hassan is about sixty years of age, a man of unusually fine presence and gracious manners. He is the twelfth, or according to Di Hemso the thirteenth, monarch of the Filali, Shereefian dynasty, claiming descent from Fatima the daughter of the Prophet. From this fact he derives the distinction implied by the term "Shereef" or holy. He generally resides at the city of Fez of which the population, in the absence of any census, is roughly estimated at about 70,000. The city of Morocco farther to the south, where the Sultan also has a palace and a numerous establishment, shares the honour, with Fez. of being one of the two capitals of the Empire.

Tangier, nearly opposite to Gibraltar, may, however, be considered the diplomatic capital since the foreign Representatives, and also the native delegate for Foreign affairs, Sid Mohammed Torres, all reside there.

The province of Angera lies along the coast directly opposite to Gibraltar, beginning on the eastern side of the bay of Tangier and extending to Ceuta, the Spanish fortified penal colony, or establishment.

The population of the province is of Riffian or, to speak more accurately, of Berber extraction like most of the hill tribes of Morocco, and is said to muster in all about 17,000 fighting men of whom many are now armed with Remingtons, Winchester repeaters and other guns of European manufacture.

Most of the inhabitants are peasant farmers of the poorer sort, but they are manly and independent and generally superior in character to the people of the larger towns and of the plains where the Arab element prevails.

In 1860 they offered a sturdy opposition to the advance of the Spaniards, under O'Donnel, upon Tetuan, but although ready to take up arms for the defence of their country the Angerites have never submitted to the draft or military conscription to supply the Sultan's regular troops or "Askari" as the Sultan's infantry are termed.

For some years this province has been subject to the exactions of a Kaid or Basha appointed by the Sultan, named Dris Emkishet who is noted both for his rapacity and duplicity.

In the spring of this year various Kabyles in the neighbourhood of Tangier had, as may be remembered, protested against the repeated extortions of a Basha of similar character, Abd-es-Sadok, the governor of the Tangier bashalik. Several of the latter's subordinates were attacked and one, after being warned off, was killed whilst attempting to collect a market tax at one of the villages subject to Abd-es-Sadok.

As the disturbance might, at any moment, affect Tangier the English despatched H.M.S. *Thunderer* to protect the interests of their flag; and the French, Italian and Spanish governments followed suit.

Alarmed at the presence of the frigates and fearing a possible European intervention or an attempt to occupy Tangier, the Sultan decided to remove Abd-es-Sadok and appointed in his place one of the latter's cousins, Abd-er-Rahman, lately governor of Oujdah near the Algerian frontier and formerly lieutenant-governor or Kalifa at Tangier.

The new incumbent by the union of firmness with a conciliatory attitude soon restored order.

The Sultan, however, had good reason to fear that this enforced concession to the demands of the Kabyles of the Tangier district might prove a dangerous precedent.

Even prior to the appointment of Abd-er-Rahnian circumstances had occurred which were destined to lead to more serious trouble.

In 1887 Sir Wm. Kirby Green, the then English Minister at Tangier, had secured by an energetic demonstration the establishment of telegraphic communication with Gibraltar, and, at the juncture we are now speaking of, 1891-92, the Spaniards had laid a second cable connecting Tangier with Algeciras. It was moreover understood that they desired to continue the wire, by a shore line, overland from Tangier bay to Ceuta, that is across the Angera territory.

The Angerites knew that the Sultan had long refused the English demands to be allowed to lay their cable and they were sure he was not likely to desire any extension, English or Spanish, of these almost invisible means of communication, which, to the Moorish imagination, represented not only merely the figurative abbreviation of the distance between themselves and the much-feared European, but which were actually believed by many of the ignorant natives to be nothing less than cables for dragging the continent of Africa bodily over towards the shores of the Giaour and the Kaffre.

The sheik of one of the nearest Moorish villages was the since celebrated El H'mam, a young and vigorous peasant farmer but little accustomed to official procedure, who believed he would incur the Sultan's undying gratitude if he could prevent the landing of the shore and of the Spanish cable and who was determined under no circumstances to allow the overland wires to be laid across the Angera territory to Ceuta.

The Spanish minister protested against this threatened obstruction and orders from Fez were consequently received for the arrest of El H'mam. The latter, however, not only declined to surrender himself, but the native officials who were sent to effect his arrest were fired upon.

Up to this time there had been no collision between the

Governor of Angera, Dris Emkishet, and El H'mam who had, indeed, been appointed "sheik" by Emkishet himself; but the latter, being responsible for El H'mam's arrest, which he could not effect without exposing his emissaries to peril, resorted to a treacherous ruse.

Dris Emkishet's official abode was at the neighbouring town of Arzila, but he also owned the Emkishet residence at Tangier and here he invited H'mam to dine and hold a conference on the occasion of one of the national or religious feasts. At the moment when his unsuspecting guest seated himself, Dris gave the sign for his arrest, the signal being the religious formula of invoking Allah's blessing upon the repast.

The Mehaznia or soldiers, concealed behind a curtain, threw themselves upon El H'mam who struggling desperately but ineffectually, was bound, heavily ironed, and taken to the Tangier public prison.

One of my own household, who was passing the Emkishet residence at the time, saw H'mam dragged out by the soldiery. The news quickly spread and everywhere provoked the utmost indignation as a violation of the right of hospitality which should be especially sacred to the Mohammedan since it is insisted upon by the Koran.

With the capture of H'mam began the serious difficulty of the situation; for some time the authorities fearing an attempt at rescue did not venture to send the prisoner to Fez. After several months, however, he was despatched under a strong guard and still loaded with chains, but, as had been expected, H'mam never reached the capital. Excited rumours distorted the event in every conceivable manner. Some fancied he had been rescued after a bloody encounter, or that his guards, in obedience to secret instructions from Dris, had murdered their prisoner and hidden his body. Others imagined there had been some miraculous intervention and that a celestial envoy had struck off the prisoner's irons and blinded his guards. The only certainty was that H'mam had disappeared.

The truth was that the friends who followed close at hand availed themselves of a dark and stormy night when H'mam's guards, possibly in accordance with some secret bribe, had taken refuge in a cave; when they awoke they found their prisoner gone leaving only his jilab, or woollen outer garments, with his irons lying on the ground.

The next incident in the drama was H'mam's reappearance in Angera, among his people, the Uled Jimmel. It is related that the messenger who conveyed this unwelcome news to Dris was imprisoned for his trouble. When, however, the story was confirmed, when it was evident that H'mam was not only back at Beni Jimmel but that he had visited Tangier and had not only sacrificed a bullock at the shrine of the patron saint of the town, the mosque of Sidi Mohammed Bel Hadj on the slope commanding the outer market, but had also visited the young Shereefs of Wazan at the house of their mother, an English woman, and when Dris, moreover, learned from a letter H'mam sent, that the latter, disguised as a woman,—for the hero of Beni Jimmel is slight of build and feature,—had even watched Emkishet in the fancied security of his home and could relate the very order and arrangement of the viands served upon Emkishet's table, then the pock-marked features of Dris's hatchet face, sharp and meagre as of some evil bird of prey, grew pallid with fear. And if the story, believed by the natives, be true, viz., that it was Dris himself who had urged H'mam to obstruct the landing of the shore-end of the Spanish cable, knowing all the while that to obey the injunction would lead to H'mam's destruction, then, indeed, Emkishet had cause to dread retaliation.

To avoid the immediate danger, Dris decided upon a pilgrimage to Mecca; but, unluckily, Imperial letters from the Sultan, insisting that Dris himself should take the field and effect H'mam's recapture, prevented the Basha's departure.

And now Emkishet's troubles began in earnest. No force sufficient for his purpose could be raised either at Arzila, Tangier or any neighbouring district, for every-

where the people sympathized with H'mam. So troops had to be summoned from the capital. The Kaid who accompanied them must be paid; especially the Commander-in-chief, a very Falstaff in girth, in appetite, and, as it proved, also in courage—one Moquetar, the son of El Jammai a late prime minister. This truculent warrior must be propitiated, so whatever of side equipment adorned the person, or the horse, or the house of Emkishet was presently appropriated by "the Elephant," as the natives dubbed the portly generalissimo of the Sultan's ravenous troops. These, too, must be fed, partly at Dris's expense, for had they not come to risk their lives in his quarrel with his rebellious subordinate?

In the meantime Angera girded up its loins for the fray. The Beni Wadras, the Beni M'saour, and other Kabyles also sent detachments to fight for El H'mam, but not against the Sultan—no! they all protested their loyalty, but Dris Emkishet should not be their Basha. Of that they would not hear at any cost.

In the meantime they counted on the Sultan's fear of foreign intervention to make him accede to their demands. Why should not Emkishet fall in the autumn as Abd-es-Sadok had fallen in the spring?

Alas, for the Angerites! two things had happened since then to alter the situation.

Firstly, there had been the expedition to Fez, of Sir Charles Euan-Smith, H.B.M.'s Minister, in order to negotiate a new and more favourable commercial treaty. As all the world knows, the Sultan, after apparently acceding to Sir Charles' demands, had, possibly at the instigation of another Power, abruptly declined to concede a single point. The members of the mission had been insulted and mobbed, yet the British lion had not so much as growled. "Is, then, the beast stuffed with straw, or is he merely of painted cardboard?" had asked the astonished natives; "for have we not pulled his very beard, yet he has not roared even the smallest of roars!"

The anxious courtiers at Fez had, moreover, been, since then, doubly reassured, for not only had Lord Salisbury's ministry been succeeded on the 4th of August by Mr. Gladstone's Government, but before the former's resignation Lord Salisbury had issued the blue-book on Morocco, when it had at once become apparent to the Sultan and his advisers that they had suffered from a purely gratuitous and unfounded panic in the spring—for, in his despatches, Lord Salisbury had not only forbidden Sir Charles to employ the only means by which he could have reasonably hoped to secure the slightest concession, viz., the use of menace or other coercive pressure, but his Lordship had specifically declared his aversion to anything that might be construed as the assumption of a protectorate even of the most vague or indirect kind, by Great Britain.

It was now patent to all the world that the fear of complications with France would not only make England avoid a rupture with Morocco, but would even prevent her from resenting the indignities which had been heaped upon the British mission at Fez.

The Sultan, therefore, might safely do as he liked in his own house, and, if we accept his own official despatches, what he at one time wished was, to exterminate the Angerites.

As to El H'mam, he had been formally excommunicated or cursed by Imperial decree—a measure which sent a shudder throughout Angera, as by this time the friends of H'mam had committed themselves beyond recall. For, already, in the latter part of June, fighting had commenced.

When the Sultan's forces had attempted to enter the Angera territory they were warned off by some of H'mam's men posted behind the hedges of a garden, belonging to the writer of this article, which is on the Angera side of the stream that separates that district from the Tangier Bashalic; but despite the declaration of the Angerites that they were loyal subjects of the Sultan, and had no quarrel with anyone save Dris Emkishet, the soldiery crossed the little river and were fired upon, several being killed and more wounded.



The same assurances of loyalty to the Sultan were repeated in the form of a message delivered by some prisoners, released by El H'mam after the last attack on the 29th of August, when the Angerites had allowed the enemy to enter their country ; but, after permitting them to burn and loot a village, they had suddenly surrounded the troops in a valley ; on that occasion there was considerable slaughter, and some sixty mounted men were compelled to surrender.

If the same peasants who worsted the Sultan's troops in a long series of petty encounters had been led by chiefs having any political ambition, had they supported some candidate or aspirant to the Shereefian throne, or, even as it was, had they assumed an aggressive policy instead of merely standing on the defensive, they might have swept the Sultan's camp, or M'hala into the sea, and Tangier would have been at their mercy—an emergency which need not have caused foreign residents any alarm, as, with the exception of the Spanish element, H'mam, when he had been confined in the Tangier prison, had had sufficient evidence of our sympathy in the efforts some of us had made to secure the removal of his irons and the mitigation of his suffering, for us to have been able to count upon his good will.

The press, too, had expressed its sympathy, with the exception of one of the Spanish papers, published in Tangier, which censured H'mam as a disturber of public order, and especially for having commanded the decapitation of four traitors to his cause, who had been convicted of several outrages upon Angera women.

Speaking of the punishment of these men from the Fahs, the district contiguous to Angera, it should be mentioned that in every other case prisoners were treated by H'mam with all possible consideration, rather, indeed, as though they were friends than enemies.

In this struggle, which is fortunately now approaching a peaceable settlement—a struggle between the rapacious Kaid and the peasant sheik, between Dris Emkishet and El H'mam, we have a vivid example, a little more accen-

tuated, perhaps, and nearer the field of European vision than usual, of what may, after all, be considered the normal condition of this unhappy country—a country rich in undeveloped resources of many kinds, but whose inhabitants are poor beyond our conception of national poverty, and whose lives resemble rather those of beasts of burthen than of human beings; a country without security for life or property, without asylums for the sick or insane, without schools or universities, saving only those where the precepts of religion and the commentaries of the Koran are taught; a country without roads and with scarcely a bridge; and, worse still, without banks or any secure place of deposit for money, which must be concealed in corners or buried in the ground, to escape the confiscation too likely to befall the owner even on the mere suspicion of its possession. As for the judiciary and the condition of the prisoners, words cannot adequately describe the corruption of the tribunals or the horrors of the jails. The establishments, even of the wealthier officials and notabilities of the empire, would, in many respects, fall far short of the requirements of a middle-class Englishman of the humbler sort. Slaves and paupers may swell the master's retinue, but, in his house, cleanliness and order are beyond his power to secure, whilst, during the rainy season, it is often impossible to reach the nearest town, the pack-mules being sometimes lost in the bogs that obstruct the tracks, or washed away in the rivers.

Little is well begun, and nothing is ever promptly concluded. Reasonable administrative organization is unknown, and even intelligent centralization of power is singularly lacking. Indeed, as I write, the abandoned tumbrils of the cannon lately ordered from France by the Sultan are obstructing the road to Fez, near my door, a serious danger to traffic by day, and a peril to all wayfarers after dark.

In fact, turn where we may, we see nothing in Morocco but a people without hope of justice, and a government without honour or compassion; and, most mortifying sight

of all, European representatives who are instructed, in almost every case, to do their best to perpetuate and maintain the miserable *status* present; to support the Sultan, even though it might please him to exterminate the inhabitants of an entire province; to tolerate any abuses rather than assist a diplomatic colleague who may be animated by a more progressive policy. For what, after all, were the concessions demanded by Sir Charles Euan-Smith? The reduction of an almost prohibitive scale of both import and export duties; a free coast trade between the different parts of the country; and last, but not least, the substitution of international consular tribunals in the place of the separate consular courts. This latter is a reform long since insisted upon by those who, like the writer of these pages, have witnessed, with surprise and shame, the unblushing abuses of consular protection, the sale—without regard to the claims or character of the recipients—of patents of protection to both Moors and Israelites; the vending of those documents that have often constituted a virtual licence to pillage the unprotected fellow-native, without fear of punishment. It is, indeed, almost impossible, as matters now stand, for those subjects of the Sultan, who do not enjoy the protection of a foreign flag, to recover against others who are thus protected. The consul who presides may assert that he has no jurisdiction over non-protected natives, though, when it suits the interest of the court, he may insist upon the punishment, by the native authorities, of victims who have never been accorded a hearing in any court.

I am aware that this is a strong statement, but unfortunately I have known of numbers of such cases. Nor is the necessity for some international tribunal felt only by natives in a locality where there are thirteen independent and often conflicting jurisdictions. Yet even such a much-needed reform must stand aside because, forsooth, of the futile political pretensions of two or three of the Foreign Powers.

ION PERDICARIS.

Tangier, *Sept. 12th.*

## BRITISH SUBJECTS IN MOROCCO,

BY WALTER B. HARRIS.

SIR CHARLES EUAN-SMITH'S mission to Fez is now a thing of the past. Several papers have stated that the Minister returned to Tangier with nothing gained. How far this is from the truth will be easily understood when one has reviewed the several important events that have taken place during the mission; not, be it understood, from the light thrown upon them by the accounts published in the papers, but by the official correspondence between Lord Salisbury and the Minister himself. It is true that Sir Charles Euan-Smith's treaty is still unsigned, but it is unlikely that it will remain so long; and this treaty, in spite of the stress laid upon it by all the papers as being the most important part of the mission, is in reality but little to what has been accomplished in other ways. It has long been an open secret that the Moorish Government looked upon British subjects as a sort of harmless creatures whose weak conciliatory policy could be baffled by postponements and plausibilities, and whose persons it was not necessary to treat with the same deference as was due to other nationalities. How such a policy was ever founded it seems difficult to comprehend, but still such has been the fact; and although attention has at times been called to it in the newspapers and by other means, no notice was taken of the state of affairs. England had plenty to do in other spheres, and as long as her subjects were not slaughtered in Morocco, she apparently did not care much what became of them. It is unnecessary here to call to mind many cases of the sort. For example one has only to look upon the history of the last two years. Two French travellers, one a distinguished explorer, came, without being in the least to blame, into collision with the natives. Compensation was at once handed over to the French Government, and the perpetrators imprisoned.

We have two parallel cases with regard to Englishmen. The grooms and other servants of the late Sir Wm. Kirby-Green at the end of 1890 were attacked near Rabat while in charge of the Minister's horses and proceeding to meet him at that port. One of the men was shot, a horse of his Excellency was killed, another wounded, and some property stolen; yet it was only on Sir Charles Euan-Smith's mission to Fez, eighteen months after the occurrence took place, that the affair was laid before the Sultan. The second case was one in which an Englishman, travelling with a stamped and sealed passport of the Sultan commending him to all officials, was in broad daylight robbed, and narrowly escaped being shot. One of his men was wounded with a charge of large shot, the others were beaten and stripped. He was able through his own endeavours to obtain the restoration of most of his property; but the small amount that was left still in the hands of the robbers was applied for only in a desultory way, until Sir Charles Euan-Smith, as in the other case, took the matter up more than a year later at Fez. Had either of these mishaps happened to subjects of any other nationality, instant reparation would have been made and the damage sustained repaid. Another case is useful to illustrate the different manner in which the subjects of other countries were treated in comparison to Englishmen. It is customary for travellers visiting Fez to take an introduction to the Basha, or Governor, from Sid el Haj Mahammed Torres, the native resident Minister of Foreign Affairs at Tangier. To subjects of any other nationality the Basha would at once lend a house during their stay, and from time to time send and politely inquire as to their wants. To an Englishman he would give nothing; and on more than one occasion British subjects were obliged to go and pitch their tents in the open space at Bu Julud, amongst a rabble of the Sultan's troops, the scum of the country. The conduct of the Basha was due principally to his wishing his people to see that he had nothing to fear from the Christians: a course he was only able to practise in the case of English-

men, because he knew that, did he venture to act thus with a subject of any other nationality, notice would at once be called to his conduct, whereas with British subjects, if any attention was paid to the matter at all, it was done in such a mild way that the gentle reproof would not even for a moment ruffle the Basha's good humour.

It was this same man, Buchtar el Baghdadi, who attempted to show indifference to Sir Charles Euan-Smith on his late mission to Fez, and on finding his indifference treated with scorn, thought to frighten the Minister by causing a demonstration against him. But he had played his game already long enough. Sir Charles was ready with a list of his past delinquencies; and when matters came to the point of the Governor of the city absolutely encouraging the stoning of members of the mission, Sir Charles put his foot down, with the result that Buchtar was mulcted by the Sultan's orders of the sum of ten thousand dollars, which sum nearly in full was distributed amongst the poor and needy in the city. How excellently politic was this action on the part of Sir Charles will be apparent to those who visited Fez before the mission in the days of haughty Buchtar, and who may again be visiting the place after the severe reprimand administered has done its work.

It may be argued that such points as these are details that do not count for anything in the political intercourse of the two countries. Perhaps between two European countries such an affair might be passed over and forgotten, but it must be remembered how impressionable are the orientals; and it will be long before Sir Charles's popular act—for the Governor is hated—of reporting him to the Sultan, and his still more popular act of distributing the Basha's ill-got gains amongst the poor, is forgotten. Nor will his conduct on this occasion have been lost upon the viziers, who will all in future be more careful with the Minister, fearing lest some day they may be treated likewise.

To judge of the character of an Englishman surrounded by orientals, it is easier to base one's results more on the manner in which he is approached by the natives than on

his own deportment; and so by considering the way in which the viziers behaved in regard to Sir Charles's mission it is easier to arrive at a truer conclusion of himself than by watching the details of his manner. We have seen the viziers first of all fail in what is always their primary motive, to gain a personal influence; then we have seen them fail in an attempt to frighten him; fail in attempts to arrive at a mutual compromise; and finally conclude with the most dismal and low failure—the offer of a bribe. I speak here of the viziers; with them I include their Sultan, for in spite of the many reports that state he is guided by such men as Sid Gharnet, those acquainted with the Moorish Court well know that Mulai el Hassan plays no unimportant part in directing his own state affairs. There is no need to sum up here the character of the Sultan and the viziers; the character of men of their race and religion are well known throughout the world. Yet one who knows them well, accustomed to the wiles of orientals, has said that “he has never met with more unsatisfactory men to deal with; that they are men upon whose lips there are always lies, who have no regard for honour, no regard for truth.” That the Sultan himself is capable of contradicting his word soon after it has been given is shown by the despatch of his Excellency to Lord Salisbury. For we read that on July 5th all arrangements were made for the signing of the proposed treaty, and that on the following day the Sultan refused to do so. Yet in spite of the temporary delay in the signing of the treaty, the Moors have learned a lesson from the last mission that they will not be likely to forget. They have learned that in future they have to deal with England through a man who stands as firm to his purpose as they themselves are in attempting to make him desist; that the former weak conciliatory policy of England is past; and that in future they will have to pay the respect to British subjects that is due to them.

No one has asked for or proposed British supremacy in

Morocco; and yet we have lately heard enough to make one believe that England has been attempting to obtain rights that would almost give her a protectorate over the country. Yet how far this is from the fact! The wording of the commercial treaty that it was proposed should be made between the Sultan and the countries contained in the "favoured nations" clause of the "Treaty of Madrid" has now been made public. It must be remembered that England in this case was working not only for her own interests, but for those of Europe in general. The treaty, in so far as it revised matters, revised them for all the nations, not only for ourselves. And what were the terms of this treaty of which France stood so much in awe, which France informed the Sultan that he was risking his neck to sign? The principal clauses were that land, as was decided at the Conference of Madrid (but never carried into effect), might be purchasable by Europeans in the interior (a clause withdrawn during the negotiations);—that the restrictions laid upon Europeans building in the coast towns should be done away with;—that an alteration should take place in the customs duties;—and that cereals might be exported. Willing as no doubt the Sultan would have been to have signed this treaty, yet the old policy of Morocco, to stir up jealousies between the different nationalities, was too easy not to be taken advantage of. Easier than ever on this occasion, for there was sent to watch how affairs were progressing at Fez, a certain clever French journalist, to whom the Moorish Minister confided the demands of England, and who readily acceded to the request to muddle France up in the affair, with a result that has caused a considerable amount of ill-feeling. Yet in spite of the interference by France, and the crowing of certain of the French papers at what they called the "discomforture" of the British Minister, it is our most firm opinion that the treaty will be signed; and the only revenge that we wish France is that she may so benefit by its



terms that she may come in time to realize the stupidity of her conduct. The Sultan was allowed once more the opportunity of seeing how easy it was by arousing the jealousies of foreign powers to obtain a respite for himself. That such a course of policy should be pursued is degrading; and besides it causes endless satisfaction to the Moorish Government. If it is nothing but the jealousies of the representatives of different powers that are to keep hid for ever the mineral and agricultural treasures of Morocco, it would be far better to insure the country remaining *in statu quo* by a conference between the powers most interested in its future. That such a conference would endanger the relations of the nations in question is scarcely credible, while its united efforts would render the Sultan powerless to refuse the demands of progress and civilization, to open to the world, (and his own people reaping the greatest benefit,) his country and its resources.

But for the moment the affairs of Morocco are forgotten in the greater interest of a change of Government. Happily our interests in the country are in safe keeping; for Sir Charles Euan-Smith has proved, from the manner in which he carried out his mission to Fez, that in his policy he is a diplomat, and in his demeanour a soldier. The personality of the representative of a country goes much further with the natives than the powers which may be superior, but are invisible—the distant Foreign Offices; and the strength of the nation, and to how great an extent it can be played with in the minds of the Moors, is gauged by their regard for its Minister at Tangier. The viziers at Fez are utterly regardless of changes of Ministry in England; their sole policy toward this country is decided by the bearing of him who represents it in Tangier.

That Sir Charles Euan-Smith, if allowed to exercise his own judgment, will be instrumental in continually furthering the interests of Great Britain in Morocco is certain; if he is tied and hampered by a weak policy at home, the other foreign representatives will soon inform the Sultan

and a grave responsibility will rest with the Minister of Foreign Affairs. We are on the eve of a crisis in Morocco that will end in either a great success or a dismal failure. We wait with interest to see to what degree the new Foreign Minister will trust Sir Charles. So successful has he been already in raising the position of British subjects from the lowest to the supreme rank in the eyes of the Moors, that we sincerely hope Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet will place the confidence in him that he has gained amongst all the English who are acquainted with or interested in Morocco.

The only hope that Morocco can have of remaining independent is by conceding, little by little, to a policy founded on the necessary progress of civilization, throwing open, little by little, her country to Europeans, and mending her ways of government in her internal affairs. It is unnecessary to state that the government is rotten to the core; that those in authority are little better than robbers and thieves; that of the taxes which the peasantry are almost daily called upon to pay, but a small proportion finds its way into the imperial treasury; that there is set in authority over the tribes the highest bidder for the seat of government, who borrows money from the Jews to pay for his appointment, and who calls upon his tribe to repay it, plus the usurious interest charged by the money-lenders.

That any great reform can be brought about in Morocco except by the united pressure of the powers is impossible. In the first place, the Sultan knows too well that his seat on the throne of the northern kingdom of Fez, at least, is not a very stable one. For him, however willing he might be to attempt to throw open at once the country to European influence, such an act would mean a probable loss of the control of affairs; and as any disturbance of the *statu quo* in Morocco in the immediate future would mean anxiety, and possibly danger to British interests, it is as well that no very pressing reforms should be introduced, unless their introduction is accompanied by such a

policy that would make impossible the refusal of the Sultan to comply with them. The treaty of Sir Charles Euan-Smith, even in its revised form, will be a step forward, and yet there is not one clause in it which will endanger the person of the Sultan. On the contrary, it will need but a short period of time for the Moors themselves to see how beneficial its working will prove ; and already the native merchants, in whose hands, after all, the future of Morocco lies as much as with any other body, have expressed in the most complimentary terms their hopes of the British Minister's success in obtaining the signature of the Sultan. With this class of Moor, English people have always been popular. So many of the merchants of Fez make voyages to London and Manchester, and appreciate the many little acts of kindness, and the general bearing of courtesy maintained toward them, that a strong feeling in favour of the British nation exists amongst them. A merchant of good position in Fez once remarked to the writer, " They stone us in Spain ; in France they avoid us ; but in England we meet with nothing but kindness." Yet this feeling, satisfactory as it was, was not sufficient. Life in Morocco would be rendered no doubt more pleasant by a general feeling of regard on the part of the middle and lower class Moors ; but from the officials it is only fear that can bring respect from those in authority. We have seen how our former policy of gentle conciliation has failed in obtaining this respect ; we see now how the unwavering policy of Sir Charles is bettering the status of British subjects. As a result, our position in Morocco is highly satisfactory ; for, with respect from the viziers, the good feelings of the merchants, and the regard of the lower classes, we can safely say that very soon, treaty or no treaty, the English will hold the first place amongst the powers represented at Tangier ; and this will be due entirely to the energy and tact displayed by Sir Charles Euan-Smith during his nine months' residence in the country.

## THE ETHICS OF AFRICAN GEOGRAPHICAL EXPLORY.

By R. N. CUST, LL.D.

WHEN the British Public takes up and trots out a particular hero, and the united Press chaunts his praise, and coughs down the doubting remarks of surprised bystanders, it is useless seriously to discuss either the merits of the hero, or the mode, in which his enterprize was carried out. But, when a new hobby seizes the public mind, the hero of the year before last is forgotten, and the books, which he published, repose on public library shelves, or find their way to the lining of trunks. Such is the position of the great enterprize for the discovery, and rescue, of Emin Pasha.

It may fairly be asked, why the attempt was made, in what spirit it was carried out, whether it succeeded, and whether it was worthy of success. My object, however, is to show the methods and the spirit, in which it was carried out as regards the poor Africans, through whose territories the expedition passed like a tornado, and to consider, whether the slaughter of unoffending men and women, the burning of villages, and the other concomitants of war, were worthy of the British Nation. Emin Pasha is reported to have returned voluntarily to the region from which he was rescued. No new highway to commerce and civilization from the river Kongo to the river Nile has been thrown open. A cloud has fallen on the Region of the Albert Nyanza. The Mahometan Slave Dealers, who were transported in honour from the East Coast at Zanzibar up the basin of the Kongo to the region of the Stanley Falls there to prosecute their abominable trade with impunity, are now (1892) reported to be in open rebellion against the Kongo State. The last state of affairs in the regions traversed seems to be infinitely worse than before

the expedition to rescue Emin Pasha started. Let that pass. The object of these lines is to protect the unhappy races in Central Equatorial Africa from similar treatment in future at the hands of such Buccaneers and Land Pirates, as those who, under the specious warlike terms of Advance Guard and Rear Guard, without commission from any Sovereign, European or African, made their way by a process of Plunder, Murder, and outrageous Violence, from the basin of the Kongo to the shores of Albert Nyanza in the basin of the Nile.

A warlike expedition through a country must always be a curse to the poor helpless inhabitants. When an army is commissioned by a Sovereign-State, care is taken to limit as much as possible the misery caused; and such *wanton* acts, as capturing the women of a peaceful tribe with a view of selling them back to their husbands in exchange for provisions would exceed even military license. We must not hastily assert that Geographical Discovery necessarily entails rapine and murder. The story is fresh in our memory, of expeditions conducted in Equatorial Regions of Africa by Burton, Grant, Livingstone, Thompson, Johnston, Cameron and others, without sacrifice of life of the Natives, or destruction of their homesteads. It may be stated emphatically that, if the Geographical Societies of the different countries of Europe cannot extend our knowledge of the Globe without the commission of frightful crimes upon an innocent population, Geographical Expeditions should not be made. But we know well by experience of the last thirty years, that one leader—and one only—of British Scientific Expeditions has left a course across the Continent from the East to the West, and from the West to the East, dyed with blood. No further evidence of this fact is required than the pages of his own works. We do not venture to sit in judgment on the past: one day the blood thus shed will have to be avenged. Our object is to state plain facts by quotations from recognized works, in order to prevent the possibility

of such atrocities happening again. I myself proposed in the Council of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain, that in future no grant should be made of the Funds of that Society, unless an agreement be taken from the leader, that save in the desperate position of protecting the lives of himself and party, no blood should be shed; and that rapine, plundering, and kidnapping of women should be absolutely abstained from. My proposition dropped, but it will no doubt have the desired effect, and such expeditions as the one to rescue Emin Pasha will never be undertaken again without proper safeguards.

I have been familiar with Military Expeditions from my earliest youth, have been present in the tremendous battles on the North-West frontier of India, have had to aid in conquering and reconquering vast districts teeming with warlike populations, and in middle life had to restore order after the great Military Mutinies in Northern India in 1857-58. I know from terrible experience of a long series of years what Judicial executions mean; but I unhesitatingly say, that no Military officer and no Christian Administrator could have lent themselves to such proceedings as are recorded in the published works of the members of a private expedition, who acted under no authority of Sovereign, or State, or Parliament, with no precedent but that of the Pirates and Buccaneers of past centuries. It is not squeamishness that prompts me, but positive horror and disgust.

In the centre of Africa there is no possibility of collecting corroborating evidence: the actors in these scenes evidently were not aware, that their proceedings were questionable; their consciences were in a state of torpor; we can see no suspicion of concealment, or fabrication, or softening, down of details. Their story is told by themselves in a straightforward manly way, and published by themselves. I have collected quotations, giving in each case the reference. I have not intentionally altered a word: there was no occasion to do so.

"The Kongo State (Belgian) beheaded the Chief of a village, burnt the village, and the people fled elsewhere : the village is now covered with tall grass, and its fruit trees are choked with reeds."—*Darkest Africa*, vol. i., p. 82. It may safely be said that during all the wars, rebellions, and tumults of British India during the last half century such a brutal act as beheading the Chief of a village, and laying waste the village, has never taken place.

"I hoped to occupy Yambúya temporarily with the goodwill of the natives by fair purchase ; if not, by force. We approached the village of Yankunde ; the inhabitants gesticulated to us not to enter : arrows were discharged : a volley was returned, and the town was fired : very many paid, I fear, the penalty of their foolish challenge."—*Ibid.*, p. 138. If this is not criminal assault and murder, it is difficult to define those crimes.

"I sent two hundred men to the empty village to procure each a load of manioc."—*Ibid.*, p. 140. This is Robbery.

"Bukuadu had been abandoned : the village and fields of manioc were at our disposal : we refurnished ourselves with provisions" : "there was food for ten days."—*Ibid.*, pp. 145, 162 :—Robbery.

"A number of villages were searched, but the people do not appear to *possess a sufficiency of food* : we collected Indian corn, goats, fowls, plantains."—*Ibid.*, p. 166. Robbery with the additional crime of knowingly leaving the poor native proprietors to starve.

"Three deserters were brought in by Ugavirma : they were condemned to death : a noose was hung round the neck of one, and the man was hoisted up ; before the last struggle was over the expedition had filed out."—*Ibid.*, p. 203 :—Murder.

"We found a large clearing full of plantains : we secured them : in each hut we found Indian corn."—*Ibid.*, p. 253 :—Robbery.

"The suddenness of our descent provided us with rich

stores of fowls, sugar cane, and banánas (plantains).”—*Ibid.*, p. 279 :—Robbery.

“Go right to their villages, and bring away every cow, sheep, or goat that you can find.”—*Ibid.*, p. 322 :—Abetment of Robbery before the fact.

“The Doctor returned without further incident than the burning of two small villages, and firing a few shots at distant parties.”—*Ibid.*, p. 397 :—Arson, and attempt to Murder.

“The Doctor fired his rifle and dropped a Madi, one of the Deserters, dead.”—*Ibid.*, p. 405 :—Murder.

“After witnessing the shooting of the man, who shot Barttelot, and the body tossed into the Kongo, Jamieson started for Bangála” (where he died on landing).—*Ibid.*, p. 492.

“The people of Kakúri said that, if we burned the town of Katwe, they would accept it as a proof, that we were not Wara Sara : accordingly the villages were burnt.”—*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 317 :—Arson.

“One of the (Baptist) Missionaries was going to the coast to be married : so he refused to lend the *Henry Reed* (the Mission Steamer) : he considered the whole matter *over with God even to the third watch*, and would not lend it.”—*Story of Rear Column, Jamieson*, pp. 27, 28. So they seized the Mission Steamer by violence : an act of Piracy.

“I asked Tippu Tib to put Bartholomew and Msa (two young Christian converts) who had stolen *my* fowls, into irons, and the two *gentlemen* are now in irons.”—*Ibid.*, p. 129 :—False imprisonment accompanied with theft.

“Barttelot sent Bonny to catch some of the women, and he caught eight and a baby : they were ransomed by restoring a gun, and supplying thirteen fowls, and a lot of fish.”—*Ibid.*, p. 133 :—Kidnapping and Robbery.

“The man, who stole my tortoise, was flogged this morning before all the men.”—*Ibid.*, p. 139 :—Violent assault.

“One of the captive women was ransomed by eight



fowls and a lot of fish."—*Ibid.*, p. 139 :—Kidnapping and Robbery.

"This morning justice was meted out to Bartholomew and Msa (Christian converts), the deserters and thieves—one hundred and fifty lashes to one, and one hundred the other."—*Ibid.*, p. 142 :—Violent assault.

"Bengázi Mahamed, who stole the meat out of Ward's house—the meat had been plundered—and who had been in chains ever since, and had escaped with a rifle and cartridges, and was caught, was shot, tied to a flogging post, and shot by a firing party: *this was according to Military law on active service.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 207 :—Murder.

"I am sick of flogging, but it took place."—*Ibid.*, p. 162 :—Violent assault.

"I got my rifle, and sat down, and fired several shots at the canoe, and hit two or three of the men in it: it gave them a lesson."—*Ibid.*, p. 245 :—Murder.

"The picture of the River was a bright one: women in gay dresses interspersed among the *chained* men, who were being taken to be porters of the Expedition."—*Ibid.*, p. 288 :—Kidnapping and false imprisonment.

Here follows the story of the girl killed and eaten by cannibals at the cost of six pocket handkerchiefs. I dare not quote this story.—*Ibid.*, p. 291 :—Abetment of Murder before the fact.

"There was an amusing scene to-day: a grand hunt after natives trying to escape."—*Ibid.*, p. 300.

"A man was brought in, who had run away with his rifle: I put him in chains."—*Ibid.*, p. 309 :—False imprisonment.

Here follows the remark that "shooting Barttelot was an act of deliberate murder" *Ibid.*, p. 338 : but, when the white man shoots the black man in his own home and village, defending his own wife and property, is not that Murder also?

"One tin of milk, and corned beef was missing: we gave him one hundred lashes, and put him in irons."—*Ibid.*, p. 332 :—Violent assault and false imprisonment.

"Four bullets hit the offender: two in the right side of

the head : one in the knee : one in the throat, besides the two in the head from the revolver : the look he gave us was the most horrible I ever saw in a man's face : *we then had lunch.*"—*Ibid.*, pp. 362-366 :—Murder.

"One scoundrel tried to cut a hole in one of the water bags : I pulled him away : when he hit me with his weighted stick. I shot him dead."—(*Kosseir*) *Barttelot's Diaries*, p. 36.

"John Henry (a carrier, presumably a Christian) bolted with my revolver : I caught him, and told him that he should be shot to-morrow. Bonny persuaded me not to shoot him : so I had him flogged : *he died soon after* : I am certain, that he must have been shot, or hung, sooner or later, for he was a monstrous bad character."—*Ibid.*, pp. 228, 229, 331 :—Violent assault : possibly Murder : the writer was himself shot a short time afterwards !

"Dollars were found in Abdullah's bag : he was the thief : I ordered him to be flogged, and he received one hundred and fifty lashes without uttering a sound" (he was an excellent man).—(*Jephson*) *Emin Pacha*, p. 282 :—Violent assault.

"Our men had the run of a large field of manioc planted by the Natives before they left Yambuya : from there they got their daily food."—(*Troup*) *With the Rear Column*, p. 148 :—Robbery.

"Barttelot made the Arabs a present of two canoes, which the Natives had left in their flight, when the Expedition first came to Yambuya."—*Ibid.*, p. 155 :—Robbery.

"Jamieson had brought two tortoises : they were stolen : a deliberate theft ! the culprits were found out : Barttelot decided to flog them." (Were there no other deliberate thefts committed ?)—*Ibid.*, p. 159 :—Violent assault.

"The case of the Sudanese deserter came up for discussion after luncheon : it was argued that like the Zanzibari, who had deserted, he should be flogged : but a majority of one out of the five officers decided that the Sudanese were engaged *as soldiers under Military discipline*, and he was shot."—*Ibid.*, p. 203 :—Murder.

"John Henry (probably a Christian) who had deserted, received three hundred lashes: from my hut I heard what was going on, and I was much disturbed by it, as I did not approve so severe a punishment." (He died two days after the flogging.)—*Ibid.*, p. 248:—Violent assault, possibly Murder.

Here follows a remark that in the opinion of Dr. Schweinfurth, the Missionary Societies in England would subscribe a certain amount to the expenses of the expedition (of which the leading features were Murder, Robbery, Kidnapping, Violent assault and Arson!). Dr. Schweinfurth is very much mistaken in his conception of a Missionary Society.—*Ibid.*, p. 326.

I have made no comment; but merely given to each transaction the name it bears under the Indian Penal Code, which allows no distinction between the criminality of a white man or a black man. I have tried an English soldier for killing a Native in a quarrel about a sheep while out on a shooting-party, sent him 1,200 miles to Calcutta, where he was sentenced to death by one of Her Majesty's Judges and hanged. I have handed over a young officer of the Engineers to a Court Martial, by which he was dismissed the Service and imprisoned four (4) years for flogging to death his table-servant about a missing silver spoon. If any party on a Geographical Expedition had plundered and murdered its way through the wilder Regions of British India, such as the slopes of the Himaláya, the leaders of that expedition would have found their way into the common gaol to be tried and sentenced for Felony, and would have been cashiered for conduct unworthy of a gentleman.

Under what Act of Parliament can private individuals be permitted to flog, imprison, kidnap, burn down dwellings, take away life in Central Africa more than in the dominions of Her Majesty?

And then we read in public journals such phrases as these: "The popular imagination has been touched by the varied story of the Dark Continent to an unprecedented extent. It has been a story which has appealed in trumpet

tones to the philanthropist as well as to the mere lover of adventure, to the merchant as well as to the geographer, and to the Christian missionary eager for the spread of Christ's kingdom as well as to the patriotic politician anxious for his nation's aggrandisement."

"*Frightful wrongs to be wiped out*, deeds of high surprise to be achieved, virgin countries to be commercially exploited, valuable scientific discoveries to be made, myriads of people steeped in the grossest idolatry, and regions more or less capable of colonization, where no civilized flag floats—these are some of the varied elements which have thrown a glamour and fascination over Africa and taken men's minds captive."

What were the opinions of the celebrated traveller the late Dr. Wilhelm Junker? In a conversation the Vienna correspondent of the *Standard* had with him, he said: "It is not necessary for an African explorer to kill people, right and left, like a conqueror in an enemy's land. I never killed anyone, and mostly travelled without a weapon, and still achieved what I wanted." The same may be said of all the other noble band of English Explorers of Central Africa, whose names I have already recorded.

Evil examples spread: I now quote from a later work the account of another expedition to find Emin Pasha, which started from the East Coast of Africa within the sphere of British Influence, in spite of the prohibition of the British Admiral, and was led by a German, who knew that he was breaking the law, and invading a peaceful territory.

"I could not meet fraud effectively at Witu, because the only possible means against the fraudulent, that of putting suspected men into chains, and punishing deserters with the most rigorous severity could not *from political considerations* be put into practice."—Peters' *New Light on Dark Africa*, p. 56.

"I began my march without articles of barter, and could not pay my way, as Thompson and other people, were accustomed to do, by giving tribute to the Native Chiefs."

—*Ibid.*, p. 57.

"I had even to introduce for my Somáli (soldiers) corporal punishment, and to inflict it rigorously."—*Ibid.*, p. 58. "I identified a porter, who had left his load and fled, and I had him laid in chains, and flogged before all the people."—*Ibid.*, p. 62 :—Violent assault.

"Continual hindrances compelled me to meet extremities with extremities, and, when I found people refusing to let me purchase what they possessed, I fell back upon the right of self preservation, and the right of arms, which is everywhere acknowledged in Africa, and to take what I required." "I took possession of two boats."—*Ibid.*, p. 88 :—Robbery.

"I made up my mind to chain up every doubtful character among them."—*Ibid.*, p. 89 :—Violent assault.

"We marched along with herds of thousands of oxen, the prize of war."—*Ibid.*, p. 93 :—Robbery.

"I sent my Assistant to get boats: he came back with two: the last had cost a few lives, as the Wa-Pokómo, goaded by the Arabs, refused to let us have one." "Not only they assaulted my Assistant, but, when he went away with the boat, they shot at him, and he was *obliged* to *return their fire in self-defence*, on which occasion four of the Wa-Pokómo fell."—*Ibid.*, p. 94 :—Murder and Robbery.

"I despatched six Somáli (soldiers) down the River Tana to capture the Porters, who would make their way there by land, or to shoot them down, and as the Porters would not stand, they shot two, and threw their bodies into the River."—*Ibid.*, p. 105 :—Murder.

"We discovered a rice-store, declared it to be prize of war, and my people revelled in plenty."—*Ibid.*, p. 107 :—Robbery.

"To prevent my people suffering hunger, I was obliged to supply myself on my own account from the ripening maize-fields. When my men made use of the permission, the Wa-Pokómo (the lawful owners) sought to *drive them away by force*, and two of them were wounded by my people."—*Ibid.*, p. 110 :—Robbery and Wounding.

"I was sufficiently acquainted with the *cowardly* tactics

of the Wa-Pokómo, to take all three Chiefs into custody and to detain them until sufficient corn should be brought in for the column."—*Ibid.*, p. 116:—Robbery and False Imprisonment.

"As soon as I saw they could not procure other guides, I was compelled to put these guides into chains, and carry them over the steppe."—*Ibid.*, p. 117:—Kidnapping.

"I had been obliged to put into practice the expedient of chaining the Sultan of the Galla, when he paid his visit, or otherwise my column would have run the risk of starving."—*Ibid.*, p. 123:—Violent assault.

"We fired six volleys, and the Sultan and seven of his Chiefs were laid low."—*Ibid.*, p. 141:—Murder.

"I had all the women of the kraal, twenty-three in number, brought out of their houses, to carry (the stores) into my camp, and some men also as prisoners of war: I took all the stores I could find."—*Ibid.*, p. 142:—Kidnapping and Robbery.

"One of my men enjoyed *my* guinea-fowl: I gave him an emetic to make him give up the stolen (!) goods, and gave him twenty-five lashes in presence of all, and as a warning to the whole community."—*Ibid.*, p. 171:—Violent assault.

"I at once had the Sultan knocked down and fettered: I took him by the ears, and shoved him on in front as a kind of shield towards his tribe; I announced to them, that I would release the Sultan, if they brought me five sheep and four donkeys: the treaty was sealed by my spitting several times at the Sultan, while he spat at me: when the cattle arrived, I gave them red clothing material, and dismissed them."—*Ibid.*, p. 172:—Robbery.

"I ordered the Somáli to go to the dry ford, and at a trumpet signal from me to drive as many head of cattle as they could together into our camp; I ordered my people to get up a fence for the cattle *that Heaven was going to send them*, and some sheep and goats came in a crowd, and we began slaughtering. I felt myself morally entirely in the right in the measures I had put in action: the people

believed that the Devil himself had appeared in the Land, and vanished."—*Ibid.*, p. 177 :—Robbery.

"Their intention of paying no respect to *our right of Property* was so apparent, that I determined to take vigorous measures, and by 4.30 p.m. we had six hundred sheep, and sixty oxen in the enclosures: I gave them a serious lesson before the night came on: the village was deserted: I ordered everything of value to be taken out, and set six houses on fire: it was necessary to make the people understand: *c'est la guerre*."—*Ibid.*, p. 188 :—Robbery and Arson.

"I arranged, that every attempt at Robbery (on the part of the Kikuyu) should be visited with capital punishment, and a number suffered for indulging their thievish proclivities."—*Ibid.*, p. 214 :—Murder: and who was the real robber and thief?

"I had endeavoured to engage fifteen fresh Kikúyu porters: the impudent fellows used to go off with the stuffs paid in advance: they were at once laid low by bullets, and we secured eleven, and compelled them to undertake the march into Masai-land, which they detested."—*Ibid.*, p. 216 :—Murder and Kidnapping.

"The only one thing, that makes an impression on the Masai is a bullet from a revolver, or double-barrelled gun."—*Ibid.*, p. 222 :—Murder.

"We made an attack on the Kraal: I was opposed at the gate by the elder, with whom I had negotiated on the previous day. My third bullet crashed through his temples: we killed seven in all."—*Ibid.*, p. 236. "We found forty-three Masai corpses, all killed by bullets in the front, but their loss must have been three times that number: they had mutilated those (of our party) who had fallen, so we made reprisals, and cut the heads off the Masai corpses, and hurled them among their countrymen below."—*Ibid.*, p. 239 :—Murder.

"When they tried to take forcible possession of the tribute, which they demanded, and seized some of *My* (their) cattle, three of them were shot down in the act of

Robbery, and by this means peace was restored to the land."—*Ibid.*, p. 263. Murder:—Who was the Robber?

"In the Nera country the Chief demanded Hongo (the usual Transit-duty): they endeavoured to intimidate our expedition: we fired among them, and I killed three, and my companions one. Four paid for their folly with their lives."—*Ibid.*, p. 497:—Murder: (within the German sphere of influence.)

"The Wa-Gogo fled in all directions: burning brands were flung into their houses: by 4.30 p.m. two villages were burnt down: I was not in a position for want of men to seize their herds."—*Ibid.*, p. 529:—Arson.

"We succeeded in seizing two or three hundred head, knocking over those of the herdsmen who did not flee."—*Ibid.*, p. 529:—Robbery and Murder.

It is said of the great African Forests, that tranquil as they appear, Murder is going on in every branch of every tree—one animal preying upon another: at every moment a little atom of life is being extinguished to satisfy the crave of an organisation a little stronger, who a few minutes later will have to surrender his poor carcase to feed one still larger and stronger. Is this procession of Murder and Rapine to be the form of so-called Christianity which Christian men are to introduce into Africa? I am not the first to notice this feature. Mr. Bosworth Smith some years back wrote: "Now that we (English and Germans) have declared something like a fifth of Africa to be subject to our influence, it is one of the most urgent of Imperial questions whether the influence at work is to be that of — and — or of men who managed to travel through large parts of Africa, or — and — who spent their lives there without doing any deeds over which it would be well to draw a veil. As it is, not a few Englishmen (and Germans also) feel that they would gladly give up all that has been revealed to the world by the Emin Pasha Expedition, if they could also wipe out the foul deeds, which were done by Englishmen (and Germans also), upon it."



I have avoided mention of all names, except so far as it was necessary to identify the books quoted. Let the dead bury the dead : let the past be effaced from our memory, except so far as the experiences gained determine us never to allow the same to occur again. What has happened was expected to happen. Read the conclusions of a Parliamentary Committee, of which the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone is the only surviving member : it thus summed up its lengthy report, supported by voluminous evidence, June 1837 :

"It is not too much to say, that the intercourse of Europeans in general, without any exemption in favour of the subjects of Great Britain, has been, unless when attended by missionary exertions, a source of many calamities to uncivilized nations.

"Too often their territory has been usurped, their property seized, their numbers diminished, their character debased, the spread of civilization impeded. European vices and diseases have been introduced amongst them, and they have been familiarized with the use of our most potent instruments for the subtle or the violent destruction of human life, viz., brandy and gunpowder. . . .

"It might be presumed that the native inhabitants of any land have an incontrovertible right to their own soil ; a plain and sacred right, however, which seems not to have been understood. Europeans have entered their borders uninvited, and, when there, have not only acted as if they were undoubted lords of the soil, but have punished the natives as aggressors if they have evinced a disposition to live in their own country. . . . From very large tracts we have, it appears, succeeded in eradicating them ; and, though from some parts their ejection has not been so apparently violent as from others, it has been equally complete, through our taking possession of their hunting-grounds, whereby we have despoiled them of the means of existence. . . .

"The result to ourselves has been as contrary to our interests as to our duty ; our system has not only incurred a vast load of crime, but a vast expenditure of money and

amount of loss. On the other hand, we trust it will not be difficult to show that, setting aside all considerations of duty, a line of policy more friendly and just towards the natives would materially contribute to promote the civil and commercial interests of Great Britain."

The remarks of Sir William Harcourt in the House of Commons, 1892, are noteworthy: "The fact that a territory came within the sphere of influence of this country conferred no rights or power on us over such territory or over its inhabitants beyond what we might obtain by means of treaties entered into with particular chiefs. Every act of force which we committed against natives in territories within our sphere of influence was unlawful. If we took an acre of land from them we committed a robbery, and if we killed a native we committed a murder, because we had no right or authority over these men or their land. That was the result of our having a sphere of influence."

The feeling comes over me, as I write, that we may be on the eve of another Gordon and Khartum business in U-Ganda at the beginning of next year, 1893. The British Public should keep their eyes open in time.

The Murders and Assaults committed were not only on the poor Natives of unknown Central Equatorial Africa—the region lying betwixt the basins of the Kongo and the Nile, but Sudanese, subjects of the Khedive of Egypt, Somáli and Gallas of the Region North of the British Protectorate, and Slave-porters hired at Zanzibar. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, through its Council, of which I am a Member, in vain protests against the system prevailing in Zanzibar of recruiting Slave-porters. I quote their late indignant words:

"The vast stimulus given to exploration in Africa, scientific and commercial, has caused a constantly increasing demand for porters in a country where there are no beasts of burden, and every load has to be carried on men's heads. Agents are not wanting to meet the demand for human labour, and the Slave-trade has become stimulated in order to keep up the supply.

"Testimony exists in abundance, from Dr. Livingstone down to Mr. Stanley's latest reports, to show, that the Zanzibari Slave has gone through a process of deterioration and degradation, which reduces him almost to the level of the beast of burden, whose place he has to supply. So little are his rights of humanity respected, that, if he throws down his load and runs away, it is considered perfectly lawful to shoot him, and in many cases it is acknowledged, that he has to be kept chained up to prevent his absconding.

"The effect of introducing into a country where free labour is the rule, thanks to the enlightened policy of high-minded Englishmen, an army of Slaves, who are only working by compulsion in order that their masters in Zanzibar may be enriched, must not only contaminate the native mind, but will fill it with strange ideas and doubts as to the consistency of our professed love of human freedom. It may easily be imagined, that where the Anti-Slavery policy of England has been loudly proclaimed by employers of free labour, the native must be perplexed when he sees British officers bring into his country, as labourers, men, who were possibly kidnapped from that region years before, and who return as the hired Slaves of Englishmen.

"The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society would, therefore, maintain that the *hiring* of Slaves, and especially the *carrying them away* from their domicile, as stated in the foregoing memorandum, is not only in contravention of the policy so long pursued by England, but is against the spirit of the Acts, that have been passed at various times for the extinction of the Slave-trade, and is consequently a retrograde movement."

Lastly comes the consideration: is the life of a white man more precious in the sight of God than that of a black man? I have lived too long in India to have a doubt about my reply to that question. The sanctity of home; the respect due to the weaker sex by all, who claim to be treated themselves as gentlemen; the rights of property;

the right of freedom of the person, and the right even to Life itself, are all brushed aside by associations of Land-Pirates, and free Buccaneers, called a Geographical Expedition, who seek for purposes of their own, to force their way from one part of Africa to another, and being beyond the limits of civilized jurisdiction to commit with impunity felonies such as Murder, Arson, Violent Assault, and Kidnapping. I appeal to the tribunal of the Public Conscience of Civilized Man, and to the Ruler of the Universe.

It is time for a Protest. In Central Africa there is no pretence of European colonization, or of peaceful white settlers, who wish to make such a country as South Africa and Australia their home: but I quote from a book of great merit—"The Colonial Reformer"—the following passages: "'Was it absolutely necessary to put the Australian aboriginal to death?' asked Ernest.

"'It was necessary,' he replied, 'to punish (by death) any black, who raised his hands with intent to slay any white man, for without such a penalty the country would become uninhabitable'" (by the white settler: but the country belonged to the Black)—p. 200.

Can we be surprised, if every white man is killed for the same reason, when the black has a chance?

And again: "If each individual white man were not merely one of the units composing a vast system of Usurpation, called from time immemorial by the specious name of Progress, one could afford to sympathize with a savage for smiting his oppressor. But the world will be very old, when that most ancient of laws ceases to have force: 'The strongest shall possess.' We preach the law of Right, but the older natural doctrine of Might has always prevailed, so long as one brute, animal or human, is stronger than his fellow."—*Ibid.*, p. 209.

It is the old story of the invasion of Canaan by the Hebrews.

*August 25, 1892.*

## THE PRESENT POSITION OF CANADA.

BY LAWRENCE IRWELL.

THE census returns, showing an increase of less than six hundred thousand men, women and children in ten years, have caused much disappointment to Canadians, but, notwithstanding the attention devoted to the subject by the press, no satisfactory explanation appears to have yet been arrived at. Some over-sanguine persons assert, with great confidence, that the returns have not been taken with sufficient care, and that they cannot be relied upon; while after-dinner speakers, full of patriotism, boldly declare that five million contented and law-abiding citizens are preferable to twelve times that number of anarchists and socialists—forgetting in their enthusiasm that Canada does not enforce any laws protecting herself against objectionable immigrants, and that the criminal classes are quite as numerous in the Dominion as elsewhere. Moreover, the inducements held out to settlers—such as a hundred and sixty acres of free land—have not had any marked effect, the statistics showing that during the last forty years nearly seventy per cent. of British emigrants have gone to the United States, and not over ten to British North America, while nearly twenty per cent. have found a home in the Australian colonies.

Careful investigation shows that the primary cause of the large influx of immigrants to the United States, is a strongly-impressed idea that there is more individual liberty under the Stars and Stripes than under a monarchy, and that it is easier to obtain a livelihood as an American citizen than as a resident of Canada. However absurd these notions may appear to the mind of any educated person, yet the answers of newly-arrived immigrants of all nationalities, when questioned at the American ports, prove that such opinions are widely prevalent, and are largely accountable for the preference bestowed upon the

United States by those who have determined to leave Europe. Another important cause of the large immigration to the Republic is the activity of the representatives of the steamship Companies plying between New York and the various European ports. A regular practice has now been established, not only of selling tickets to all who have made up their minds to become passengers, but of creating emigrants by pointing out the advantages of American citizenship. This has become a "brokerage" business, the successful sub-agent being usually paid a commission on each emigrant he may secure. Now this system is, as far as I have been able to ascertain, absolutely unknown to the Canadian steamship Companies; and all that seems to be done by this colony is to keep certain Government officials in some of the European cities, who are paid salaries, and who appear to do very little to earn them. I may mention that during the last session of the Canadian Parliament a discussion arose as to the payment of a salary to a gentleman in Paris, whose duties consisted in entertaining Canadians visiting the Capital of France, and looking after emigration. To the latter duty he had, it appeared, attended particularly well, having in the course of a year, sent one immigrant to this colony. If the agents of the steamship companies do their duty honestly, and if they tell the truth as to the prospects of employment and the rate of wages, they are, no doubt, conferring a benefit upon the colony to which they propose to send their passengers. But if, on the other hand, they induce their victims to believe that an Eldorado awaits them, and that work will be unnecessary, then they are doing the country an injustice:—an immigrant who wished to profit by such a state of affairs would be likely to prove a very undesirable addition to the population. However this may be, it must be evident to all who have studied the question that emigration from Europe to Canada requires much more attention on the other side of the water than has up to now been devoted to it.

That English capital is not as largely invested in Canadian enterprises as might be expected has frequently been pointed out. The explanation of this is not difficult to find. The British capitalist has experienced two classes of investments, and neither of them has impressed him favourably. First, perfectly genuine undertakings, such as the Grand Trunk Railway, which, either from bad management, or some other cause, have not been financially successful. The probable reason of the failure of this enterprise is that, although the railway is upon this continent, the directors, who control the general manager, are in England, and that official is obliged to waste much time in consulting them before taking action upon any vital question. This, together with the well-known fact that the management is conducted upon English, and not upon American principles, gives an insight into the cause of the small dividends upon the shares in this railway. The absence of success in many other undertakings must be attributed to similar causes. The second class of investments consists of bogus companies, such as the Dead Meat Company of Three Rivers (near Montreal), of which the late Minister of Public Works (Sir Hector Langevin) was a director, and the Canadian Pacific Colonization Company, with which Canon Hayman, formerly head-master of Rugby, was prominently connected. The less said about this class, perhaps, the better. It differs in no respect from similar companies in other countries. The British investor has been unfortunate in his dealings in Canada, and is no longer disposed to risk his money in this colony. To talk to him of the remarkable success of the Canadian Pacific Railway, produces a reply that though the Government has assisted the company by contributing cash and land to the extent of a hundred million dollars and by guaranteeing the dividends upon some of the shares, yet the ordinary stock is quoted as being under par.

The net debt of the Dominion is over two hundred and thirty million dollars, being more than forty-five dollars per

head of the population, and it at present costs thirty-six million dollars a year to govern the country, two-thirds of this amount being raised by a tariff upon imports. Since 1868, the year after the Confederation of the Provinces, the debt has been more than trebled, and the annual expenditure has gradually grown from fourteen and a half million dollars to thirty-nine millions in 1886, the exceptionally high amount spent during that year being due to the rebellion in the North West Territories. The trade of the colony, however, does not show any corresponding increase. In 1874 the imports amounted to 128 million dollars and the exports to 89 millions. In 1890 the imports had decreased seven millions, and the exports had only increased by that amount, the total foreign trade being less than in the years 1882 and 1883. The wheat production in bad years, such as 1889 and 1890, has been little above the requirements of the population, the export of wheat and flour being about a million bushels, while that of the United States was more than seventeen times that quantity. The population—three and a half millions in 1871—has, in the past twenty years, only increased a million and a half, a fact which conveys the unpleasant intelligence that many European emigrants, who originally came to this country, have since left for the land of the Stars and Stripes. The railway system in the ten years from 1880 to 1890 has been more than doubled; but in this, as well as in carriage of freight, the increase cannot be compared with that of the United States, where we find an addition in mileage, in the same period, of over seventy thousand miles,—the Canadian increase being from 6,891 miles to 13,325, the American from 84,393 to 161,397. With the credit of Great Britain at her back, with a small but industrious population, and an area of three and a half million square miles, it must be admitted that the Dominion ought to have made a better show. Her lumber trade is the finest in the world, her fisheries are certainly good; yet her total trade is only upon the scale of a single Australian



colony, although the population is larger than that of all the Australian colonies combined. The public revenue and debt are small compared with other colonies, the debt being one-third of that of Australasia, although the territorial area is about the same. The "National Policy" (a highly protective tariff) has, it is claimed, assisted manufacturers; but the home market is small and the products of the factories do not appear to be exported to any large extent.

It will be readily allowed that young colonies are justified in borrowing English capital at a low rate of interest to carry out public works, while colonial capital is employed upon undertakings for which British money would probably not be lent. But these public works should be of such a character as to form a lasting benefit to the country, and there ought to be a certainty that, when completed, the expenditure would cease. In Canada, in many instances, this has not been the case; the Inter-colonial Railway, for example, cost the Dominion nearly fifty million dollars, and is worked by the Government at an annual loss of at least four hundred thousand dollars, exclusive of the interest upon the original expenditure.

Besides the Federal debt, all the provinces, except Ontario, have liabilities of their own. The Province of Quebec has a debt of over eleven million dollars, an annual expenditure of four million, with a revenue somewhat under that amount. This Province seems to be getting into difficulties, from which, as far as appearances go at present, it will have some trouble in extricating itself. Some of the cities, notably Toronto (Ontario), are also heavily in debt without sufficient to show for it. Here one may see some distance from the centre of the city, block-paved streets with gas lamps and water pipes, but with few, if any, houses,—these local improvements (as they are called) having been carried out at the suggestion of some alderman, who was either interested in the locality, or who was connected with real estate speculators who were. It costs over \$850,000 a year to pay the salaries of the twelve

hundred persons employed by the above-named city ; that amount being one-third of the revenue from taxation, outside the local improvement rate the general debt being over eleven million dollars, and the population under 190,000.

I have carefully avoided all reference to controversial questions ; I have neither expressed approval of a protective policy, nor have I condemned it, my object being simply to state the facts as they exist. Without touching upon politics, however, I may say that the system of one man one vote is not in force in elections for the Dominion Parliament, nor is that of equal electoral districts ; a man may have any number of votes in different constituencies, and the constituencies vary very considerably in size. That this state of things is a source of weakness which enables corrupt ministers to do a good deal of "gerrymandering" is, of course, evident upon the face of it, and requires no comment.

The recent exposures at Ottawa show that corruption flourishes in somewhat unexpected places. It is admitted that one firm of contractors robbed the country of a million dollars, that engineers and civil servants accepted bribes, and that the minister of a department involved was on very intimate terms with, at least, one of the incriminated persons. The fact is that Canada has arrived at a critical period in her career ; the time has now been reached when the people should open their eyes and should make a distinct move. Unless this be done, unless a determination be made to insist upon pure government, whether it be in Dominion politics, or in city administration, the fate of Canada is sealed. She will continue to sink until she reaches the level of a South American republic. Should that time arrive—and I trust most sincerely that it never may—there need be no fear of the Dominion being annexed to the United States—the Great Republic would not accept a bankrupt country as a gift. I refrain from referring at any length to the well-known Pacific scandals. The fact that the Government at that

time in office bribed the constituencies, is simply a matter of history. Were the people of Canada sufficiently careful of their public men, all connected with that unsavoury affair would have been compelled to retire permanently from public life; but in this, as in other matters, a marked apathy appears to have taken hold of the entire population.

Abortive legislation abounds in Canada. Factories Acts, for instance, have been passed both in Ontario and Quebec with the object of preventing child-labour in mills and factories. In Ontario two years elapsed before any inspectors were appointed. In Quebec the Act was passed in 1885, and, although it prohibits the employment of boys under twelve and girls under fourteen, yet both sexes are still employed who are under those ages. The statutes of the two Provinces are not uniform, but a desire for a Dominion Act does seem to be slowly growing. The Ontario Legislature, having apparently no more serious work to attend to, has recently passed a bill to prevent smoking by boys of tender age. Although such an act may be desirable in theory, it must be evident to the veriest tyro in the principles of legislation that such a law cannot be enforced, and must prove inoperative.

The export trade of the Dominion generally, is growing, but slowly; and the lumber trade in particular, is not making the progress which would be expected.

EXPORTS OF	DURING THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1889.	DURING THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1890.	DURING THE FISCAL YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1891.
	\$	\$	\$
Produce of the Forests	24,469,256	27,289,264	25,865,868
Fish - - - - -	7,329,735	8,524,508	9,896,533
Animals - - - - -	24,693,593	26,630,672	27,248,266
Agricultural Products -	17,192,149	17,245,575	18,301,152
Produce of the Mines -	4,673,203	5,126,131	5,977,736
Manufactures - - -	4,899,088	6,388,064	6,985,461

(The fiscal year in Canada commences on July 1st and ends on June 30th.)

The statistics for the second half of last year are not yet published, but there is reason to suppose that the export of metals, as compared with the corresponding half of the previous year has increased half a million dollars, this being practically due to the working of the nickel mines at Sudbury (Ontario) the output of which during the fiscal year ending in June 1891, amounted to \$210,000. The success of the Canadian apple in the British Market has now been well demonstrated, the shipments last season consisting of half a million barrels.

The principal imports to the Dominion from Great Britain are iron and steel, woollen and cotton manufactured goods. The consumption of iron and steel has remained stationary for some years and is not now more than a sixteenth part of that of the United States. The imports of other commodities from the United Kingdom are not increasing to any marked extent.

In 1890 Canada bought fifty-two million dollars worth of various commodities from the United States, and forty-three million dollars worth from Great Britain. As evidence that Canadian affection for the Motherland is largely a matter of sentiment, I would point out that the tariff upon the American importations amounted to one million three hundred thousand dollars less than that upon the British, although the value of the former exceeded that of the latter by nine million dollars.

John Bull may take comfort in the fact that if Canada transfers her trade *en bloc* to the United States, as has been suggested, by a differential tariff in favour of that country, she will not inflict irreparable injury upon Great Britain. It is true that the annual Canadian exports to England are larger than British exports to Canada; but it must be remembered that the Dominion owes a large sum to the Mother-country, and the interest must be remitted in produce. Canada is not indispensable to the United Kingdom as a source, either of food supply, or of raw material for manufactures. Lumber is abundant

elsewhere; in breadstuffs she will not be able to compete with the United States for many years to come, and her export of manufactured goods is insufficient to be worthy of any notice.

Wages are somewhat higher than in Great Britain, and the general condition of the working classes is better, the necessities of life being lower in price, with one important exception, viz., rents of houses in cities, which are out of all proportion to the wages earned. Even if houses can be obtained comparatively cheaply in the suburbs, the cost of street cars will, when added to the rent, considerably increase the expenditure of a family.

Among minor matters, I may say that the Orangemen and Roman Catholics still continue occasionally to insult each other; and, notwithstanding the creation by the British North America Act, of separate schools for Roman Catholic children, the Protestants appear anxious to again reopen the question.

The political parties in this colony differ principally as to their fiscal policy. While the Conservatives advocate a highly protective tariff, the Reformers favour "unrestricted reciprocity" with the United States, which is explained to mean absolute free trade between the two countries, and a common tariff against the rest of the world. A few persons are to be found who openly demand political union with the American Republic: they are chiefly satellites of Mr. Goldwin Smith, who possesses the unfortunate faculty of espousing the unpopular side of almost every question upon which he expresses an opinion. I must add that followers of the late Mr. Cobden are not numerous, but there are signs that a free-trade party is gradually being formed.

The proximity of Canada to the British Isles constitutes a frequent subject of conversation and there is, of course, no doubt, that Halifax is nearer to Milford Haven than New York is to Liverpool; but it must be remembered that the danger of icebergs by the former, and more northerly route, is greater than by the latter. Further,

the subsidy recently offered for a fast mail service between Canada and England does not appear to have been enthusiastically responded to, probably because steamers equal to the "Teutonic," or "City of Paris" could not be made to pay upon the Canadian route.

The military force of Canada consists of about 38,000 men, resembling the British volunteers, a number which is certainly below the requirements of the case. Considering the extremely remote prospect of any attack upon the Australian colonies, it seems a most remarkable fact that more should have been done there for purposes of defence than in the Dominion. No doubt we must look upon the United States as a friendly power; but the frontier between Canada and that country, being of great length and purely arbitrary, the condition of the Dominion cannot be described as that of a colony of the highest class, until she possesses a defensive force which would have some chance of repelling an attack. War between the United States and Great Britain is, of course, most improbable; yet it is a possibility for which Canada ought to be prepared. At present, however, she is numerically weak in men, and has no proper equipments or reserves of arms; nor is it too much to say that if war were declared, the St. Lawrence and the Canadian Pacific Railway would be lost very quickly. In the words of Sir Charles Dilke, "compared with Canada, Switzerland itself is a first class military power." So long as Canada neglects her defence, her desire to avoid annexation to the United States can hardly be regarded as altogether sincere. The Dominion having, moreover, an extensive shipping trade, makes no attempt towards defending it. The land defence is poorly provided for; but maritime defence in the form of ships does not exist at all, with the exception of what Great Britain provides at the cost of the people of the United Kingdom. The effect upon Great Britain of the absence of any sufficient means of defending Canada should not be lost sight of. If the Dominion were not a British possession, the United Kingdom and the United States

would each be invulnerable by the other, from a military point of view. As it is Great Britain stands at a disadvantage in any negotiations with the United States, British statesmen being compelled to hesitate before insisting upon their rights when discussions with the American Republic arise. Whether this immense disadvantage is compensated for by the benefits of a Canadian trans-continental railway, time alone can show.

The position of Canada as regards the Mother-country is worthy of notice. The Dominion has no power to make her own treaties; she has no representative at Washington, except the British Minister, who is not usually chosen on account of his knowledge of Canadian affairs; and she has no voice in the appointment of her Governor-General. That the Imperial Government might make some decided reforms in these, as well as in other matters, is the opinion of many well-informed Canadians.

Mr. Laurier, the leader of the Opposition in the Dominion House, speaking at a banquet at Boston on November 17th, said:

"Though there is at this moment no desire in Canada for immediate independence, the Liberal party believes that the time has come when the powers of self government that we have are not adequate to our present development. We believe that we should be endowed with another power, that is the power of making our own commercial treaties. This is the reform that we have laboured for in years past. We have not yet succeeded, but we see the day not very far distant when we shall succeed, and this will be one of the first reforms which we shall have from the British Government; and I am sure no opposition will come from the British Government; because we will relieve the foreign office from a great deal of troublesome work which it has to do at this moment in our behalf, especially with the Government of the United States."

Lord Dufferin, when Viceroy, no doubt, took great interest in this colony and her welfare; but that can hardly

be said of Lord Stanley, who was actually away on a fishing expedition when the Larkin-Connolly scandal was being investigated. Concerning Lord Lorne, a trivial incident will illustrate the amount of interest taken by him in the people of the Dominion. In 1888, the Presbyterian Assembly, upon the recovery of the Princess Louise from a serious illness, presented her husband with a costly address. A few months ago this address was exhibited for sale in the window of a second-hand shop in Ottawa. The ex-Governor-General has since taken steps to recover this present; but the value he placed upon it, and the regard he possessed for the feelings of the donors can be estimated by the fact that he discovered the loss of the gift only when he heard of its appearance in the second-hand shop.

The idea of Imperial Federation may be growing, but at present it remains a theory which nobody has put into practical shape. Sir Charles Tupper's scheme has been generally condemned as both impossible and undesirable; and Mr. Howard Vincent's suggestion of the return of the United Kingdom to protection under the name of "Fiscal Federation" is opposed by all classes of the English people.

Great Britain is, I fear, becoming disgusted with Canada, her corruption, her slow growth, and her protectionism; and if the bulk of her population expressed a distinct desire to cut the political cable, it is possible that there would be no very strong opposition upon the part of John Bull.

Toronto, Canada, *June 21st*, 1892.



# THE MYTHOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY OF THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS,

AS EXHIBITED IN THEIR SACRED LITERATURE, WITH ESPECIAL  
REFERENCE TO THE SO-CALLED

## *BOOK OF THE DEAD.*

A STUDENT of the sacred books of the ancient Egyptians does not pursue the subject far before finding it quite impossible to appreciate the peculiarities and *raison d'être* of the greater portion of them, unless their metaphysical and mythological character is adequately understood. All of what may be termed their theological works at present in our possession are connected in some way or other with their tombs, and their contents spring from the doctrines held by them as to the consequences to the soul resulting from human death, and their views as to the relations between the spirit and the body during life and after death.\*

Unless, for instance, some correct conception is grasped of their psychological principles, not only the contents and imagery of most of their sacred literature will be a complete chaos to the inquirer, but the very ideas and train of thought which gave them origin will be lost to us. Once, however, the key to the seemingly meaningless confusion, and profusion, of mythological and mystical writings afforded by an explanation of their psychology and cosmology is provided, much that previously appeared impossible to understand in the matter, arrangement, and objects for which the works were written becomes comparatively clear. Then the cause for such an abundance of what may be termed lugubrious literature, because of its having some direct or indirect connection with the tomb, becomes apparent.

The extraordinary manner in which descriptions, both verbal and pictorial, of almost every event in life in some way or other come to form a part of these semi-sepulchral

\* See *Étude de la Religion Égyptienne*, by Lefébure, in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. 14, p. 20.

volumes is accounted for; and although many years of patient research and, it is to be hoped, successful excavations in Egypt must yet elapse before we can hope to accurately occupy their mental standpoint, yet sufficient insight into it may even now be obtained to enable us to view in some similar order of ideas their sacred writings as they appeared and appealed to them.

As far as we can at present understand Egyptian metaphysical doctrines as to the destination and experiences of the soul after death, it appears that in their ideas the extinction of the vital spark\* immediately produced an important change in the spiritual economy, for the soul thereupon became divided into 4 parts†—one the *Ba*, or soul proper, which went away to Hades (*Amenti*), or the nether world, at sunset on the day of death, generally being supposed to accomplish the journey in the form of a human-headed bird;‡ and the *Ka*, or shade (*eidolon*), which either remained for ever on earth near the mummy, and therefore in the tomb, or if it was supposed to ever temporarily rejoin the *Ba*, was at any moment able to return to earth beside the corpse.§ The other divisions of the spirit were the shade *Khaibit*,|| and the luminous spirit *Khou*, and sometimes a sort of composite spirit is delineated uniting the figures of all four.¶

\* Maspero and Flinders Petrie, however, think the Pharaohs had a *Ka* spirit while alive on earth, and that the Cartouche contained the *Ka* name. (See *Revue Critique*, 13th Aug., 1888, and *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, vol. 18, p. 231.)

† Dr. Dümichen in his *Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, Leipzig, 1884, etc., says that the Egyptians distinguished six elements in man, all possessing in some sense a material nature. The *Khat* (or body, the Greek *σωμα*), the *Sahon*, the *Ab* or heart, the *Ka*, the *Ba*, and the *Khaibit* or shade.

‡ Some texts speak of the soul being ferried over the river of death and others of its being carried to the other world by Thoth. Professor Kern, in a recent monograph upon Greek representations of winged figures representing the souls of deceased persons, divides them into two classes: I. The *eidola* which are of a particular individual and always in the usual human form, either nude, clothed, or in armour. II. Other representations upon Attic *lecythi*: these have no individualisation, are always winged, and appear beside a tomb, or death-bed, or at the entrance to Hades. These are not the souls of the dead which come forth at the Anthesteria, but are the souls of the wicked who cannot find rest. (See "Classical Review," 1891.)

§ See *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1885, p. 212.

|| See Birch, *Transactions of the Society of Bib. Arch.*, vol. 8, p. 390.

¶ These forms were, however, quite distinct, and could separately attend each other. Chapter 92 of the Book of the Dead speaks of opening the tomb to the spirit *Ba* and to

The earth-dwelling ghost, or Ka, appears to have been represented to an Egyptian mind as an exact but ethereal and invisible counterpart of the deceased, and it was to this double invisible image of the defunct that the sepulchral worships were addressed.

Invisible, and in a sense spiritual, as this shade of the dead one was, yet he (or it) was to such an extent of the earth earthy as to be supposed to feel gratified, appeased, and nourished by the offerings and sacrifices made to him.\* That, although what may be termed ethereal, his appetite was somewhat difficult to satisfy may be gathered from the fact that the favourite address to him at the ceremonials was to the effect that thousands of cakes, of birds, of libations, of beer or wine, of fruits and vegetables, and joints of meat, have been presented. Whether, however, being a spirit, he was thought to communicate his sense of satisfaction to his more essentially spiritual duplicate, the Ba, undergoing the many conflicts of the other world, passing its mystical gates, and fighting its demons and serpents, it is to be hoped duly provided with his "book of the dead," so essential in such crises, and then being there judged in the great hall of double truth, and passing the examination triumphantly, he finally is free to traverse earth and sky, this world and the next, in company with Ra, by right of being spiritually and mystically united to Osiris, is not quite certain. But it is certain that the magnificent halls and ornamental paintings and contents of a rich Egyptian tomb, whether of monarch or subject, were constructed, adorned, and furnished not for the mummy himself who lay unconscious, immured, and walled up in the eternal silence of the secret crypt, deep down in the rock, or in the earth, enclosed probably in a triple coffin fast in a sarcophagus of granite, but for his Ka spirit's satisfaction here, or in case of the

the shade *Khaibit*. See Maspero, *Revue de l'Histoire de Religions*, 15, p. 269, and Pierret, *Pantheon Egyptien*, pp. 58 and 60.

\* Chapter 105 of the Book of the Dead is entitled "chapter for giving provisions to the Ka," and the 106th chapter is The Chapter "of giving abundance each day to the defunct in Memphis." Maspero, *Le Livre des Morts*, 285.

funerary furniture, utensils, etc., for the use and benefit of the Ba in the other world.

For them the so-called Ka priest's endowments were devised so that the sacrifices should never cease, and thus the Ka be nourished here; and the offerings\* having also been rendered to Osiris by the priest, the god would restore a portion of them† to nourish the spirit in the other world. For them the large statue and the Ushabti, or miniature ones, were moulded, carved, and graven—the first, an exact counterpart of the Ka's former habitat, the corpse, so that it would be to him a congenial home; the second, images, not of the defunct, but of the "fellahin," furnished with hoe and basket, who would be his substitutes when the Ba spirit in Amenti was drawn in the conscription for the *corvée* of the gods.

That the Ka might have his statue-form insured to him, preserved from the rough hands of tomb-robbers, it was often deposited in an inner chamber, and, in case the Ka was not quite pleased with the carven reproduction of his former body, sometimes more than one such statue was provided that he might select for domicile the one suiting him best; care, however, was taken by making small secret passages between the sacrificial hall and the inner statue chamber that the Ka spirit should scent the incense and the sacrifices, hear the prayers and chanted hymns, or the gentle dropping of the libation liquids on the ceremonial days. Nearly every arrangement of these sepulchral matters appears to have had a kind of double object,† the

\* A short form of the formula of offerings is as follows: "Royal offering to Osiris in the land of the inhabitants of the Amenti, the lord of Abydos that he may give offerings in bread, liquid, oxen, geese, linen, incense, wax, all good and pure things of which a god lives to the person of the crown bearer Hor-em-saf." See Wiedemann, "Two dated monuments at the Hague," in *Proceedings of Soc. Bib. Arch.*, June, 1885.

† The offerings at the great annual Osiris festival at Abydos were supposed to be shared by the innumerable souls who had become "Osirians" or mystical forms of the god. Chapters 141 and 142 of the Book of the Dead are the formulæ by means of which the justified dead takes his share of the feast. *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, vol. 15, p. 310.

‡ The following is a good specimen of a text of sacrifices to the gods for the benefit of the dead. "Royal offering to Ptah. Sokaris, to Anubis the lord of the land of Mater; to Seb the first of the Gods, to Osiris lord of Abydos, that they may give offerings, 1,000 of bread and liquid, 1,000 of oxen and geese, 1,000 of clothes, 1,000 of incense, 1,000 of wax, 1,000 of all good and pure things of (or on) which lives a god to the person of the

intention being not only for the delectation of the tomb-dwelling\* Ka† spirit, but to supply the wants of the far-away Ba. Thus it was more particularly for the entertainment of the ghostly Ka during the intervals‡ between the sacrificial days that some literary enjoyment was provided in a papyrus, or upon a stone or wooden tablet. The contents of these were generally, though not always, of a theological character,

scribe, of the Nomos, the scribe of the temple, Sen-tes, deceased. His wife was the favourite of King Aftenu, deceased." A stelè at Karlsruhe: see Wiedemann, in *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1886, p. 96.

\* Some texts speak of aliment being bestowed on the Ba and Ka of the same person. The funerary invocation of Nekht Ames (see Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Abth. III., 114, i.) says,— "May my soul not be turned back when it wishes to come forth, may it receive the cakes of the lord of eternity": then, later on, "May water be received by the hands of the Ka minister (priest). Let him have possession of bread, of beer, upon whichever table his Ka pleases."

† The following is a specimen of a text offering the sacrifices to the double direct. It is from a stelè at Akhmin, and is to be found in the "Rapport au Ministre de l'Instruction Publique sur une Mission dans la Haute Egypte, 1884-5, par U. Bouriant," p. 380. "The Osirian, prophet and scribe Hor-Imhotep, justified (*maxeru*) son of the prophet and scribe Hor-Aukh, justified born of the lady, Ta-xrut-Khem. Proscynem to Osiris Khent-Amentî, great god, lord of Abydos, to Sokaris Osiris, great god in Apu, to Khem, lord of Apu, King of the Gods, to Isis, the great divine mother in Apu, to Horus, son of Isis, great god; to Nephtys, the divine sister, to Anubis, in his Temple great god, lord of Toser; to Amsat; to Hapi; to Tua Mautf, and to Khebsennu; to all the gods and goddesses who are in Apu and Sennu, that they may grant the sacred offerings, oxen, birds, wine, milk, incense, oil, tissues, fresh water and all things good, pure, and agreeable and sweet that heaven gives, that earth produces, and that the Nile brings forth from his cavern, the agreeable breezes which come forth from Shou, the zephyrs of the north which come forth from Tefnut, the life which comes forth from Ra eternally; to the double of the Osirian prophet and scribe, Hor-Imhotep, justified, son of the prophet Hor-Aukh, justified, born of the lady player on the excellent sistrum Ta-xhrut-Khem justified.

"He says Oh! all ye priests, scribes, magi who go to the mountain of Sennu" (a hill to the west of Akhmin), "regard this stone, chant before all the gods and goddesses who are in Apu, and before the divine lunead which is in Sennu, that they grant that my name be remembered on earth and that the son of my son remain in my house without interruption eternally."

‡ The number of festivals upon which the provisions should be offered was very great. An inscription at Beni-Hassan, which embodies an endowment of a Ka priest with lands sufficient to provide the sacrifices, says, "I decreed funerary provisions for every feast of the Necropolis, for the feast of the beginning of the year, for the feast of the great year for the feast of the little year, for the feast of the end of the year; for the great feast, for the feast of the great heat, for the feast of the little heat, for the feast of the five intercalary days, for the feast (of throwing the sand?) for the feast of the 12 months, for every feast of the living and the dead."

A stelè in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, translated by Mr. Budge, says, "May my soul receive the cakes of the lord of eternity, may it come into the presence every day, on the festival of the new moon, on the festival of the month, on the festival of the sixth day, on the festival of the half month on the festival of 'Maka,' on the festival of Thoth, on the festival of the rising of Ames, on the festival of the rising of Sothis, on the festival of the great heat, on that of the little heat, on the festival of the altar, on the festival of the receiving of the Nile water, and all festivals of Osiris at the beginning of the seasons."

but sometimes of so realistic a nature as to be more suitable to perusal by the Ka of an adult mummy than one of tender age. But these literary offerings, to whose provision we owe the preservation of well-nigh all we have of Egyptian literature, were also intended to accompany the Ba sometimes, and, in that case, to insure their death in this world, and consequent departure to the next, were purposely fractured or torn.

To render the Ka perfectly and unceasingly happy, and to sustain the life of the Ba, doubtless the sacrifices\* and offerings should continue daily without intermission, and so no more kingly act could be performed than to erect a temple, which in reality was nothing more than a deity's sacrificial hall, where the Pharaoh or his high priests could without ceasing propitiate with offerings the Ka spirit of one of the Gods who under the divine dynasties of the golden age had ruled over Egypt.

To the mighty temple some untoward times might bring a season when the daily sacrifice would cease. In the tombs of subjects, who had not a nation to defray for them the cost of a continuous worship as had the king,† the restriction of expense caused the intervals between the sacrificial functions to be wide. Therefore, lest the spirit hovering near the temple or the sepulchre should miss the customary worship, and Osiris, the great god of the other world, find the ceremonies and offerings lacking which, so long as continued, propitiated him to defend and sustain by his almighty power‡ the Ba spirit dwelling in his domains,

\* M. Maspero says, "The Ba was, like the Ka, dependent upon the gifts that the survivors offered to him, or rather to the gods for him," adding "this shows he was mortal;" but this is an assumption, as the spirit appears to have been supposed to suffer agonies of famine if the offerings were neglected, but is not stated to die therefrom.

† The offerings had to be very numerous. As they were permitted to be eaten by the priests, the weight laid by these sacerdotalists on the value of large quantities for funeral ceremonies is easily explained. They had to be also of numerous kinds. Dr. Dümichen, in his *Grabpalast des Patuamenap*, enumerates 122 objects which should be presented, and the pictorial representations of edible fruits are so extensive as to assist in explaining Egyptian botanical names. See Maspero, in *Proceedings of Soc. Bib. Arch.*, 1891.

‡ Maspero shows that whilst in many tombs the inscriptions give the offerings of comestibles direct to the defunct, who without further formality was imagined to feed upon them, in others everything was offered to the gods with the condition that they

the courts of the stately temples, the entrance hall and sometimes every portion of the tomb tunnelled in the mountain side, the walls of the funerary chamber erected above the trench descending to the lonely Masteba excavated in the soil, whether it be the tiny temple of some subject or the mighty pyramid guarding a monarch, were covered with the hieroglyphic texts of sacred rituals, magic formulæ, and pictorial representations of sacrificial rites.

The Ka being but an immaterial spirit, immaterial representation sufficed him well, and, as has been aptly said by M. Loret,\* this pale reflection of a human being was easily contented. The repetitions of the sort of religious necromancy by which the performance of certain actions was supposed to give the power to breathe, hear, see and speak to the soul in the next world were, however, necessary, and so were the sacrifices and libations to Osiris in order that the god might sustain the spirit there. These ceremonies appear to have answered the double purpose of satisfying Osiris and the Ka who, until the anniversary for their celebration came round and the Ka priest and his hierophants entered the tomb to perform the mysteries once more, had to content himself by a perusal of their recital on its walls. There were depicted not only the ceremonies themselves, but in the peculiarly elaborate manner in which Egyptian thought loved to treat every subject from its minute beginnings, every act required to produce the materials for sacrifice and the manufacture of the instruments employed ;

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spared a portion for the deceased. These two methods of presenting offerings corresponded to the different idiosyncrasies of the *Ka* and the *Ba* ; for a spirit occupying the tomb no more was required than to deposit there before his image the beef, venison, wine, oil, etc., etc., and then retire, that he might enjoy them. For the *Ba* in the other world the problem of feeding was more complicated, for notwithstanding his change of residence he hungered and thirsted as of yore. Man, however, being powerless, the gods had to assist. Osiris or Anubis, or others, accepted the task with complaisance, deducting, however, for themselves a goodly proportion of the repast as recompense for their condescension. The material foods, of course, did not go to the *Ba* spirit but their spirit, or *Ba*, whilst they remained in the grave, hence to coerce their spirit to pass into the other world to the *Ba* the prayers and formulæ at their dedication. Sometimes, however, the gods are invoked to share the offerings given to them with the sepulchral *Ka* spirit as well as to the distant *Ba* soul. *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, vol. 12, p. 135.

\* Loret, *La Tombe d'un Ancien Egyptien*, *Annales, Musée Guimet*, X. 530, etc.

*e.g.*, \*the ploughing and hoeing, sewing, reaping, binding, and threshing of the grain, the loading of it upon asses, and deposit in the granary, with the scribe registering the amount. Then the grinding of the flour, making it into bread, and baking the sacrificial loaves, and the inevitable scribe counting them when done, or again the brewing the beer, and making the wine and pouring them into vases, each carefully closed and sealed.

Then the pastoral life :—providing requisite animals is portrayed from first to last, not forgetting the act of generation, the birth ; and the youthful gambols ; the daily pastorage and driving to the watercourse to drink as the sun sinks towards the west, guarded from the waiting crocodiles by watchmen, aided by the chanting of magic formulæ to render inert this dreaded foe, and the passage home to the farm. Or again, the waterfowl being hunted by the river bank or in the marshes of the Delta, struck down by the unerring boomerang or snared in the fowler's net, or tame fowl being fattened for the fatal day ; the geese having their beaks opened and the food forcibly inserted. Then the fishermen in light papyrus boats hurling their spears or casting nets, while interspersed among the pictures are the dainty hieroglyphic explanations giving the title to each act and the very words of the actors, their songs as they drive the cattle, or march to the fields, the jests of the rival shepherds and boatmen, the quarrels and ribaldry of the rowers, the husbandman apostrophising the fisherman from the bank, the donkey boy's boast that his animal will carry the greatest load to the mill, or his maledictions on his beast who requires the united efforts of four or more drivers to induce him to receive his burden. The song started by the overseer to encourage his workers under the burning sun, and the poor fellah's exclamation of delight when he is permitted by the task-master to drink a deep draught of the welcome beer.

\* These scenes must not be confounded with the very similar texts and paintings describing the pastoral and agricultural life of the *Ba* spirit in the Elysian fields, which form part of the "Ritual of the Dead," or of the "Book of the Tuat," and other similar works.



Then the cutting of the blocks from the quarry to form the funerary statues, the sculptors carving them, slaves drawing them upon runners to the tomb, and an official sprinkling the ground to prevent the runners firing by friction, and the priests pouring libations and burning incense. Then the death of the sacrificial ox, and the cutting it up so as to obtain the portions most requisite for the sepulchral ceremonial, and finally the long procession bearing the tables of offerings, and the fruits, birds, gazelles, beer, wine, flowers, limbs of the animals which had been cut up, vases, perfumes, and all the paraphernalia the uses of which are elaborately illustrated in the "Apro, or Book of funerals."\*

These symbolical representations were, however, not only indicative of preparations for ceremonies to come, or perhaps substitutes for some omitted, but an actual record of what had been the preliminaries to the first recital on the burial day. For that occasion also, other scenes had been enacted in the preparation of the mummy. Perhaps in his long waiting in the tomb for the resurrection day to reunite him once more to that beloved form, the lonely Ka spirit might come to doubt whether his earthly body had been properly embalmed: whether "all his members were intact"† and every ceremony and act had been duly

\* See Loret, *op. cit.*, in *Annales, Musée Guimet*, vol. x. 530. Birch says, in his monograph upon "The Shade or Shadow of the Dead," "The idea of a resurrection of the Body is implied in some of these texts. An inscription preserved in a copy by Champollion says, speaking of the arrival of Ra the sun god at one of the gates in the Amenti, 'Those who are in this picture their bodies are in their chests in their holes. Their bodies rise up at him (the sun). Anubis keeps the words of that great god who gives light to them from his great disk to their chests he reckons his words. His fires and his abode dissipate the darkness when he flies over them.'"

† The idea that if the corpse was mutilated the corresponding embodiment of the spirit wherever it might be was similarly mutilated, was equally present to Greek thought (Æschylus, *Choeph.* 439, and Sophocles, *Electra*, 449, *seqq.*, and see paper by G. L. Kitteridge, "Arm Pitting among the Greeks," in the *American Journal of Philology*, vol. vi.). In pursuance of this, a murderer would further desecrate his victim's body by cutting off the hands and feet and suspend them by a string upon the chest, as Clytemnestra treated Agamemnon, because this proceeding, as it correspondingly mutilated the shade, rendered it powerless to take vengeance upon the criminal. The same idea is evidenced by the practice of various races of low culture, and is exposed in the popular belief, so common until recently, in vampires who could only be rendered innocuous by digging up the corpse of which they were imagined to be the ghost and cutting off the head, when the spirit was duly decapitated and so could no longer come and suck the blood of its

executed, so we find the whole process set forth upon the walls, every act of mummification, every formula to be written, every incantation to be pronounced during the 70 days that the process occupied carefully recited from the first incision in the corpse, strictly carried out according to untold centuries of precedent, to the final painting and bejewelling of the swathed mummy. The felling of the trees to make the mummy-case or to build the sacred boat, the Asiatics bringing spices and ointments, or hardy sailors from the distant land of Pount, and the weaving of linen for bandages. Then the voyage from the eastern to the western bank of the Nile in the funeral barge with the weeping women, types of Isis and Nephthys, who wept centuries before for their Osiris dead; and the mummy, followed by mourning relatives and priests and dependents drawn on the sledge to his burial.\*

It might be that the mummy himself had been one of the priestly embalmers whose life, when here, was spent in carrying out the very practices just enumerated; if so, what

victims. Suicides were generally thought to prove troublesome as ghosts, and therefore were until quite lately not only buried but secured by a stake, which acted upon the ghost as upon the corpse.

\* The ambition of a pious Egyptian is tersely described in this text, which among others is upon a sarcophagus at Berlin: "Auk-Hor-peu is an accomplished spirit at the place of the great god in the subterranean world. His soul goes out at the heaven with Ra, he unites himself with the beams of the sun disk; he goes in and out at the great festival at Memphis, he follows Sokaris Osiris on his great feasts. Offerings are given to him every day in the temple of Ptah the great god, father of the gods; he makes all the forms he likes at every place he goes in." A more complete recension of the dying Egyptian's hopes is given on the funerary tablet of Nepht-Ames in Prisse, *Monuments Egyptiens*, Pl. 17, and is cited because it indicates the three spheres in which the spirit could wander, the heaven above, our own earth, and the other world ruled over by the nocturnal sun. "May Anubis, etc., upon his hill grant to me glory in heaven, power upon earth and triumph in Ker neter. May they grant that I go in and come forth from my tomb, that my majesty refresh its shade, that I drink water from my cistern every day, that all my limbs be solid, that the Nile give me bread and flowers of every kind at the season, that I pass over the length of my land every day without ceasing, and that my soul (*ha*) may light upon the branches of the trees which I have planted. May I refresh my face beneath my sycamores, may I eat bread of their giving. May I have my mouth wherewith I may speak like the followers of Horus, may I come forth to heaven, may I descend to earth, may I not be shut out upon the road, may there not be done to me what my *ka* execrates, may my soul (*ha*) never be captive (that is in Ker neter), may I be in the midst of the obedient among the faithful, may I plough my fields in Seket Aaru, may I attain the fields of peace, may one come out to me with jugs of beer and cakes, the cakes of the lord of eternity, may I receive my slices from the joint of the great god, I the *ka* of Nepht Ames, first prophet of the God Ames." See Budge, "Notes on Egyptian Stele."

could more gratify his Ka spirit than the placing of a papyrus in the tomb embodying the "embalment Ritual" in all its items? Of still more moment would it be to know how his duplicate soul was faring in the other world, or in the heavens during his eternal accompaniment of Ra, the sun god, both night and day, or in his visits back to earth. To assure the shade that all was well the whole itinerary of the journey both in the other world and in the sky was set forth in a pictorial panorama, explained and described by a continuous text, sometimes of such prolixity that the *Manes* must have possessed great powers of endurance to read them. In the various books relating to the under world or the regions of the sky (or other world) every portal has its name, its friendly presiding spirits and antagonistic ones, every one of the 12 regions has its special peculiarities, its mountains, fields, rivers, caverns, demons, serpents, gods or goddesses, and some their purgatories, executioners and ferocious wild beasts.

Each enemy, demon, or danger can only be avoided, or if encountered repulsed, or exorcised by invoking the assistance of the proper protecting deity in the right place, and sometimes he will only vouchsafe his protection upon being invoked by magic spells; all these therefore are duly written and described, more especially in the "Book of the Dead," which may be said to be the soul's complete guide to Hades. Like the day, the night was subdivided into 12 hours, and like the night the spirit's existence in the future world seems to have been so divided, but these 12 periods appear to have been of long duration for in them are the Elysian fields cultivated by departed spirits, the happy hunting grounds wherein we see the soul chasing the hippopotamus or the crocodile in his boat, or hunting gazelles; there also was the kingdom of Osiris and the Inferno and Purgatory.\*

\* In these mythical regions every act of this life is re-enacted: the rich landowner is waited upon by his slaves, satiated by gorgeous banquets; he enjoys the shade of lovely trees, and the perfume of flowers in his garden, ornamented with miniature lakes on which sport waterfowl and in which the teeming fish may be detected darting to and fro, and surrounded by his favourite animals and pets.

The prototype of this life in the other world was the nightly course of the sun, who in his 12 hours of separation from the earth went through a hurried epitome of the soul's adventures. That soul, too, when justified, would accompany the sun in his daily and nightly journey, therefore a very favourite book with which to adorn a tomb was the recountal of the solar voyage. It is difficult to distinctly separate any one of these sacred books from its congeners, for instance, many chapters in the *Ritual of the Dead* are not only closely connected with, but actually refer to, events described in the various books of the "Lower Hemisphere," or "Book of Hades." So also many of the prescribed acts, processes, and incantations in the "*Ritual of Embalmmnt*" are to be performed, carried out, or inscribed upon bandages and amulets placed within or upon the mummy, not for the purpose of preserving the corpse from dangers upon earth, but to protect the soul from specified conflicts in Hades, so that the books of Hades explain many ordinances enjoined in the "*Ritual of Embalmmnt*."

There is a sort of mutual exchange of beneficial actions on the part of the mummy and its soul, the due fulfilment of every act of ritual in the preservation of the corpse being of the utmost service to the soul when encountering the terrors in Hades, and the spirit's successful progress there being of the greatest value in insuring the mummy left here being preserved intact. In the Papyri,\* the chapters, whether many or few, selected from any of the theological works are kept together, but in the wall inscriptions this practice is not adhered to. For the arrangement of texts with which the halls of the grander tombs and pyramid chambers, and the surfaces of mummy cases are covered, is sometimes very irregular, the literary matter, instead of continuously setting forth the contents of one book or *Ritual*, having odd chapters, or groups of chapters, apparently quite arbitrarily selected from one work, intermingled with similar

\* Mr. Renouf tells us there are exceptions to this, and instances two papyri in the British Museum, one of which has with the *Book of the Dead* a chapter from the Pyramid texts and another from a different religious composition. See his "*Papyrus of Ani*."

extracts from another. Thus in the royal tombs a few chapters of the Book of the Dead, "Per-em-hu," may be followed by others from the "Amtuat," or book of Hades, or the "Apro," or book of Funerals, and these by the Litany of Ra.

This confusion\* appears to have arisen from the fact that the books to be copied in the sepulchre were furnished to the decorators in papyri, and they selected from these chapters the length of which best suited the amount of wall space to be covered. There were, however, certain texts† which were invariably placed upon the northern side of a structure, and *vice versâ*. For instance, under the Middle Empire, the tombs were arranged as Horus was supposed to have designed that for Osiris, having in the great hall the "book of the other world," chapters 5 and 6 on the south wall, 7 and 8 on the north, whilst 4 were upon each of the west and east walls, showing the tomb to have been in all cases oblong (Lefébure, *Rites Eg.*).

In order that the true comparative position of these curious practices of the sepulchral cults of ancient Egypt may be correctly appreciated in relation to similar habits appertaining to other branches of mankind, we may here appositely indicate the remarkable similarity of many customs connected with ancestor worship and sepulchral offerings among the archaic Greeks to those of Egypt.

Nowhere has our knowledge as to such matters among

\* Maspero, speaking of the sepulchral arrangement of writing the book Amtuat, or 12 hours of the night, says of its divisions, "Les six premières sont tracées sur le mur du sud, c'est-à-dire sont rattachées à la fois au sud et à l'occident; les six dernières sont dessinées sur le mur du nord, c'est-à-dire sont rattachées à la fois au nord et à l'orient." *Le Livre des Morts*, in *Revue de l'Hist. des Religions*.

† As an instance of the carelessness with which the scribes worked, M. Naville, in his second monograph upon "The Destruction of Men by the Gods," tells us that in the tomb of Ramses III. the text breaks off abruptly in the middle of what is only the 85th line in Seti I.'s sepulchre, the cause of this being that the scribes had no more space left. They had taken advantage of having this small inner chamber to utilise it for this mythological book, copying it from the version in Seti's tomb, and commenced by working in the large figure of the celestial cow on the wall facing the entrance, then began to write the text starting from the right of the door without measuring how much wall space they had in this smaller chamber; when they reached line 29, the cow picture stopped the artist. Meanwhile, however, another draughtsman had begun from the other side of the figure copying the same text, as in a similar place in Seti I., and very soon he was stopped by want of room, "but it was of small importance to them so long as the walls were covered."

the Hellenic race been more clearly and concisely summarised than in a paper by Professor Percy Gardner.\* He proves that the many reliefs showing a figure holding a cup or patera and pomegranate, are representations of the hero of the tomb, who holds the cup or patera to receive the sepulchral wine, or food, or incense, teaching not only that regular offerings to the dead were considered a sacred duty, but that such gifts were thought worthy of being represented in a relief adorning the tomb of departed worthies.

This worship of the dead does not appear so often in Greek literature, though Professor Gardner gives instances of it from some Greek plays, and especially refers to the artistic representations of the matter afforded by the illustrations of votive offerings brought to the tombs, so continually found upon the beautiful white *lecythi*,† because Greek literature represented the Greek mind at its last and greatest development, whereas these tomb feasts and offerings were the survival of the anthropomorphic practices of archaic times.‡ The theory that the defunct lived in his tomb as he had done when alive, and therefore required food and armour, ornaments, and in the case of children, toys such as delighted them when here, formed a part of the concepts of Aryan as of Egyptian thought, and the logical carrying out of such views led to most interesting parallels between the funeral ceremonies of the two peoples.

For instance, in some of the earliest Greek graves, such as the so-called Treasury of Atreus, at Mykenæ, or the Orchomenos building, there are inner chambers for the preservation of the dead, and an outer one which the visitors to the tomb could enter, which latter probably contained the sepulchral offerings deposited for the equipment or

\* "A sepulchral relief from Tarentum," in the "Journal of Hellenic Studies," 1884.

† Pottier, *Les Lécythes Blancs Antiques*, 1884.

‡ "Primitive and patriarchal elements of religion still existed but they were thrust into the background. Thus a glance at Athenian sepulchral monuments assures us worship of the dead did not occupy among the élite of Greece the same space in men's minds which at an earlier time it had held and which it still held in the more conservative districts. At a lower level than that of poetry, in the laws and the customs, especially burial ones, we find ample proof of the tenacity with which they clung to the belief that the dead desired offerings of food and incense and were willing in return to afford protection and aid." Prof. Gardner, *loc. cit.*

relaxation of the departed. The following quotation from Mr. Percy Gardner will clearly show how very Egyptian some of the Greek customs were :\*

"It is well known with what care the early Greeks provided in the chamber in which they placed a corpse all that was necessary for its comfort, I had almost said its life. Wine and food of various kinds were there laid up in a little store, a lamp provided full of oil, frequently even kept burning to relieve the darkness, and around were strewn the clothes and the armour in which the dead hero had delighted, sometimes even by a refined realism a whetstone to sharpen the edge of sword or spear in case they grew blunt with use. The horse of a warrior was sometimes slain and buried with him, that he might not in another world endure the indignity of having to walk. Even in Homeric days the custom survived of slaying at a warrior's tomb hostile captives to be his slaves hereafter. After the fall of Troy captives were distributed among the chiefs, but it was not thought right to deprive the dead Achilles of his share, and Polyxena was offered at his tomb. According to the theory of M. Rayet the terra-cottas so common in some Greek tombs are the substitutes of these living victims, placed in the grave of one who would in his future life require servants and companions. And the care for the dead did not by any means cease at burial. They had to be constantly tended thereafter, their bones preserved from violence, their tombs from spoliation, and at certain seasons food and drink had to be brought them and left in the tomb for their use. Even this sometimes did not satisfy their friends. There is in the British Museum a sarcophagus in which a hole has been cut to allow food to pass to the occupant, and Mr. [now Sir Charles] Newton suggests the small apertures to Lycian tombs were made with the same view. If a body was left unburied, or if its tomb were not from

\* In a tomb from the Kimmerian Bosphoros, the relics of which are in the New Museum at Oxford, the warrior's dog and horse were both buried. The similarity to the Ushabti needs no comment. Cf. Pottier, *Les Terres Cuites*, p. 48, for Greek and Egyptian ideas as to enjoyments of the departed.

time to time supplied with food and drink, the ghost inhabiting such body became a wanderer on the face of the earth, and neither had peace itself nor allowed the survivors peace."

It has been mentioned that sometimes in the reliefs the hero holds a pomegranate. The inference from this is important, for it shows that the food offerings were intended not only for the shade in the tomb, but were imagined by some subtle transformation to be transmitted to the shade in Hades. Cora ate of the pomegranate there, and it is the characteristic food of its shades, and is brought by worshippers, as were also fowls and eggs, all archaic symbols of the life beyond the grave.

"The belief in the continued need felt by the dead to be supplied by the living was so deep Christianity did not wholly abolish it. A couple of passages from Lucian [Luct. 9] . . . serve to show the ancient feeling."

A curious coincidence with Egypt is the fact that from these reliefs showing not the whole figure of a horse, but only his head placed in a kind of frame, it is inferred that the Greek shade, like his brother on the Nile, being easily satisfied, had in many cases to content himself with a votive tablet representing only part of the steed he was anxious to possess. Just as it is in some cases difficult to decide whether the Egyptian offerings are for the *Ka* shade in the tomb or the *Ba* spirit in the nether world, so is it hard to define in the case of these Greek reliefs whether the deceased is banqueting in the tomb or in Hades. The frequent presence of a snake tends to the former view, whereas the horse and dog appearing indicate the Elysian fields. Professor Gardner does not think the question can be settled, for the Greeks were not clear upon it. "The primitive theory was that the defunct lived in the family tomb, hence the storing of food and drink there, armour and vestments, and a lighted lamp to dispel the darkness. But, though these customs survived locally to late times, the ideas giving them birth passed away. A realm of Hades, Elysium, Islands-



of-the-blest, were imagined ; the soul was supposed to follow the setting sun, or to pass to lower parts of the earth.”\*

Sometimes the reliefs show the deceased wearing the modius, a mark of Serapis ; in this case the defunct, like the Egyptian, has become identified with Serapis, the late form of Osiris, and takes on himself the character of the deity. That the personage is not the deity himself is proved by the accompanying text identifying him with the hero of the tomb. Offerings were made not only to defunct Egyptians but to their gods, and so also in Greece, as at the *lectisternia* of the Romans. With the Greeks, however, they were generally given to gods such as the Dioscuri and Dionysus who had been mortals, just as Osiris had been. Professor Gardner gives an interesting account of a relief showing a priest and his wife offering a banquet (*θεοξένια*) to Dionysus who comes to the feast. The presence of a snake among the company shows the meal is imagined to take place in Hades, where the priest, who had often laid the deity's banquet in sacred worship, or as a “ Dionysiac artist,” now entertains the god in the realm of the shades.

The most celebrated Egyptian theological work, because it was the first to be recognised as such, and is the one most frequently found upon papyri, is called “The Book of the Dead,”† a title that is somewhat of a misnomer, because apparently arrogating to itself an appellation properly appertaining to several known Egyptian books, and therefore it would preferably be named “A Book for the Dead.”

Probably not far short of a thousand copies of this ancient

\* Though Achilles dwelt in the *Μακάρων νῆσος*, he was also to be found at his tomb when Alexander went to worship him, and though Agamemnon's soul went to Hades, Electra calls his name at his burial place.

† Maspero tells us that it was destined to instruct the soul in that which would befall it after death, and is a collection of prayers and incantations, which while foretelling to him by their objects what would have to be passed through also by their efficacy secured him against the dangers feared and assured him the blessings desired. *Le Livre des Morts*. Cadet published the first facsimile in 1805, under the title, *Copie figurée d'un Rouleau de Papyrus trouvé à Thèbes dans un tombeau des Rois*. The Prince of Wales's papyrus is a moiety of one of these, the other half being in the Louvre. Some of these papyri are in the Demotic script, and though therefore of comparatively late date afford such a certain means of comparison between sentences already familiar in their hieroglyphic or hieratic forms as to be invaluable for the study of Demotic writing.

work are to be found among the papyri in European museums, in addition to some hundreds in Egyptian home collections, and during the last ten years, since the discovery by the Arabs of the secret crypt at Deir-el-Bahari, a succession of most magnificent specimens have been obtained, indeed only four copies remained to be rescued by Dr. Emil Brugsch when the hoard of the Fellahin was discovered by the Egyptian Government. Recently an immense addition to our collections, amounting to over fifty copies, has been found by M. Grébaut in the other cache of Amenide Mummies at Thebes, and is now deposited at Boulak. It must be remembered that, in addition to the papyri, its chapters are inscribed upon hundreds of mummy cases and tombs and innumerable funerary objects scattered in every museum.

Upon no literary legacy of ancient Egypt has more assiduous attention been bestowed by *savants* than upon this remarkable work,\* and yet so vast is the subject, and so difficult in the present state of Egyptological science is it to master its contents, that the translators who have hitherto attempted the task admit their labours to be but tentative. This arises not only from imperfect knowledge of the hieroglyphic writing, but from the mystical nature of the text itself; still its meaning is gradually being unravelled, and will ultimately be fully understood.

It is to be regretted that during the first stage of research the typical exemplar selected was the copy known as the

\* Lepsius: *Älteste Texte der Tottenbuch*; *Tottenbuch der Aegypter*, Leipzig, 1842. De Rougé: *Étude sur le Rituel Funéraire des Anciens Egyptiens*; *Rituel Funéraire en écriture Hiéroglyphique* (Von Hammer had as early as 1822 published a hieratic copy at Vienna). Brugsch: *Das Tottenbuch der Alten Aegypter*; *Religion und Mythologie der Alten Aegypter*. Guéyessé: *Rituel Funéraire Egyptien*, Chapitre 54. Lefébure: *Papyrus funéraire de Soutimes*, and *Les Yeux d'Horus* in the *Études Egyptologiques*. Pierret: *Le Livre des Morts*, traduit d'après le Papyrus de Turin; *Papyrus de Neb-Queh*; *Le Panthéon Egyptien*. Lieblein: *Index de tous les Mots dans le Livre des Morts*. Révillout: *Rituel Funéraire de Pamouth*. (This is a copy in Demotic writing, and therefore of much interest, palaeographically speaking.) O. von Lemm: *Das Ritualbuch des Ammondiastes*. Pleyte: *Chapitres Supplémentaires du Livre des Morts*. Renouf: "Egyptian Mythology," in *Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, vol. vii.; "The Myth of Osiris Unnefer," *ibid.*, 1886; "Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani." This is probably the most elegant copy of the Ritual extant, both for its script and the accompanying vignettes. Naville: *Das Aegyptische Tottenbuch der 18<sup>n</sup> bis zur 20<sup>n</sup> Dynastie*, 2 vols, folio, Berlin, 1886.

Turin papyrus, whose only claim to consideration was its length, for it was an unfortunate manuscript to choose because containing a recension of a comparatively late epoch, and including many defective readings. These errors can be traced to the fact that it must have been written from a hieratic copy, and the mistakes must have arisen from the scribe transposing the signs into their fellow hieroglyphs. For the errors occur only in those signs which in hieratic are so similar as to easily be confused with each other. It is this text upon which are based the translations by Dr. Birch and M. Pierret.

Of the older version, that is to say, of the texts furnished by papyri or monuments dating from the dynasties preceding the Theban Pharaohs, Dr. Lepsius has attempted a translation, whilst for the golden age of Theban monarchs M. Naville, under the auspices of the German Government, has collated and published all the best copies and every known variant. Finally, Dr. Pleyte of Leyden has published many important papyri containing the so-called later chapters. But of each of these three periods, which may be termed respectively, that preceding the 18th dynasty, that of the 18th and succeeding Theban dynasties, and that of subsequent times, only the central era, that treated of by M. Naville, can be said to be adequately made known to us.

Before examining in detail the contents of the "Book of the Dead" it will be requisite, in order to elucidate the meaning in its chapters, to explain briefly the Egyptian conceptions of cosmogony. This is the more necessary because the Book contains references to rival systems which were held at various times, if not also contemporaneously, by the priestly and learned classes. All were agreed that in the beginning there was a time when there were neither heavens nor earth, neither men nor deities, and no death.\* The only existing things were the Nu, or primæval watery chaos,† and Tum, the father of the Gods who dwelt there-

\* Pyramid text of Pepi I. *Recueil des Travaux*, vol. 8, p. 104.

† Berosus. *γίγνεσθαι φησὶ χρόνον ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν σκότος καὶ ὕδωρ εἶναι*. *Tempus aliquando erat, inquit, quo cuncta tenebræ et aqua erant.*

in.\* Passing over the creation of the Gods to that of the earth, this was always spoken of as the act of the God Shou,† who lifted up the waters above the earth in which the stars (and the solar barque) were supposed to float, and the Atlas-might of his arms held the firmament erect. This act once accomplished, however, the descriptions as to how the firmament was maintained in position diverge and these differences will be duly explained as we proceed.

One account (and that a most frequent one) tells us that upon the firmament being thus elevated above the earth the four gods of the cardinal points hastened to take up their positions at the corners of the world that they might support the heavens upon the points of their sceptres.‡ This

\* Naville, *Book of the Dead*, ch. 17, lines 3-4.

† Paintings and miniature images show two stages in this act of Shou. At first he is on his knees painfully raising the mass of waters, then he stands erect, his arms extended above his head sustaining the sky without apparent effort. A text in the hymn to Ra Harmachis, who in accordance with the synthetic doctrine of a later epoch assimilated to himself the *persona* of Shou: "Tu as élargi la terre à l'écartement de tes enjambées; tu as élevé le ciel à la longueur de tes bras." Maspero, *Le Livre des Morts*, 270.

The Babylonian creation legend says: "At that time the heaven had not announced or earth beneath recorded a name. The unopened deep was their generator. The chaos of the sea (Mummu Tiamat) was the mother of them all."

The most recent description of Egyptian cosmogonic legends of the creation of the heavens and earth is given by Maspero in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, for June, 1890, where he tells us as follows: "La légende cosmogonique présentait la séparation du ciel et de la terre comme un acte de violence exercé par Shou sur Seb et Nouit. L'histoire fabuleuse interprète la légende et la traduit de façon moins brutale. Shou y devint un fils vertueux qui consacra son temps et ses forces à porter Nouit pour rendre service à son père. Nouit, de son côté, est un enfant bien élevé, qu'il n'est point nécessaire de rudoyer pour lui enseigner ses devoirs; elle consent de bonne grâce à quitter son mari pour mettre son aïeul Ra à l'abri de toute attaque. La Majesté de Nou dit, 'Fils Shou, agis pour ton père Ra, selon ses commandements, et toi, fille Nouit, place le sur ton dos et tiens-le suspendu au-dessus de la terre.' Nouit dit, 'Et comment cela, mon père Nou?' Ainsi parla Nouit et elle fit ce que Nou lui ordonnait, elle se transforma en vache et plaça la Majesté de Ra sur son dos."

Ra then goes through some mythological acts upon the earth including an ordinance prohibiting human sacrifices; then—"Il remonte sur la vache. Celle-ci se lève, s'arc-boute sur ses quatre jambes, comme sur autant de piliers; son ventre, allongé comme un plafond au-dessus de la terre, forme le ciel. Nouit, transportée soudain à une hauteur inaccoutumée, prit peur, et cria au secours vers Nou. 'Donne-moi, par grâce, des étais pour me soutenir.' Ce fut le commencement des dieux-étais, les dieux des quatre points cardinaux, on plutôt des quatre maisons du monde. Ils vinrent se placer chacun auprès d'une des jambes de la vache qu'ils assurèrent de leur mains et près de laquelle ils ne cessèrent plus de monter bonne garde. Ra dit, 'Mon fils Shou, place-toi sous ma fille Nouit, et, veillant pour moi sur ces étais-ci et sur ces étais-là qui sont dans le crépuscule, aies la au-dessus de la tête et sois son pasteur.' Shou obéit, vint se ranger sous le ventre de Nouit, les bras levés; la déesse reprit courage, et le monde, pourvu du ciel qui lui avait manqué jusqu'alors, reçut la forme que nous lui connaissons."

‡ See the Pyramid text of Unas, l. 474, and Teta, l. 232 and 233. Maspero points out

myth must have been of great antiquity, for M. Maspero shows that in primitive times the four supports that keep up the upper world, presumably when the four deities needed rest, were merely the forked branches of trees, as were the corner pillars of the earliest Egyptian houses, and they were in constant fear lest by some misfortune one or more of the angle props should give way, and thus the sky be precipitated upon the earth. In analogy with these concepts the words indicative of tempests or torrential rains have for determinatives the sign for the sky detached from its supports, and consequently falling.

Childish as these ideas appear, they are far surpassed by the anthropomorphic nature of the manner in which the act of Shou is described. According to some texts and innumerable pictures leaving no doubt as to their precise meaning, the sky was in the figure of a goddess, who at night stretched herself prostrate upon the form of her spouse Seb (the earth). Each morning kneeling and then standing near the sacred northern gate of the nocturnal world\* Shou (as at the creation of the world) slowly lifted up the body of Nut the sky goddess, whose head and shoulders were to the west, until only her hands and feet rested upon the earth, which four members thus usurp the place of the quadruple gods of the cardinal points with their sceptres, or the four tree-trunks. The body of Nut being thus raised to the full height by the twelfth hour of night, the moment of dawn was reached, and the goddess gave birth to the sun,† which, starting from her womb,‡ traversed

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that two of the sceptre pillars are illustrated on many funeral stelæ to the right and left of the tableau. Book of the Dead. Ed. Naville, ch. 17, l. 26 and 27, also plate 28. The weight according to some Egyptian texts was the greater because in their view the sky was double, the lower one being the bed of the celestial waters, the upper one covering the universe like a roof. To indicate this double firmament some tableaux show two figures of Nut one above the other.

\* Maspero, *La Religion Egyptienne*, 153.

† "The sun is thus the son of Seb and Nut, the earth and heaven, but he may also be considered mythologically as either the parent or the son of another sun, for "Horus" (the rising sun) "is the son of Ra" (the noonday sun) "and of Osiris" (the setting sun) "whilst he is still more the father of Ra" (the daily sun), "so Ra is called the father of Osiris and the two gods are often identified. All contradictions disappear when each myth is understood, and when we know that a god is the sun we need not be surprised or

her body until reaching her mouth it vanished again at sunset.\* During the night the goddess again descended to the embrace of the earthly Seb, was lifted up again by Shou, giving birth to the sun once more. The meaning of this myth is plain as tersely put by Mr. Le Page Renouf; "it signifies that heaven and earth are confused together in the darkness, and that Sun-light parts them and exhibits heaven high above the earth. Another name of Sun-light is An-heru: Lifter-up of heaven."

The pictures of this event delineate the goddess having her body appropriately adorned with stars with Shou sup-



porting her arched figure and Seb lying at his feet. Another form of the myth gave the sky the figure of a cow, whose four legs fulfilled the office of pillars. This cosmic cow gave daily birth to the solar calf,† which, as it augmented in splendour during the six hours succeeding morn, became the Heliopolitan Bull, Mnevis, or the Memphitic bull Apis,

shocked at finding him called the husband of his mother." Again, "Horus is the son of a father who was put to death by his brother. The father is gloriously avenged by the victory of Horus over his adversaries and he succeeds to his father's throne. What is the solution of this riddle? Simply the Horus victory is that of light over night and darkness (Set and his companions) which had conquered Osiris the preceding day's sun. Day and night are brothers, children of the sky."

\* See Pyramid text of Teta, lines 31-35.

† According to the 109 Chap. of the Book of the Dead the calf shown there in the vignette picture at the top of the papyrus is the rising sun, his mother is heaven under the name of Secha-Horus, the Milch-cow. Renouf, "The Ani Papyrus," p. 10.

then the Osiris bull who died at sunset to be reborn Horus once more next day.

To revert to the world-creating act of Shou, upon the first day when he lifted up the firmament, the earth was supposed to have stretched itself out beneath his feet like a long flat table, the longer axis being north to south.

In process of time, the myths of the firmament being held in position by props,\* or the sceptres of deities, or being in the form of a female or an animal, gave way to the somewhat more rational explanation that the world being surrounded by high mountains, four peaks of great altitude at the corners supported the sky which was represented sometimes flat but mostly slightly convex. These lofty summits were supposed to be at the cardinal points, that to the south was named *Apet*, to the east *Bakhu*, that to the west *Manu*, but the title of the northern peak is as yet unknown. These three names signify respectively "the house of the world," "the mount of birth," and the "mountain of life." The eastern and western peaks may be identified with well known peaks to the east and west of the Nile valley. In course of time as the Egyptian people increased in power and their travellers or spies crossed the isthmus of Suez, or the mighty Pharaohs led their legions far into Asia it could not be dissembled that the earth was wider than the most distant range visible from the Nile. It became therefore necessary to shift *Bakhu*, or the eastern peak, further to the east, and this was done. It was merely said to be on the verge of the orient without the exact spot being specified, but its height was given as 2,250 feet, and it possessed an enormous guardian serpent. Here in the mountain was a gigantic gate, where Tum, Sebek, and Hathor awaited the sun's coming, with a towering sycamore

\* These 4 pillars were symbolised by the emblem of stability the fourfold "Tat." There were however other reasons for assigning a special mystical meaning to the number Four. At Mendes God was worshipped as a four-headed ram, at Hermopolis as four couples of Apes. These rams and braces of Apes Lefébure tells us were the Four elements, the first Fire or Ra, Water or Osiris, Earth or Seb, Air or Shu. At Hermopolis the male and female Ape couples were respectively Water (or humidity) and matter—Time and Movement—Obscurity and Space—Repose and *inertia*. These resemble the great doubles of Hegel—Matter and Movement—Space and *inertia*.

on each side whose foliage was of emeralds and precious stones. Beside one tree was a lake and alongside the other a river, the former containing 1,000 geese, whilst the number in the river is not given.

The western peak, or Manu, was not so lofty as Bakhu, but it had its guardian serpent (Sittisou), 65 cubits long. It never appears, as Egyptian geographical knowledge increased, to have been transported further to the west, for the journeyings of the Egyptians in the desert never penetrated far beyond the Libyan chain. It is often depicted in the vignette of one of the last chapters of the Book of the Dead, showing a steep mountain covered with sand, having at its foot the crocodile goddess Thoueris. Growing upon the hill are lotus plants representing the mists of evening, and through a cleft in the mountain the head of cow-headed Hathor may be seen. Sometimes, however, the figure of a headless female is substituted, with long arms, waiting to take the setting sun. According to the priests of Abydos the sun entered the mountain by a gorge, according to other schools by a gate similar to the gate of Bakhu. The title of the western gate was Portal of the Passages. Pictures of this sunset drama would often represent the orb of day sailing in his barque, and a specially fine illustration may be found in a papyrus belonging to Minutoli, which cannot at present be traced, showing that the greater portion of the solar boat has disappeared in the mountain, the high stern alone remaining with Isis and Nephthys standing thereon taking a last look at the earth they were leaving.

Side by side with these views of the Cosmos were two others; one that the earth was surrounded by the ocean, in some far distant region of which were the isles of the blest, the paradise of departed spirits. Under the early dynasties, especially at Memphis, this myth was widely accepted. The defunct embarked upon the sacred "dahabeah," and usurping the part of pilot, steered straight for the "field of offerings," or cruised about for pleasure in the "excellent Amenti."



The other theory was that instead of the sun merely passing through a gorge between the mountain peaks at sunset into a land beyond, where the dead dwelt, it disappeared into a cavern in the western hills which was connected by subterranean passages with large vaulted halls and long galleries, these corridors, chambers and passages leading round to the north and then to the east, the sun emerged once more from their exit on the east.

Upon the view that the firmament was upheld by Shou, or the cardinal point gods, or supported itself on the arms and legs of Nut or the legs of the sacred cow, or the quadruple mountain tops, it is evident that the sun, after leaving the world in the evening, must have mounted up over the edge of the firmament, and passed from west to east above it in order to reappear in the morning, and consequently the world of the spirits who were associated with the nocturnal sun was, while these myths received credence, above the sky.

In later times, the sun was said to effect his journey in a somewhat more scientific manner. Having passed out of sight behind the mountain of Manu by means of the gate of the passages, or Rosta, the solar barque continued its travels not in a straight line westward but turned towards the north, journeying along a valley parallel with Egypt but concealed from it by the western mountains. This mythical valley was the counterpart of that of the Nile, and like it was divided from end to end by a river, the Ouranos. The valley must at some part of its course have turned sharply to the east, for it had to conduct the sun again to the eastern gate in the Mount of Bakhu.\*

The site of this eastward turn was, we are told, the extreme northern limit of this solar course, and corresponded in point of time to the 6th hour of the night. It was also the place where was the 6th of the twelve gates by which this nocturnal world was divided, gates which must be passed through, for they were the only openings in walls

\* See *Livre des Morts*, Naville's edition, ch. 17, ll. 23-28, plate 23; also plate 28.

which stretched across the valley from side to side. The whole itinerary of this journey is given in "the Book of the Dead" repeated with modification in the "Book of the Tuat," and other works, and from a comparison of the various versions most interesting details as to the Egyptian conceptions of this valley where departed spirits dwell are to be obtained.\*

It was whilst in the 6th division, before passing the northern gate, which was of extreme importance because it led into the Elysian fields, that the judgement-hall was situated where Osiris decided the fate of gods and men. To obtain acquittal the spirit needed to furnish himself with letters of credit, or a passport in the shape of a "Book of the Dead," also to be able to truthfully repeat the negative confession, and then he might hope to succeed. This gate is said to be situated at the very part of the universe where Shou stood when he lifted up the heavens above the earth. Once through this portal the proper domain of Osiris as the beneficent God was entered upon, where he was lord of all, and no demons could any longer cause fright. The spirit could now nourish itself upon the sacrificial offerings which, having been presented by his mummy's descendants upon the earth to Osiris, the god shares with the *Ba* spirit in the other world.

It will have been noticed that in describing these various cosmogonic legends but little attention has been given to the Osiris myth. This reticence has not been unintentional, and the reason for it is that this myth appears not to be founded upon physical phenomena, but to be in the first place a hero myth which in course of time became amalgamated with solar myths. There are many reasons for believing that the original position of the Osirian Elysian fields was no more distant than the Nile Delta, which in prehistoric times was in process of formation. The descrip-

\* It is not at all certain that the spirits were supposed to remain there continuously; the wish of a pious Egyptian as set forth by innumerable texts was to journey through this other world with the sun, then to come forth into this world by day, or to sail across the sky during the day in the barque of the sun.

tion of his paradise as being intersected by canals, lined by gigantic plants, or consisting of prolific fields and pasturages dotted with lakes, over which blew the cooling north wind, would of itself suggest this, but in addition M. Lauth points out that a *nome* in the Delta district was called "Sokhit Ialou," the Elysian fields. It was here that the body of Osiris was carried, that Horus was born, that the semi-mythical warriors, the Sheshu Hor, or followers of Horus, gathered to his standard, and the whole story of the campaign between Horus and his knights and Set, is so intermingled with the actual geography of Egypt, and the references to documents said to have been written in the time of the followers of Horus are so circumstantial, that it appears almost certain that we are here in presence of a romantic epic, founded upon the history of some actual war between the inhabitants of Egypt, and some invaders who, in pre-historic times, had conquered and settled in the Delta; as in historic times the Shepherd Kings did once more. If this view is sound, it is but natural that as a hero Osiris and his avenger son, Horus, being deified, became amalgamated with the cosmic solar hero Ra, and his son Harmachis, and the struggle between the Egyptians and their invaders, mingled with the conflict of light with the demons of darkness. Consequently, the Deltaic Elysian fields would be transferred to the other world where the deified Osiris, having become a deity of the dead, now reigned. This actually occurred, and the old concept of their situation being in the extreme north of Egypt was still adhered to by locating them at the extreme north of the nether world, midway between Manu and Bakhu, in the division of the twelve regions into which the sun passed when going through the so-called "sacred gate" which led from the 6th to the 7th hour in the night.

This transference of the terrestrial fields of Ialou into celestial ones, or rather into cis-mundane fields, for the land of the Tuat, though sometimes, as will be seen immediately, associated with positions in the heavens, was far more

generally spoken of as being merely that place in which the sun, when hidden from earth at night, continued his course—is no more remarkable than what occurred to the situation of the “Fortunate isles,” for M. Maspero\* shows that these isles of the blest, which were the paradise of those Egyptians who adhered to the theory that the earth was encompassed by an ocean, in process of time became transferred into the Fields of Ialou. Whether this arose because the similarity of the islands of the Delta, produced by the intersecting watercourse, and the lakes, to the clustered islets in the sea caused them to be confounded together, or whether it was an astute step on the part of those believing in the Book of Tuat theory of the other world to conciliate those who held to the doctrine of an encircling ocean by absorbing their fortunate isles into their rival paradise, is uncertain.

There remains but one other series of myths which it is necessary to notice in order to understand allusions to it in the “Book of the Dead,” should any reader decide to peruse that curious work for himself. This is the series referring to the assignment of certain constellations to the different regions of the other world.

It has been suggested that the original gardens of Ialou were as near to Egypt as its own Delta; whether that be so or not, it is certain that they were at one time carried so far away as the constellation *Ursa Major* (known to the Egyptians as the Constellation of the Thigh).† For the abodes of the blest;—those who had successfully passed the judgement and were to live eternally,—were by an exquisite conception of the fitness of things placed among the *never setting* stars circling round the pole which were considered to be immortal. The author of *De Iside et Osiride* told the Greeks that the Egyptian priests held that whilst the bodies of the deceased gods were upon earth,

\* Maspero, *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, vol. 15, 278.

† Maspero thinks that when first projected beyond Egypt they halted in Syria near Byblos. This connection of the Isis and Osiris myth with Byblos, as mentioned by the pseudo-Plutarch, derives additional interest from the allusion to it in the newly-discovered “Apology of Aristides,” and confirmations of the Greek traditions with reference to it have been found in the Papyri by M. Révillout.

their spirits were in heaven in the similitude of stars, and the original texts tell us of Isis being associated with Sothis, and Osiris with Orion, a statement translated in the *Astronomische Inschriften* of Brugsch, where it is said of Isis, "She shines in the sky as a princess among stars, and protects her brother Osiris" (Orion)\* "in his going in the firmament." In the tomb of Seti I. the tableaux make these mythical expressions more simple. We see by them the deities are not associated with the stars themselves, but are imagined to reside in the heavens and carry the stars as lamps. Thus Isis-Sothis carries a five branch-star in her head dress, and Osiris a star at the top of his sceptre. At Denderah and elsewhere, where Isis is a cow, a star is placed between her horns.

The Pyramid texts show Osiris-Orion, like his Greek namesake to have been a mighty hunter. The justified dead who become united to Osiris travelling with him by day as Ra, also pass to the sky to sojourn with Osiris-Orion there. Pepi's pyramid tells us "their spirits are to be found in the sky among the indestructible stars." Sometimes they are consequently identified with stars in Orion, but if assimilated with Horus then they become one of the morning stars. Pepi, when justified, was to appear in the heavens. His pyramid books† tell us, "The sister of this Pepi is Sothis, and Pepi is the morning star which is on the bosom of Nut. Thou O Pepi art this star which appears in the east of the sky. See Osiris comes to thee as Orion. Thou livest therefore and thou comest with Orion from the east of the sky ; thou descendest with Orion to the west of heaven."

As only a part of Egypt was the sacred home of Osiris so only was a portion of the heavens, and the pyramid scribes and others inform us that his region of the sky was to the north-east, and indeed they fix upon the constellation,

\* Brugsch, *Astronomische Inschriften*, p. 10, No. 31, p. 83, quotes the text as follows :—"The Soul of Osiris is God with the stars, he rises eternally under the form of Tahou-Orion in the bosom of Nut, the goddess of the sky." Cf. *Alcat inter omnes Julium Sidus velut inter ignes Luna Minores*.

† Pepi I., in *Recueil des Travaux*, vol. v., lines 172-3.

that of the Great Bear.\* Thereabouts also were the four sons of Horus, and there dwelt the spirits who were followers of Osiris-Orion. There, where in the clear sky of Egypt shine the innumerable stars of the Milky Way in one of its densest aggregations, and where the glorious aspect of the stellar universe is so apparent, were the abodes of the blest.

Whether any of the constellations there reminded them of the geography of the earthly Elysian fields we know not, but certainly their stellar duplicate was to be found somewhere in the north-eastern sky.

The above short summary of Egyptian doctrines as to the future world forms, as has been already stated, the minimum of introduction necessary to understand the mysterious chapters of the "Book of the Dead"; for all these varied imaginations which undoubtedly were the product of centuries of speculation in various sacerdotal centres are commingled together, not to say jostling each other in this ancient work, so that as M. Maspero has well said, the other world of the "book of the dead" is a kind of "*Enfer eclectique*," in which one finds the most contradictory conceptions united. At one place sentences referring to the life after death, and merely being concerned with the tomb are found preceded, or followed by others regarding the "Isles of the blest," or the "Elysian fields," or the "caverns of the sun," or relating to a home amid the stars, or in the solar "barque with Ra," or to the Hades or "Amenti," the "Kher-neter" land with its gates and its river counterpart of the Nile. This perpetual conflict between irreconcilable ideas to be found in its chapters presents almost insuperable obstacles to any consecutive description of its contents.

As an instance of the confusion arising from these various theories, the different ideas as to the manner in which the spirit passed from this world to the next according to the theories referred to as to where that world was placed, are

\* There were seven Gods identified with the seven stars of *Ursa Major*. Pictures of each of them are to be found in the Ani Papyrus, p. 9.

instructive. Those who thought the sky was supported by the four pillars perforce imagined either that the soul took the form of a bird (human-headed) and consequently could fly to the upper world, or that it was furnished with a ladder to climb there. The belief that a human-headed bird\* was the form taken by the soul continued throughout all ages of Egyptian history, because this shape was a convenient one to enable the *Ba* to carry out one of its most cherished objects, that of returning to Egypt to revisit the tomb or any part of the land, especially the holiest temples, if it wished. But the need for a ladder if the spirit took the human form was not ignored, and that it might not be found wanting a rudely made model† was carefully placed in the tomb.

Some however believed a special ladder was ready to hand in the west, others that each mummy must provide one for himself. Teta,‡ of the fourth dynasty, in his pyramid, says after he came to the west like Ra he raised up the ladder, and the inhabitants of heaven reached down their hands to help him to climb.

The ladder itself is sometimes sacred to Hathor, or identified with her, and called "daughter of the Amenti," "gift of Thoth." Seb, Horus, Set, and Ra are also mentioned as gods who hold up the ladder and assist ascending spirits. On reaching the summit, the spirit found himself on the edge of a lake called the lake of the altar, and upon crossing it he came to the "field of offerings," which he was per-

\* Plate 17 of the exemplar of the "Book of the Dead." The Ani papyrus contains an exquisite representation of the *Ba* spirit as a human-headed hawk visiting the mummy, as a vignette to the chapter of "reuniting the soul to the dead body."

† Such a model has been found in a Necropolis of Roman times at Akhmin showing that this theory of the ladder for the soul still had adherents to the last days of Egyptian religion.

‡ Teta, lines 36 and 37; also Pepi, lines 200, 201, where is the invocation to the gods who bring the ladder. Unas, lines 575 and 6 and other texts. Conceptions of this character were common in mediæval and even in recent times. In a work entitled "The glories of Mary," by S. Alfonso Liguori, revised by a Catholic priest (Dublin, 1833), the following occurs: "It is related that Brother Leo once saw in a vision two ladders, one of them white; at its top he saw the Virgin Mary. He saw that some who twice attempted to ascend the red ladder fell back. They were then exhorted to ascend the white ladder. The Blessed Virgin stretched out her hand to them, and they securely ascended to paradise."

mitted to enter if he was able to conciliate its guardian bull with 4 horns, and, when there, to feast upon the provisions given by his relatives on earth.

Again the believers in the world-encircling Ocean, and its Fortunate Isles, pictured the spirit as passing from this world, like Hiawatha, in a skiff, or on a boat which he commands, and models are frequently found in tombs, whilst the mention of the "lake of the west" or the "most excellent lake of the west" is quite common.

When the "Amenti" came to be regarded as merely a facsimile of Egypt, situated behind her western hills, the deceased could proceed there on foot. The spot to be attained on the mountain of Manu was called the "mouth of the cleft," and was the entrance to the first hour of the night of the "Book of the Tuat." Thither, at sunset, the souls of defunct Egyptians hurried in crowds from all parts of the fatherland, and the vignettes to chapter 117 of the "Book of the Dead" show them to us marching with long walking-sticks, placing one foot upon the mountain slope, and commencing the ascent. To those who regarded the tomb as being the home of the spirit, it was a most important question that the funerary offering provisions should be rendered at all fitting feasts; either the walls of the funerary chapel, or the sides of the sarcophagus, have the imitation ones fully represented upon them. Whether the surviving spirit was in the bird form of the *Ba* or a "shade," or the *Ka eidolon*, he was able to go in and out, to take his siesta by day beneath the shade of the trees in his garden, to breathe the cool evening wind, to travel to any part of Egypt or even soar up to the sky, but the "anchor of the soul" was the mummy in the cavern in the hillside, or the mastaba pit, and thither he returned.\*

These dissonant ideas do not seem to have been con-

\* "On aurait tort de s'effrayer de ces dissonances et d'essayer de les écarter en torturant les mots et les phrases pour en extraire un sens symbolique dont la vague sublimité permet de tout concilier. Il faut prendre la pensée égyptienne telle qu'elle est, avec ses obscurités et ses absurdités sans fin, trop heureux si les textes nous permettent de la saisir partout et de la présenter à nos contemporains dans toute sa simplicité." Maspero, *Le Livre des Morts*.



sidered as incompatible, for a series of tomb paintings or writings may in one place picture or refer to the ladder of ascent, in another to the bird-form spirit, elsewhere assert that the soul dwells in the sepulchre, and yet in another or even in the same chamber show the soul seated in the Gardens of Ialou, or crossing the lake of the Altar, or sailing in the daily sky, or nocturnal one rowing in the galley of Ra Osiris.

Precisely so do the papyrus "books of the dead" reflect the confusion of doctrines in their numerous *formulae*, all of which have for object the continuity of the spirit's life and its protection from torturing demons or annihilation, for the means employed and the variety of incantations and the rubrics stating for which each was efficacious show them to have originated under the various divergent conceptions as to the destiny of the surviving soul.

Some are intended to insure the capability of the *Ka* assimilating nourishment from the funerary offerings,\* others to obtain from the *Ba* a tithe of those offered to the gods; some speak of journeyings about this world and promise a hearty welcome at Heliopolis, some guarantee the spirit a berth in the boat of Ra, whilst others grant him a lease in the land of Osiris.

These conceptions carried out in their minutest details with Egyptian prolixity, so that every possible contingency was provided for, furnish the ground for the many prayers and *formulae* which as all the activities of the soul are described as being repetitions of the physical necessities of the body were requisite to accord it, not merely the right to "go in and out" from this world to the other, for which purpose the "Book of the Dead" as a whole was the talisman, but gave him the use of all his organs and retained them for him against the special foes who would "rob him of his heart," "extinguish his sight," decapitate him, and so

\* Book of the Dead. Chap. 15: Chapter of provisioning "the double." Chap. 16: Chapter of giving abundance to the defunct at Memphis daily. Chap. 122: Of knowing the souls in "Pou." Chap. 42: Of repelling destruction in Kher-ne-ter. Chap. 134. Of going in the Barque of Ra and being among the god's followers. See MS.

forth, and even rendered him invulnerable to death or annihilation. It was in fact a repetition for his members of the means employed by Isis to reconstruct the body of Osiris.

Often more than one formula is found having the same object: this originated in the earlier ones having been imagined to have been imperfect in their efficacy and consequently new and potent ones were produced, but, in case the primitive ones should still be of some value, they were both retained that both might be employed, besides, what but good could accrue from thus affording the defunct a selection to choose from?

In many individual cases the "Book of the Dead" was doubtless talismanic; in another sense, its object being to assert for the deceased a knowledge of its contents, which perhaps, indeed probably, he never possessed, it was thus a sort of passport made out by the priests, a token that he knew the veritable doctrines of religion, and even in the minority of cases where the defunct may have committed to memory the chapters it contains, but a very small number ever had any true perception of the esoteric meaning of its elaborate symbolism. It is very unlikely that the priests themselves, excepting in the earliest ages, understood the work thoroughly, for the copies found upon sarcophagi dating from even the 11th dynasty contain explanatory glosses interspersed with the text.

Books of the dead were probably produced by scribes, members of the large semi-sacred guilds who congregated in the neighbourhood of every Egyptian necropolis, where dwelt the mummyfiers and manufacturers of funerary furniture. The length of the papyrus would depend upon the wealth of the purchaser or of the patron who ordered it, and upon its length depended the number of the chapters which could be engrossed. In the price paid was also involved the question whether it should be of careful execution, in both red and black ink, and whether or not an illustrated edition with the pictorial vignettes at the top.

However great the dimensions of a papyrus might be, it

never contained all the chapters to be found in the others, so far as we know; for no papyrus found—and we have those executed for the most mighty princes—has ever done so. Nor have we reason to think that any papyrus ever contained all the chapters considered to be canonical at the time when it was written. For except in quite late times, when there had probably been some authoritative revision committee which had decided the order in which it was preferred for the chapters to appear, there is no common order for their succession at any one period.

It should be remembered that we have no *papyrus* bearing the "Book of the Dead" earlier than the 18th dynasty, though we know from the Egyptians they had portions, at any rate, of it dating from prehistoric times. Consequently all the papyrus versions contain the explanatory rubrics or glosses, and as the scribes, for fear of omitting matter of sacred importance, instead of selecting the version which appeared to them the best, incorporated all the various readings, the confusion may be imagined. As stated, it is probable that the sense of the book was doubtful even by the 11th dynasty, and Mr. Le Page Renouf adds that the "text was nearly as corrupt as in later ages." Many errors arose from the scribes misunderstanding the direction of the writing in these early copies, the last column being taken as the first, so that cross-readings, absolutely unsoluble, arise therefrom. In addition to being unlearned, Mr. Renouf accuses the copyists of being grossly careless, and concludes by saying, "Manuscripts in all languages are known to be full of mistakes, but the blunders of the Egyptian scribes exceed all that has yet been discovered in the palæographical aberrations of other nations."

It is an interesting fact, as illustrative of the limits at present imposed upon the knowledge of Egyptologists, that they should still be disputing as to what is the true translation of the very title of the book itself.

The words in Egyptian are *Per-m-hru*, and, according to Dr. Pleyte, the proper rendering is *The book of*

"going forth from the day," referring to the passage of the soul from this life considered as a day's journey to the other existence beyond the grave; for in some papyri the phrase is added "to live when you are dead," so that, in fact, the information given in the work was to enable the deceased to be justified and attain immediate bliss.

M. Naville is disposed to acquiesce in this interpretation, merely adding, after an elaborate dissertation upon the matter, that the supplement frequently attached to the title of the words "under all forms that he (the defunct) pleases," indicates that it assures to him also the power to assume any bodily form as the spirit's home.

Lefébure,\* Maspero, and Le Page Renouf, are in favour of rendering *Per-m-hru* by "coming forth by day," and it is probable that this translation is the most accurate we are likely to attain. The full signification of *Per-m-hru* to an Egyptian is not far to seek. We have briefly examined their most important conceptions upon these subjects, and seen how much value they attached to the *Ka* ghost being able to live, and move, as it desired; and to the *Ba* spirit being able to return from the Amenti, and revisit the earth and the tomb. Both these functions of these two of the spiritual subdivisions into which a deceased Egyptian became separated are evidently included in this title. It meant that it would prevent the *Ka* from remaining inert by the mummy, or the *Ba* from being confined to the nether world; by its means it could prevent itself from being imprisoned in Hades, or annihilated there, and, knowing its formulæ, the *Ba* could return to earth at will. During the earthly day, night hovered over the nether world, and then the spirit wished to return to earth and "come forth by day," whilst Ra-Osiris was illuminating Egypt with his beams. Upon the approach of sunset, the soul would wish to depart again to Amenti with the sun-god. Accordingly we find a rubric to chapter 58 telling the owner that, if he

\* "*Le Per-m-hrou, Etude sur la vie future chez les Egyptiens*," by Lefébure, in the *Mélanges Egyptologiques* of Chabas.

knows this chapter on his papyrus, "he can come back after going out." The title may also, by some sort of *double entendre*, have betokened the spirit's departure at death from this world, for in the Ani papyrus,\* and others of the middle and subsequent literary periods indicated, the concise older title of "Coming forth by day" is amplified by the following explanatory words which gave what the priests at those periods believed was the full signification of meaning in the words, and we are not likely ever to surpass them in knowledge of the matter. "The Beginning of the chapters of coming forth by day, of the wordst which bring about Resurrection and glory, and of coming out of and entering into Amenti, said upon the day of burial of N the victorious (justified), who enters after coming forth. Here is N the victorious. He saith." The rubric of this chapter, of the title of which the above is Mr. Le Page Renouf's latest rendering, says: "If this book is known upon earth or inscribed on the coffin, he will come forth by day in all the forms he pleases, and return to his place without hindrance."

\* The Papyrus of Ani, page 14.

† A papyrus at Dublin tells us by this addition to the title upon what occasion the "Book of the Dead" was to be efficacious:—"Beginning of the book which is said on the day of the funeral." Another variant title under the 18th dynasty is "Chapters of passing over to the power of Osiris," so that it seems to have been supposed to admit the deceased into the Amenti. See Renouf, "Papyrus of Ani," page 11.

## CHOLERA AND EXCHANGE.

FROM A NATIVE INDIAN STANDPOINT.

CHOLERA is the return which India makes for European commerce. Guarded by the Ocean and the mountains on the North, India has always been self-contained for good or for evil. From time immemorial, Cholera has been a disease confined to India, till in 1830 the ship "Hugh Lindsay" brought it to Europe. In 1817 English vessels had, however, already introduced the scourge to Oman on the West, and to China on the East of India. By the most rigid quarantine Russia protected itself and Europe against Cholera in 1821, but commerce seems to be dearer to England than life, and the exigencies of gain have since blinded Englishmen as to the necessity of precautions even in a country where the sea and ships offer the easiest and most efficient quarantine all around her coasts, and where the perfection of sanitation is already an obstacle to the spread of the disease. "Prevention, however, is better than cure," and, at the risk of delaying trade, we should insist on intelligent quarantine as well as inspection. The silver streak that divides the tight little island physically and politically from the Continent is also sufficient to guard it against Cholera, and the Minister or Sanitary Authority that allows a single case of Cholera to reach these shores, that could have been stopped by quarantine, is guilty of a crime. The inefficiency in continental practice of quarantine regulations is no reason against rendering them efficient, as they *can* be rendered here. Cholera is invariably brought into a new place by travellers, and there it spreads under such insanitary conditions only as facilitate certain absorptions. During the fearful outbreak in 1867 at the Hardwar fair, whenever one of the scattered 3 million pilgrims went off the main road to his home, there he brought Cholera, if he himself was affected by it. The village which he did not

visit remained free, and whereas, say, the native City of Lahore had one case in ten of the population, and the European Station one in a hundred, the villages in the Lahore District, that have comparatively little intercommunication, had 14 cases only in a population of nearly 700,000, or one in fifty thousand. Wherever the observance of Caste, as in marriage and social intercourse, develops the power of resistance to epidemics, as, practically, is the case among the Jews; wherever the religious sentiment regulates diet, dress, and bodily purifications, there the headless "woman in white," that has lately travelled from India to the Pomeranian moors, claims few victims. It is Mammon that mainly sacrifices the world to Moloch.

Just as Cholera is the return for English commercial enterprise in India, so is Exchange the price that India pays for a foreign rule, that deprives her of an indigenous history, if not of her arts and manufactures, of her ancient and picturesque creed and culture, so full of lessons to modern civilization, of her marvellous literature and languages, that give reputations to those that scarcely skim them in Europe like Professor Max Müller. India suffices for all her wants—mental, moral and physical—and does not require any European interference. The allegiance to Her Majesty, which is generally a real feeling in India and which should be cultivated by indigenous methods, and the presence of the Military, are all that is really needed to maintain the political connexion between England and India. The scientific departments, which cost the Indian Government so little, although they justify its existence to European nations, might be retained, till the natives of India, as those of Japan, are able to administer them themselves.

The present is an excellent opportunity for restoring the equilibrium of the Indian finances, and for developing the resources of India. Already overpaid foreign officials may complain of losing half their salaries, but it is precisely their reduction to half (payable, however, by a gold standard in

the case of Europeans) that is desirable in all cases in which half the pay would exceed £1,000 a year. Persons of good family, whether English or native, accept public positions for the honour, not the salary, that they confer. It is only the low-caste Banya, whether dark or white, that seeks in Government an easier enrichment than in his trade. We want the higher Classes to rule India, not a race of hungry adventurers, whose reputation is due to their writing their own history, and having to deal with defenceless and mute millions.

The appointment of Lord Ripon to the Colonial Office offers the long-deferred opportunity of replacing India under its wiser and more economical control. Its Ceylon scale of pay, for instance, will satisfy Indian and Anglo-Indian gentlemen of birth, as it does men in the Diplomatic and Military services. No foreigner should also henceforward be appointed to an Indian post whenever a native of the country can be found competent to fill it. No article that can possibly be supplied in India is to be ordered from England. If the retention of India on these terms is "not worth our while," the sooner it is given up the better in the interests of justice and of the national life of India.

Only 12,000 native shopkeepers, in a population of 254 millions, of whom at least 20 millions are engaged in trade, and all, more or less, in agriculture, are alleged to have supported the application of the Indian Trading Association for a gold standard, or for the stoppage of the coining of silver or for other panaceas that neither they nor their European customers, nor the Association or the Indian Government understand. If they were to give up importing European goods, including drinks, there would be a chance for the more durable Indian manufactures and the gradual disuse of European liquors, now sold at a fancy price, would leave more money for household expenses and the neglected household gods. In proportion as Indian Commerce is unremunerative to foreigners,



it becomes remunerative to natives of the soil, and in proportion as Indian service becomes unattractive to the sons of European tradesmen, it will be desired by the native Aristocracy. There is no reason why, for instance, the loyal and wise Raja of Nabha should not, as Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, convert the province into that gem of cleanliness, happiness, and prosperity that Nabha has so long been. Indeed, now that the Indian Chiefs have to place their military and financial resources at the disposal of the Indian Government, it is high time that they should be entrusted with a larger share in the Administration, especially when this can be done, not only without extra expense, but at a positive saving to the exchequer.

I have advocated bi-metallism since 1867, when the very name was unknown in India and one sapient Finance Minister after the other looked as wise as he does now in misunderstanding its application. It is now too late to throw Indian finances into confusion by complying with proposals, for the failure of which their advocates will not render themselves personally and pecuniarily responsible. Nothing can now be done except to watch events and to thank God as, with the reduction of Indian official salaries, the abolition of the India Office, and the diminution of foreign trade, India comes a little to herself, cultivates her own government and manufactures, and by being independent of Exchange is less under the temptation of introducing Cholera into Europe along with other exports. In the meanwhile, the European exploiter will still be able to purchase for his gold more than its value of Indian produce, and should bi-metallism be re-established by international agreement on the former French basis, then—nominally at all events—the Indian finances will, to the outside world, show a prosperity that, intrinsically, is not affected, out of India, by the equivalent in gold of the Rupee. The debasement of silver, by limiting its coinage, and the purchase of gold at the present high and variable rates is certainly not an advantage to India.

Whilst, however, no European or Indian merchants, trading with England, can recommend any measure to the Indian Government that is more than "catching at a straw" or leaving the India Office to its own—and this time inevitable—incompetence, there is one measure which would at once beneficially affect both Exchange and Indian Credit. It is that Parliament should guarantee the various Indian loans that have been raised by the Indian Government, and which now have only a value because it is supposed that England cannot, if it comes to the worst, repudiate her Indian obligations. Already the threat of Russian complications has lowered Indian securities to the Continental standards of a little over 60 per cent. When it is thoroughly understood that the British Parliament is not responsible for the Indian debt, Indian securities will still further fall, till the dishonesty that has conceived the incurring of a debt by an Agent—the Indian Government—which neither its employer—the British Parliament—nor the Indian taxpayer will guarantee, will receive its punishment in the collapse of the present Indian Administration.

"Christianity, Commerce, and Civilization" have ever been the excuse of the European meddler in the East. The negro who drinks brandy becomes of "Massa's religion"; Queensland is fertilized by kidnapped Kanakas, and the Baboo reproduces at second-hand the small-talk of European infidelity. Even European philanthropy has a tendency to degrade or destroy the motives of native charity, and the official pressure, used to get subscriptions for a fund in aid of Indian women who neither really require nor could use it, has diverted the gifts of the "pious donor" from the poor that were always with him, from the Temple or Mosque, and from the infinitely more useful Dharmasala, the guest-house and the well at the roadside, into a pretext for official favour.

SHASTRI.

## MEMO. ON CHOLERA.

SURGEON-GENERAL SIR WILLIAM MOORE, K.C.I.E., Honorary Physician to the Queen, writes to us :

DEAR SIR,—The general supposition that India is the “home of cholera” is correct, if by home is meant, where the malady is most prevalent. But the general supposition that all epidemics of cholera originate in India, especially in the Valley of the Ganges, spreading thence westerly to other countries, is certainly not correct. The theory of the western progress of cholera has been formulated from a collection of reports of cholera occurring in countries west of India, on the main lines of communication. But such reports are not always reliable. No one knows what takes place even a few miles north or south of the main lines of traffic. Had similar attention been directed to countries east of India, equal reason would probably have been found for believing in an eastern progress of cholera. That cholera occurs in Persia, or on the Caspian, or in some country west of India, is no reason that it must have been imported from India. While experience shows that cholera may be imported, there is equal reason for the statement that it may occur irrespective of importation. It often breaks out in localities and villages, where communication with infected places could not possibly have taken place. Notwithstanding the many theories, the precise cause of cholera, as of various other diseases, is yet unknown. It is not yet proved by sufficient evidence whether the celebrated Koch’s comma bacillus, found in the discharges of cholera patients and regarded by some as the cause, is really the cause or only the result of the disease. There is however evidence to prove that cholera evacuations, in a certain condition of fermentation, constitute the principal, if not the only channel of contagion; and therefore Koch’s bacillus is a good workable hypothesis. To produce cholera three

factors are required. The poisonous principle which may be the comma bacillus—the introduction of the poisonous principle into the human system—and predisposition of the recipient. There is abundant evidence that one great means by which cholera is disseminated is the contamination of drinking water by the dejections of persons suffering from the disease. There is reason to believe that the poisonous principle becomes rapidly multiplied in water. Milk adulterated with water may become a medium of dissemination. Or the poisonous principle protected in clothing, or in the soil, may dry yet remain vital (as germs of various fungi are known to remain vital) until brought into activity by favourable circumstances of heat moisture and atmospheric conditions. In no other way except the hypothesis of a *de novo* origin, or of transference by the winds, to both of which theories there are more forcible objections, can the occurrence of cholera be explained, at places where there has been no communication with infected localities. Now the connection of cholera with unsanitary conditions is not questioned. In almost every epidemic the incidence of cholera is on the most unsanitary localities. And it is in such localities that cholera generally commences. The countries west of India are much less advanced in sanitation than the worst parts of India. In most of those regions there is no sanitation whatever. There is at least equal reason to believe that the dormant poisonous principle of cholera is there called anew into activity, as to believe that the disease is imported from India. Cholera may, more especially during hot weather, revive in any country, irrespective of importation.

It has been the custom to regard cholera as a disease always characterized by certain symptoms, and to say that an attack is not cholera, unless all those symptoms are present. As respects other maladies, *e.g.*, scarlet fever, typhoid, diphtheria, very mild and very severe phases are admitted: so it is with cholera. It may be present, although all the symptoms do not appear. It is suggestive, that

when cholera first occurs, in almost any place, it is reported as *cholera nostras*, "choleraic diarrhœa," or some other term is used, which while probably awhile allaying public uneasiness, is not correct, and is calculated to afford a false feeling of security. The only difference between the *cholera nostras* and "summer diarrhœa" of this country and the so termed Asiatic cholera, is one of greater or less severity. Many cases which have been called *cholera nostras*, cannot be distinguished from Asiatic cholera. When cholera occurs there are always *many more* instances of diarrhœa, evidently due to similar influences. And the question has never yet been answered, at what stage sufferers from diarrhœa become the victims of cholera?

It was mentioned above that a third factor in the production of cholera is predisposition to the malady. Whatever tends to lower the vital powers is a predisposing agency; for instance, the depression following intoxication, fatigue particularly from long journeys, overcrowding, damp, hunger and famine, bad food, destitution, heat, and especially fear of the disease, and an atmosphere impregnated by exhalation from filth. In India though general sanitation is as much as possible attended to, and personal hygiene enjoined, experience has demonstrated that the most satisfactory method of evading cholera is to march away from it. This, however, is only applicable to troops. As in this country we cannot march away from it, our first line of defence is to prevent importation of the disease. The passage of aliens into the country should be *altogether stopped*, for many come from infected centres, and they are all, from manner of life, predisposed to the disease. The importation of rags has very properly been stopped; and it now remains to prevent the importation of the wearers of rags. As regards other public precautions, the modified system of quarantine already in operation is the best course to be adopted, viz., examination of vessels from infected ports, and isolation of any suspicious case. The period of incubation of cholera (*i.e.*, the time within which the disease

develops after the reception of the poisonous principle into the system) has been variously stated; but the weight of evidence shows that development, though occasionally later, is very unusual after 48 hours. Hence the absurdity of placing vessels in quarantine, from Bombay, *e.g.*, when they arrive at Suez, unless cholera has occurred recently on the voyage. Our next line of defence is the immediate destruction of the poisonous principle contained in the evacuations of all cases occurring. This may be satisfactorily accomplished by the corrosive sublimate solution recommended by the London Local Government Board, under Dr. Thorne Thorne's signature.\* A pint or more should be immediately added to every evacuation, whether from the stomach or bowels. Soiled clothing of all kinds should be immediately placed in the solution. Next it would be well if the bodies of all persons dying from cholera were cremated, instead of being placed in the ground, where the poisonous principle may remain vital, and being afterwards released may cause an outbreak. Such instances are on record. Cholera not being infectious in the sense that small-pox, typhus, or scarlet fever is, no danger attaches to the nursing of cholera patients, provided the attendants use simple precautions. These are perfect cleanliness, and washing the hands in disinfecting solution before taking food. Rooms in which cholera patients have been, should be disinfected by burning sulphur therein. We may thus confidently provide against danger from imported cases, or from those cases which under the term *cholera nostras* always occur in the autumnal season in European countries. But we have still to provide against summer diarrhoea assuming a more virulent phase than it usually does. Our sanitary system, although not perfect, and our temperate climate, do to a very great extent accomplish this. We

\* Half an ounce of corrosive sublimate, one ounce of hydrochloric acid, and five grains of commercial aniline blue, in three gallons (a bucket-full) of water. Cost about 3d. Non-metallic vessels should be used; and articles that have been soaked in it should be put in water for some hours, before they are sent to the wash.

should be still more secure if water and milk were boiled before consumption, and if stale fruit and (especially) stale fish were avoided. In addition, no accumulation should be permitted in ash-pits or in dust-bins, whether the dustmen get the extra 2d. or not. Drinking-water cisterns should be cleansed, and drains flushed frequently. The larder should be well ventilated, but protected from flies; for no one knows what these insects may have previously investigated, or what disease germ they may carry. During seasons of cholera or of summer diarrhoea, purgative medicines should be avoided. If positively necessary, pure fresh castor oil is the best. Plenty of salt should be taken with the food. Another rule is to avoid advertised *nostrums*. As an acid fluid is more or less destructive to the poisonous principle, or at least to the comma bacillus, fifteen drops of *dilute* sulphuric acid may be taken three times daily between meals in a small wineglassful of water. Lastly, do not be afraid; for fear produces that nervous depression which is one of the great allies of cholera, in whatever phase it appears. Remember that in the worst epidemics, attack is the exception, immunity the rule. It would too much lengthen this communication if all precautions to be adopted and the reasons were mentioned *seriatim*. It is therefore merely added that in general sanitation and in personal hygiene, in the fullest sense of the terms, we shall find our safeguard against cholera, as also against various other maladies. If a tithe of the zeal which has been given to the discovery of microbes by our continental neighbours, had been devoted to sanitation, Hamburg would not now be a menace to England. Neither would India have been credited as the *fons et origo* of the cholera, from which so many parts of the continent have suffered as the result of their unsanitary conditions.

## THE HON. ROLLO RUSSELL ON CHOLERA.

LORD ROLLO RUSSELL writes :

DEAR SIR,—Science has done so much for the elucidation of cholera that the remaining difficulties of prevention are almost entirely practical and administrative. The regions of the globe in which cholera is endemic are few and not very extensive; the banks of the Ganges and of the Brahmaputra, and a very few other localities appear to be adapted to the continuous growth of the organism as a saprophytic microbe. Its continuous existence there is explained by the character, dampness and high temperature of the soil, and probably to a great extent by the amount of filth distributed in it, tainting the supplies of water for domestic use. Whether the microbe was originally a harmless one or capable only of setting up a minor disease like diarrhœa until the pollution of soil grew to be excessive, or whether the soil of the alluvial flats of the Ganges was always so favourable to it as to evolve the virulent form from the beginning, it is beyond question that the cholera bacillus flourishes extremely well in foul water and wet organically polluted earth at a high temperature. It thus somewhat resembles Malaria and Yellow Fever in its growth and influence apart from the human body. Wherever the microbe meets foul refuse and especially foul water at favourable temperatures it multiplies enormously, and in some seasons to such an extent as to overcome the resistance of the human body to which it gains access by food and drink. No place where soil and drinking water are much polluted can be considered safe from its invasion, whatever the temperature or altitude; it has occurred at all seasons of the year in many widely differing climates.

The first means of prevention of cholera in the region of its origin must undoubtedly be the supply of the purest available water, and wherever possible, drainage of the soil and removal of decaying organic matter from the neigh-



bourhood of dwellings. Cultivation and drainage banished the ague which once prevailed in the London area ; draining, increased cleanliness, and good water will, in course of time abolish cholera as a pestilence. The new water-supply to Calcutta has greatly improved the health of the city but the suburbs which still use the tainted sources suffer severely as before.

The spread of cholera from its habitat in the East is greatly favoured by the movements of pilgrims and travellers and by the filthy condition of Asiatic and Eastern European towns and villages. It has been truly said that "cholera is spread by dirty people to dirty places." Like many other diseases it can hardly gain a footing where purity of water and air have been well cared for. The infection, however, is subtle and the microbe lives well in damp linen, slightly impure water and on many articles of food, so that the most careful watch and provision must be made for preventing sources of infection from gaining access to any locality however well ordered. Where streams are the source of water-supply and are also used to receive any kind of sewage the greatest care should be exercised to prevent the contamination of the upper stream by any person arrived from an infected country or place. When cholera is near all articles of food and drink should be cooked in time of danger, and the hands should be washed in pure water before eating. While cholera prevails in neighbouring countries, no town is safe which, like London, obtains its water from a river of which the tributaries are befouled with sewage. If there be any suspicion in this respect either pure water from an unsuspected source should be used, or the water used for drinking should be boiled.

To prevent the importation of cholera the means now in use appear to be efficient so long as the centres of virulence in communication with this country are few. If the disease were to increase greatly in populous places in Western Europe it is improbable that precautions at seaports would

be sufficient to prevent the landing of many incipient cases, and that their whereabouts would always be known, although their names and addresses were taken. Detention in quarantine may be regarded as out of date and ineffectual ; but in certain circumstances isolation for a few days of suspected immigrants answers well, allowing ablution and disinfection of clothes. High authorities have recommended as disinfectants steam at the boiling temperature, carbolic acid or chloride of lime. Infected bedding, clothing, etc., should be boiled or steamed, or, better, destroyed. The disinfection of ships as now practised seems to be successful.

For the arrest and suppression of this and other plagues moral qualities are after all supreme. With cleanliness the probability of an outbreak is small ; with honesty the very first cases, which may result from importation, are reported to the world, and with humanity not only are the sick cared for, but neighbouring nations warned and preserved.

R. RUSSELL.

THE  
NATURAL HISTORY AND EPIDEMIOLOGY  
OF CHOLERA.

BY SIR J. FAYRER, K.C.S.I., ETC., ETC.

WE regret that want of space absolutely forbids our quoting as largely as we had intended from a most valuable work on the Cholera question, of the above title, (published by Messrs. J. and A. Churchill) which the distinguished author was kind enough to send to us. The early portion of the book gives a most scholarly and carefully-compiled history of Cholera, commencing as far back as with the records of the ancient Hindus, the Chinese, the Greeks, the Arabs and the Romans. Contrary to what is supposed, Cholera has been noticed in Europe as early as the 16th century. In 1564 an epidemic of Cholera occurred at Nismes; in 1643 and 1665 in Ghent as described by Van der Heyden. Sydenham writes of an epidemic of Cholera in London in 1669-1672.

As causes predisposing to Cholera are regarded variation in the atmospheric pressure or moisture, extraordinary stillness of the atmosphere, deficiency in the tension of positive electricity, absence of ozone, fogs, blights, and low forms of life in the air. Attention has been called, remarks the author, to the disappearance of birds from Cholera-affected districts at the outset of an outbreak. The dreadful visitation of Cholera at Kurrachee in 1846 was preceded by days of intense stagnation of atmosphere, and other outbreaks have been preceded or attended by similar phenomena. As regards the distinction of *Sporadic cholera*, or *cholera nostras* and *Asiatic cholera*, it is one without difference except that sanitary conditions generally render the former less virulent.

The suddenness of certain outbreaks is remarkable and points to some factor apart from contagion or local insanitary causes. The following is a case in point: An outbreak of

cholera occurred on one of the late East India Company's ships while proceeding up the China Sea. The men fell on deck as if struck by lightning. This continued for three days when the visitation as suddenly ceased. The same water (contained in tanks absolutely protecting it from contamination with extraneous matter) was used all the time and for three months previously from the time of leaving England. A precisely similar outbreak occurred on board H.M.S. *Undaunted* while proceeding down the China Sea. As the cases continued to increase, the surgeon at the end of three days recommended the captain to change the course of the vessel; as soon as this was done the attacks entirely ceased; not a case occurred afterwards. The learned author then reviews the various theories accounting for the cause or causes of Cholera; subsequently in touching upon the subject of quarantine the fallacy underlying its theory is exposed. The writer says: "The British and Indian Governments, basing their measures for protection on ascertained facts, and not upon theories, have discontinued quarantine, whether by land or sea, relying upon sanitation and medical inspection as the only and sufficient means of safety."

Sir J. Fayrer towards the conclusion of his book then sums up thus:

Although much remains to be known about the causation of cholera and its apparent caprices of incidence and diffusion, yet, from what experience and observation have taught us, we seem to be warranted in stating the following to be facts with reference to the disease:

1. That cholera has been present in India and other countries from the earliest times, and that isolated cases occur in almost all countries.
2. That cholera is always present, not only in certain parts of India, but elsewhere, and that in India outside these areas its prevalence varies in different years and according to the season of the year.
3. That cholera does not attack all the places within an epidemic area.

4. Meteorological changes produce sudden alterations in the activity and intensity of an outbreak.

5. That the rate and direction of an epidemic are not influenced by facilities of communication or by the greatest streams of human traffic; the opening of the Red Sea route, *e.g.*, not having increased its diffusion.

6. That the cases are more frequent and more severe at the commencement than in the continuance of an outbreak.

7. That hygienic measures afford the greatest security, although they are not an all-powerful safeguard against cholera, whilst local insanitary conditions and impure water favour its incidence and increase its intensity, and that it is important to check diarrhoea in times of cholera prevalence.

8. That cordons and quarantine have not only utterly failed to prevent the spread of cholera, but, on the contrary, have done harm.

9. That to enter an area in which cholera is present, or to travel within that area, is especially dangerous to newcomers, while residents, whose circumstances of living are favourable, have a better chance of escape.

10. That removal is the best course when cholera attacks a regiment or other body of men.

11. That attendants on the sick have not suffered more than others.

12. That impure water, irritating articles of diet, unripe fruit, saline aperients are liable, during epidemic prevalence, to bring on diarrhoea and cholera.

13. That fatigue, exhaustion, fear and anxiety are powerful predisposing causes.

14. Some circumstances attending an outbreak of cholera, and the pathological conditions then developed, seem opposed to a specific poison as being the cause of the disease.

15. Having suffered previously from cholera gives no immunity from recurrence of the disease.

## ORIENTAL AND PSEUDO-ORIENTAL CREMATION.

WE wish to raise a warning voice against the precipitateness with which modern cremations are conducted. It is true that a certificate from two medical attendants of the deceased is required, as also evidence of his express wish to be cremated, but we know with what dangerous facility often the former is granted and the latter is assumed. In India the widow used to perform Sati on her husband's pyre, an act of sublime, if exaggerated, devotion, which was the proud privilege of a high-caste wife. She still, in many places, is the first to apply the funeral torch to the framework that bears her husband's corpse, but in England the wife rarely accompanies it and is therefore wanting in her last duty to him.

We are so much under the slavery of scientific or pseudo-scientific fads, that many, who have never been present at a cremation in this country, advocate it for themselves and others on theoretical grounds of sanitation, as if the first duty of civilized man was to get rid of his departed fellow-creature as so much refuse fit only to be burnt, whereas the whole of modern society rests on the past with which the departed are our links. Our laws, our religion, our politics, our art, our poetry are questions of the past, and in apportioning a spot for the burial of our predecessors, we create the landmarks of, at any rate, family history. The higher culture of India has hereditary Charons to chronicle the deeds of the departed as an example to their descendants. The urn in the Mausoleum or Samad is an object of mysterious veneration. In civilized Europe we are satisfied with an obituary notice in the *Times* of an eminent relative or friend and, instead of perpetuating his memory by domestic rites and by the preservation of his mental creations, even the "inconsolable" widow's object often seems to be to forget her grief by the time that she can put aside her becoming weeds. As grows the modern spirit,

she will be able to exhibit her husband's ashes on the mantelpiece of her drawing-room in a graceful vase, and thus will have done all that can be expected from good taste combined with genuine grief.

If those who talk so glibly of its being better to be burnt than buried were to be present, in the rare cases that they are allowed to do so, at the last scene of a cremation, conducted with the vulgar and mechanical routine of Europe, they would receive an impression that might for ever haunt their lives. A Commissioner of the Italian Government, who has been present at no fewer than 150 cremations, narrates that in the majority of cases, the bodies, suddenly contracted by the fierce heat, raise themselves up in their coffins. In others, the arrangements for the disposal of the effluvia are so defective as to cause, to our knowledge, fainting fits among those brought in contact with persons returning from "the burial"; in all, the ashes of the dear departed, reduced to a white mass sufficient to fill a large snuff-box, after being separated from the black matter left by the incineration of the coffin, are collected without reverence or care—so unlike the tenderness of Indian relatives—by the human scavengers in attendance who may sometimes leave burnt fragments of the corpse lying about the place. The circular bits, we may add, belong to the head, the lengthy bits to the tibia, and the rest is the dust of Alexander that fills a chink in a wall to keep out the wind.

A natural, and yet most horrible, feature connected with cremation is the prevention of the funeral party from accompanying the coffin to the furnace. The passage round it is generally too narrow to permit of their following it, but if they could be allowed to attend, the shock would be avoided that is now felt by even the most hardened when the door of the inner room is suddenly closed on the funeral party and they are told that two of the nearest relatives only can be permitted to attend the body, not, alas, to its last home, but to the scene of the last outrage committed on it.

For it must be remembered that burning the dead by a

process of incineration taking from two to four hours has the same relation to an ordinary burial, that a violent end bears to a natural death. Cremation is an outrage on the human image by impatiently and artificially forcing on its dissolution into dust, thus anticipating by the violence of a few hours the gradual decay of the grave. The body does not even resolve itself into the sky and seek its home with Indra, as is the Hindu belief, but it is a malodorous mass to be got out of sight as soon as possible.

The fragments of ancient superstition still survive, but will disappear with the respect for the dead. When the crematory will dispose of other rubbish beside one's parents, children and friends, its utility will become generally acknowledged. Dead animals, if not voters on the wrong side of politics, will be consigned to it, as the brutality of modern pseudo-science brings us back to primitive barbarism.

In the meanwhile, the Fetish man will continue to jabber at cremations the mutilated service of the Church of England that is intended for burials, and he will slink away with his guinea and shame when the iron door opens into the barrack miscalled a chapel and ill-featured cormorants remove from the slab the coffin over which the parson has prayed. We have seen men, grown grey in wars, turn pale and leave the building, when the doors leading to the horrid rite are slammed in their face as they are prepared to follow the coffin.

The chapel or shed or barrack-room contains shelves, in which are placed earthenware boxes of varying sizes labelled with the names of the persons who have been cremated. We have no doubt that some of these urns are for ever forgotten there. Others may be buried behind the building in a spot, a few yards square, in which also float some labels. The furnace in the meanwhile sighs forth the quick breathings of its shameful work.

Far better is the burial, accompanied by troops of friends, in a resting-place consecrated to past memories by other motives than commercial greed. Best of all it is to repose



under the tree in one's own garden or in a family Mausoleum, which, unlike our sombre final homes in Europe, introduces the dead to the living in all the elegance and light of a drawing-room, at Sekandra. Clustering round the monuments of the dead, beloved or illustrious to their relicts, are memories which unite the past with the living present and both with the glorious hopes of an eternal future.

FIRE-WORSHIPPER.

The following remarks by a Brahmin gentleman may serve to compare Indian with European cremation :

I have been an eye-witness of several cremations in my caste as well as in others. The mode from beginning to end is as follows :

The coffin is laid by the place where the funeral pile is to be erected ; the nearest relatives sprinkle with water the logs of wood that have been brought there for the purpose by Shudras, to purify them ; the coffin is placed on the pile with great resignation and other logs of wood placed on it so as to cover it ; the son or the nearest relative present applies fire to the toe of the right foot of the deceased and then to the pile. In most cases some sandal wood, *tulsi*, *pimpal*, etc., are used which give out a fragrant odour. The relatives and friends, who are sitting all round the mournful pile, watch it with feelings at once serene and edifying as at every moment the flames consume the once much-beloved one's image. When the body is burnt away, all bathe themselves and return homewards. I have remarked very often that persons who would ordinarily think of nothing else but their animal wants, discuss the frailty of our life and moralize upon good deeds and their results, making special references to the qualifications and virtues of the departed. One could almost learn the life of the man during those long hours. The ashes are not removed till the third day, when the son or the nearest relative gathers them and presents them to some sacred river—all this while none but the closest relatives are allowed to touch the remains of the dead. In every case, we have an uncontrollable impulse to have the sight of the body as long as possible, which becomes stronger in proportion as the total deprivation comes nearer. Then, how shocking must it be when we are forced to hand over the body to one who has little respect for the departed and turn our backs on it, although we would remain there but for some unsympathising rules of a commercial company and merely for their convenience !

M. D. VEDANT.

## SIDELIGHTS ON THE ORIENTAL CONGRESS OF 1892.

BY A MEMBER.

YES, I was a member—but for the last time. Not readily will I again submit to a renewal of such sad solemnities and hollow unrealities as characterized the Oriental Congress of 1892. From start to finish it was stultifying; the disappointed feeling that even the opening day induced, grew steadily in force until my energies were absolutely stolen from me. The mind must at times surrender to its environment, and a five days' contemplation of the lukewarm interest which was manifested *passim* in long-winded papers, and the sight of long-suffering and listless audiences, lulled at times into seeming lifelessness, left me a derelict upon a sea of thwarted hopes.

The reflection is a melancholy one, but it is none the less a fact, that the first jarring note within the Congress was struck by the gentleman who was its most conspicuous ornament—Professor Max Müller. I know that I express the sense of many members when I say that in some respects his inaugural address was almost nauseous. Nothing could have been in worse taste, considering the presence of so many subjects of foreign powers, than the fawning adulation of the Duke of York, filling three pages, nor the adroit flattery-all-round which occupied a further three. Then followed a far from dignified attack upon the holders of the prior London Congress, and a proud vaunting of alleged exclusive scholarship on behalf of members present. If one's disgust had ended there thus much might have been forgiven, but the President proceeded for more than an hour longer until forced to pause for lack of breath. The audience was no less wearied with the *copia verborum*, the precise value of which was subsequently appraised by an able member of the Congress, whose privately expressed opinion was that "half an hour would

have been ample for due treatment of such facts as the address contained."

The limp feeling that the President's address engendered was followed later by one of almost feverish dissatisfaction on the part of some, and in others by cynical disgust. It seems almost incredible that a gathering which had been so long predetermined, and on to which had been focussed, from one cause or another, so large an amount of attention, should have been so inadequately provided for and miserably mismanaged. Something might be urged in palliation of the condition of affairs prevailing throughout had the assembly been the pioneer of its kind, but of course no such apology is for a moment permissible. Past experience appeared to have taught nothing to the congress-ruling powers. On the opening day the officials in the secretaries' room were—I don't know which is the kinder thing to say, "witless," or "at their wits' end"; at any rate their replies to queries were of the most unsatisfying kind. Lest I should appear to be speaking without my book let me mention one solitary instance which ought to be sufficiently convincing. I addressed myself to one of the assistant secretaries, with a request for a copy of the President's address then about to be delivered. Promptly I was assured that they were not yet printed. Will it be believed that, casting my gaze upon the table at which the official in question sat, I saw a whole pile of copies of the address ready for distribution? And the official ignorance in this one case of preparation was in converse ratio with the official unpreparedness in other directions.

All who have attended them must have observed how admirably managed are the meetings of the British Association. Last year's Congress of Hygiene and Demography, too, in spite of one or two little mishaps, was excellently administered. Summaries of nearly all the papers to be read were obtainable at the very commencement of the meetings, and from day to day complete printed copies of many were obtainable for the asking.

Provisions of this kind are essential to the success of a great international gathering. They enable members to make judicious selection of the sections in which they desire to sit, and of the papers to which they prefer to listen. But chief among the advantages of such preparation is this, that the educational loss resulting from the impossibility of attending all the sections at once is reduced to the minimum if all the papers be procurable. For the daily newspapers to report each and all is obviously impracticable, and the wisdom of the course I have indicated is incontestable.

But how did *we* fare, we deluded mortals who on the 5th of last month expectantly foregathered in the dreary halls and draughty corridors of the University of London? Nothing was ready but Professor Max Müller's paper, the "congress badges," a list of members and a programme of agenda for the day. The first to many, doubtless, as to me, was denied; the second, a puny bit of cheap Brummagem, very different from the artistic medal of the Hygienic Congress, was so weak as to quickly become useless; and the third and last represented the entire provisional arrangements in the way of literature, to which the labours—save the mark—of committees and secretaries had been equal! On Tuesday there was a little pamphlet ready containing a scrappy enumeration only of the papers to be read throughout the day, the production of which *ridiculus mus* had kept the printers working half the night—presumably through secretarial incompetence or delay in the furnishing of "copy." Wednesday was the day for the delivery of Mr. Gladstone's paper on Archaic Greece; and here was perpetrated another blunder. Tuesday's programme had contained an intimation that Dr. Ginsburg was in receipt of Mr. Gladstone's manuscript, and that printed copies would be available on the morrow. Naturally these were applied for on Wednesday morning, and a number were distributed. But Dr. Ginsburg was furious on discovering the fact, on the ground that he had

not yet verified the proof corrections of the distinguished author of the paper, and it was positively Friday afternoon before copies were available for general distribution.

In the interim one section—and one only—had roused itself to a faint appreciation of its responsibilities. The Indian, with which was merged the Aryan, section contrived to astonish us—I believe on the Wednesday morning—with a batch of half a dozen summaries of forthcoming papers. Exhaustion, however, must have supervened on this mighty effort, for no further abstracts were issued on the succeeding days. The daily programme did contain a passable *résumé* of the doings of the previous day, in this one section, which alone could claim to be just decently awake; the secretaries of the remaining nine appeared only jealously eager to perform the miracle of hibernating in September. There was inaccuracy even in the bald daily agenda with which they furnished hungry members, and one gentleman at least was set down to deliver a lecture in two sections on the same day. I saw another wandering anxiously about, in wonderment as to the time when his paper would be reached, and quite destitute, apparently, of any official information on the point.

Was it, then, a matter for surprise that the attendances throughout were of attenuated dimensions? There assembled in one section in which I sat an audience of six all told, including the chairman and the lecturer, whose remarks, by the way, were practically inaudible. Other sections, too, in which I was interested were oftentimes only characterized by a beggarly array of mostly empty benches. In one case indeed much else could not have been expected, for the room would scarcely seat a score; nevertheless there was no rush for chairs! Let all this be compared with last year's meetings in the Inner Temple Hall, where an average attendance was recorded of over 50 to each meeting, and where ten hours' work was done daily for as many days. The roll of membership of the Ninth Statutory Congress shewed a muster of more than

600; the complete list of members of the Congress meeting at Burlington House and the University of London totalled 440 only; but the average sectional attendance was by no means *pro rata*. These figures, I fear, must somewhat inconveniently affect the "comprehensive" claims of Professor Max Müller.

There was one direction in which the secretarial mismanagement of the Congress affected the public rather than its members. I refer to the treatment of the Press. From what I gleaned from the reporters themselves, and from what I myself casually saw, they had certainly good cause for being aggrieved, and their editors, through them, might reasonably have omitted all mention of the Congress in their columns. It can be readily understood that the difficulties—inherently great to begin with in the case of an Oriental Congress—under which the representatives of the press had to labour were not lessened by the non-preparation above referred to of efficient summaries of the papers, nor by the simultaneous sitting of ten different sections. But when uncivil curtness verging on absolute rudeness was meted out—as I myself observed—to the reporters in some cases, it cannot be supposed that they were rendered particularly anxious to advertise the Congress at great length. The President of one section, to my certain knowledge, was plainly warned by one reporter that that section would have to be entirely ignored unless some disposition was shown to facilitate the labours of himself and comrades. The hint was taken. At the final meeting on the Monday following, Professor Max Müller paid an elaborate compliment to the reporters present, which, "coming so late in the day," they accepted, I should imagine, for the little it was worth. Nor was their *amour-propre* more delicately considered by the doling out, at the last minute, of tickets for the evening dinner, in a manner, I am informed, contrary to all established precedent. Very little, if any, post-prandial eloquence appeared in the papers next morning; maybe this was an effect of which the method of the invitation was the cause.

This, curiously enough, was the sole exception that could be taken to the one department which was generally well administered. Mr. Rapson deserves praise as organiser of the excursions and entertainments. It is a suggestive commentary on the presidential boast of the gravity and solidarity of the occasion, and the presence of experts only at the Congress, that *the* successes of the week were those that lay in the region of frivolity and relaxation. Successful they undoubtedly were, and nothing could have been pleasanter than the jaunts to Ightham Mote and Dorking on the Tuesday, to York House at Twickenham on the Thursday, or the Universities on Saturday. And truth to tell, no one seemed to enjoy them more than Professor Max Müller.

Something remains to be said of the concluding meeting. From some unexplained cause the President was in a singularly mournful mood—at times, indeed, almost lachrymose. But this solemnity did not prevent him from occasional lapses into militancy, induced by the mention of such words as "Lisbon," or "The Ninth." There was the same disposition to adulate Royalty, and great was the satisfaction at the intimation from Sir Francis Grenfell that a telegram might be expected momentarily from the Duke of York, and grievous the disappointment at the said telegram's non-arrival! With curious complacency, too, the President announced the gift—as though a new one—of the drinking-horn from the King of Sweden, already once presented at Upsala. In view of the opposition shown at Stockholm to the proposed formation of an Institute of Orientalists, it is well to note that the election of a provisional committee was not carried without several dissentient votes. Much animated discussion was waged around the proposals as to the so-called "Tenth" Congress of 1894. The date was adopted with no less than 18 adverse votes, and some amount of opposition was shown to the recommendation that subsequent congresses should be triennial. Then Geneva was selected as the meeting-place. The very slight applause

which followed the announced decision was made the most of by Professor Müller, who sententiously exclaimed, "I wish I could have transmitted the plaudits by telephone; but I charge our secretary to distinctly emphasize the proviso that the Congress be called the Tenth!" The rules which the committee had elected to draw up for the conduct of this "Tenth" Congress were then discussed with painful tardiness, and yet finally adopted without alteration. All mention of the weighty "opinion" of Dr. Pankhurst as to their status in the matter was studiously avoided by the Congress leaders, even the thin and feeble counterblast they had thought it necessary to obtain being likewise unnamed. This document, by the way, along with a catalogue of presented books, represented about the whole of the printed literature of the Congress, over and above what has been previously described. A final note of failure seemed to be struck by the President's farewell remarks, which, though of the most commonplace order, he had yet deemed necessary to commit to paper, and to personally deliver with a flourish to the reporter for the *Times*. One sentence may be quoted because of the breadth of its pretensions: "All true Oriental scholars in Europe, whether present or absent, have declared for our Congress." *We shall see.*

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Another member informs us that "the Congress officials had recourse to the *Times* reporter for matter which they ought to have supplied, and he strongly expressed himself on the subject, as also on the dulness of the Congress of 1892 as compared with the interest and life shown at that of 1891. At the Geographical Section, nothing was said about the countries on the slopes of the Pamir which have been the theatre of a recent war, nor was the existence of that Section in an Oriental Congress justified by pointing out the importance of a study of Oriental languages to geographers and explorers. Indeed, as Sir Grant Duff significantly remarked at the farewell dinner to the foreign



visitors, it was an open question whether congresses were useless, as stated by M. Renan, or useful as believed by him and his audience. All the *Times* had to say as to the results of the Congress of 1892 was that it had satisfied curiosity and had sought for light. I was at a garden-party when members were photographed for an illustrated paper, but the illustration never appeared. Indeed, whereas the journalistic and public interest never flagged during the 12 days of the Congress of 1891, comparatively few London and country papers noticed the 1892 Congress, and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, *Daily Telegraph*, etc., almost ignored it. There was no recognition of the good work done by the members. No translations or prize-essays were forthcoming. Where the Congress of 1891 distributed volumes of new matter, that of 1892 issued a few leaves. Japan, which with its scientific, literary, and even musical evenings, was quite a feature of last year's Congress, was not even officially represented in 1892; indeed, Max Müller reigned over a solitude, and called it a Congress of true Oriental scholars."

# LEGENDS, SONGS, AND CUSTOMS OF DARDISTAN.

(SONGS IN THE GILGITI, ASTORI, GURAIZI, AND  
CHILÁSI DIALECTS OF SHINÁ.)

(Continued from Vol. IV., page 148.)

## 5. A WOMAN'S SONG (GILGITI).

[THE DESERTED WIFE AND THE FAITHLESS HUSBAND.]

*The Wife:*

*Mey kukúri Patan gayta béyto djék tòn ?*  
My kukuri Pathán going he sat what am I to do ?  
*Pípi batzisse garáo dên ; múso tshúsh.*  
Aunt ! from the family he absence has given ; I cocoon.  
*Gá sikkím gatì bring báleo dês ;*  
And coloured silk spinning animal bind do=could.  
*Mió dudélo tshát biló !*  
My milk-sweet late has become !

*The Husband:*

*Anì Azari rey\**  
That Azari, [is] a Deodar cedar [?] *sómno ? anì Azareo rôk bilós.*  
Kingly, is it not so [my] love ! That Azari illness I have.  
*Anì Waztreyn shuyi gas-mall, na sommo !*  
This Wazir's child princess, not [so] love ?  
*Bállì dapújo gí bem ; anì pâr*  
Then from my waist (girdle) taking I'll sit ; this beyond  
*tshísheyn*  
the mountains.  
*Súri war tshísheyn djondjît tzáe bijôte.*  
Sun this side's mountain birch tree (?) to you both.  
*Somm tshiném ; anù shëd qóareyn kinì — ga*  
Alike I love ; This white hawk black and  
*Tshikki† méy begà beih ; balli pashéjo*  
fragrant bag mine being sit ; Then on my turban  
*gi beyim.*  
wearing I will sit.

\* More probably "rey" is the pine called the *Picea Webbiana*.

† Part II., page 16, gives the following for "Birch." "Birch ? = Djónjî (the white bark of which is used for paper) in Kashmîr where it is called the book-tree "Burus kull" lit: Burus = the book ; kull = plant, tree."

† "Tshikki" is a black fragrant matter said to be gathered under the

Translation of "A Woman's Song."

*The deserted wife sings*:—My Pathan! oh kukúri, far away from me has he made a home; but, aunt, what am I to do. since he has left his own! The silk that I have been weaving during his absence would be sufficient to bind all the animals of the field. Oh, how my darling is delaying his return!

*The faithless husband sings*:—[My new love] Azari is like a royal Deodar; is it not so, my love? for Azari I am sick with desire. She is a Wazeer's princess; is it not so, my love? Let me put you in my waist. The sun on yonder mountain, and the tree on this nigh mountain, ye both I love dearly. I will recline when this white hawk and her black fragrant tresses become mine; encircling with them my head I will recline [in happiness.]

6. THE JILTED LOVER'S DREAM.

[IN THE ASTORI DIALECT.]

*Tshunni nazdik mulayi.\**

(Oh) Little delicate [maid] woman.

*Barêyo báro, na.†*

The husband old is, [is he not?]

*Hapótok thyayé gé.*

With a bear done it going, [you have "been and gone and done it."]

*Sómimi rátijo Sómimi shakejo Mey nish*

In the sleep of night The sleep from the arm. My sleep

*harayé gé. Mashàq phirì phùt*

awake has gone. Turning round again opening hastily

*talósto Méy laktéy píribann tshítsho häun. Datshêno*

I saw. My darling waistband variegated was. Right

wing-pits of the hawk; "djónji" is, to me, an unknown tree, but I conjecture it to be the birch tree. "Gas" is a princess and "mal" is added for euphony.

\* ["Mulayi" for woman is not very respectful; women are generally addressed as "kaki" sister, or "dhi" daughter.]

Na? is it? is it not so? na seems generally to be a mere exclamation.

*hata-jó aina gíní, Tshakéoje wazze. Nu kabbo*  
hand-from mirror taking, Looking she came. This left

*hata-jó surmá gíní. Paléoje wazze.*  
hand-from antimony taking, Applying she came.

The above describes the dream of a lover whose sweet-heart has married one older than herself; he says :

*Translation.*

"That dear delicate little woman has a frightful old husband.

"Thou hast married a bear! In the dead of night, resting on my arm,

"My sleep became like waking. Hastily I turned and with a quick glance saw

"That my darling's waistband shone with many colours,

"That she advanced towards me holding in her right a mirror into which she looked,

"That she came near me applying with her left the antimony to her eyes."

7. MODERN ASTORI SONG.

This Song was composed by Rajah Bahadur Khan, now at Astōr, who fell in love with the daughter of the Rajah of Hunza to whom he was affianced. When the war between Kashmir and Hunza broke out, the Astoris and Hunzas were in different camps; Rajah Bahadur Khan, son of Rajah Shakul Khan, of the Shíah persuasion,\* thus laments his misfortunes :

*Lotshúko sabáin kén nimáz thé duwá*  
Early in morning's time [usual] prayers done supplication  
*them Qabúl thé, Rahîma Garíbey duwa*  
I make Accept, oh merciful [God] of the poor the prayer.

*Dòn mahí—yeen dim*  
[her] teeth [are] of fish bone = like ivory, [her] body  
*puru—yeen tshamáye tshîké hane me armán*  
[like a] reed† [her] hair musk is. My longing  
*túte hane Bulbúl shakàr.*  
to you is [Oh] nightingale sweet!

\* The people of Astor are mostly Sunnis, and the Gilgitis mostly Shíahs; the Chilasís are all Sunnis.

† A reed which grows in the Gilgit country of white or red colour.

Chorus falls in with "*hai, hai, armân bulbûl*" = "oh, oh, the longing [for the] nightingale!"\*

*Translation.*

After having discharged my usual religious duties in the early morning, I offer a prayer which, oh thou merciful God, accept from thy humble worshipper. [Then, thinking of his beloved.] Her teeth are as white as ivory, her body as graceful as a reed, her hair is like musk. My whole longing is towards you, oh sweet nightingale.

Chorus: Alas, how absorbing this longing for the nightingale.

8. GURAIZI SONGS.

This district used to be under Ahmad Shah of Skardo, and has since its conquest by Ghulab Singh come permanently under the Maharajah of Kashmîr. Its possession used to be the apple of discord between the Nawabs of Astor and the Rajahs of Skardo. It appears never to have had a real Government of its own. The fertility of its valleys always invited invasion. Yet the people are of Shinâ origin and appear much more manly than the other subjects of Kashmîr. Their loyalty to that power is not much to be relied upon, but it is probable that with the great intermixture which has taken place between them and the Kashmîri Mussulmans for many years past, they will become equally demoralized. The old territory of Guraiz used in former days to extend up to Kuyam or Bandipur on the Wular Lake. The women are reputed to be very chaste, and Colonel Gardiner told me that the handsomest women in Kashmîr came from that district. To me, however, they appeared to be tolerably plain, although rather innocent-looking, which may render them attractive, especially after one has seen the handsome, but sensual-looking, women of Kashmîr. The people of Guraiz are certainly very dirty, but they are not so plain as the Chilâsis. At Guraiz three languages are spoken: Kashmîri, Guraizi (a corruption of a Shinâ dialect), and Pan-

\* It is rather unusual to find the nightingale representing the beloved. She is generally "the rose" and the lover "the nightingale."

jabi—the latter on account of its occupation by the Maharajah's officials. I found some difficulty in getting a number of them together from the different villages which compose the district of Guraiz, the Arcadia of Kashmir, but I gave them food and money, and after I got them into a good humour they sang :

## GURAIZI HUNTING SONG.

*Guraizi.**English.*

*Pére, tshaké, gazàri meýáru* = Look beyond ! what a fine stag !  
Beyond, look ! a fine stag.

Chorus. *Pére, tshaké, djók maar* = Chorus. Look beyond !  
*áke dey.* how gracefully he struts.

Beyond, look ! how he struts !

*Pére, tshaké, bhaptári bay báro* = Look beyond ! he bears  
Beyond, look ! shawl wool 12 loads. twelve loads of wool.

Chorus. *Pére, tshaké, djók maar* = Chorus. Look beyond !  
*áke dey.* how gracefully he struts.

Beyond, look ! how he does strut !

*Pére, tshaké, dóni shilélu* = Look beyond ! his very  
Beyond, look ! [his] teeth are of teeth are of crystal.  
crystal [glass]

Chorus. *Pére, tshaké, djók* = Chorus. Look beyond !  
*maaráke dey.* how gracefully he struts.

This is apparently a hunting song, but seems also to be applied to singing the praises of a favourite.

There is another song, which was evidently given with great gusto, in praise of Sheir Shah Ali Shah, Rajah of Skardo.\* That Rajah, who is said to have temporarily conquered Chitrál, which the Chilasis call Tshatshál,† made a road of steps up the Atsho mountain which overlooks Búnji, the most distant point reached before 1866 by

\* Possibly Ali Sher Khan, also called Ali Shah, the father of Ahmed Shah, the successful and popular Rajah of Skardo in the Sikh days—or else the great Ali Sher Khan, the founder of the race or caste of the Makpon Rajahs of Skardo. He built a great stone aqueduct from the Satpur stream which also banked up a quantity of useful soil against inundations.

† Murad was, I believe, the first Skardo Rajah who conquered Gilgit, Nagyr, Hunza and Chitrál. He built a bridge near the Chitrál fort. Traces of invasion from Little Tibet exist in Dardistan. A number of historical events, occurring at different periods, seem to be mixed up in this song.

travellers or the Great Trigonometrical Survey. From the Atsho mountain Vigne returned, "the suspicious Rajah of Gilgit suddenly giving orders for burning the bridge over the Indus." It is, however, more probable that his Astori companions fabricated the story in order to prevent him from entering an unfriendly territory in which Mr. Vigne's life might have been in danger, for had he reached Bûnji he might have known that the Indus never was spanned by a bridge at that or any neighbouring point. The miserable Kashmîri coolies and boatmen who were forced to go up-country with the troops in 1866 were, some of them, employed, in rowing people across, and that is how I got over the Indus at Bûnji; however to return from this digression to the *Guraizi Song*:

9. PRAISE OF THE CONQUEROR SHEIR SHAH ALI SHAH.

*Guraizi.*

*English.*

Sheir Shah Ali Shah	= Sheir Shah Ali Shah.
Nōmega djong	= I wind myself round his name.*
Ká kōlo shing phuté	= He conquering the crooked Low-lands.
Djar súntsho taréga	= Made them quite straight.
Kāne Makponé	= The great Khan, the Makpon.
Kāno nom mega djong	= I wind myself round the Khan's name.
Kó Tshamūgar bōsh	= He conquered bridging over [the phuté Gilgit river] below Tshamūgar.
Sar† súntsho taréga	= And made all quite straight.

I believe there was much more of this historical song, but unfortunately the paper on which the rest was written down by me as it was delivered, has been lost together with other papers.

"Tshamūgar," to which reference is made in the song, is a village on the other side of the Gilgit river on the Nagyr side. It is right opposite to where I stayed for two nights

\* The veneration for the name is, of course, also partly due to the fact that it means "the lion of Ali," Muhammad's son-in-law, to whose memory the Shiah Mussulmans are so devotedly attached. The Little Tibetans are almost all Shiabs.

† "Sar" is Astori for Gilgiti "Djor."

under a huge stone which projects from the base of the Niludâr range on the Gilgit side.

There were formerly seven forts at Tshamûgar. A convention had been made between the Rajah of Gilgit and the Rajah of Skardo, by which Tshamûgar was divided by the two according to the natural division which a stream that comes down from the Batkôr mountain made in that territory. The people of Tshamûgar, impatient of the Skardo rule, became all of them subjects to the Gilgit Rajah, on which Sher Shah Ali Shah, the ruler of Skardo, collected an army, and crossing the Makpon-i-shagaron\* at the foot of the Haramûsh mountain, came upon Tshamûgar and diverted the water which ran through that district into another direction. This was the reason of the once fertile Tshamûgar becoming deserted; the forts were razed to the ground. There are evidently traces of a river having formerly run through Tshamûgar. The people say that the Skardo Rajah stopped the flow of the water by throwing quicksilver into it. This is probably a legend arising from the reputation which Ahmad Shah, the most recent Skardo ruler whom the Guraizis can remember, had of dabbling in medicine and sorcery.†

#### CHILASI SONGS.

[The Chilasis have a curious way of snapping their fingers, with which practice they accompany their songs, the thumb running up and down the fingers as on a musical instrument.]

##### 10. CHILASI.

Tù hùn Gítshere bódje sòmmo dímm bamèm  
Mèy shahínni pashalóto dewà salám dáute  
Rás; Aje góje bómto méy dùddi aje nush  
Hargínn Zúe déy mo bejómos  
Samat Khánay sóni mó báshémm tutàk  
Mùugà deyto; mó dabtar dèm

\* The defile of the Makpon-i-Shang-Rong, where the Indus river makes a sudden turn southward and below which it receives the Gilgit river.

† The Shiah Rajahs of Skardo believed themselves to be under the special protection of Ali.



11. A. Tshékòn thónn ; tikki wéy nush, oh Berader  
 Adòn ; thōn ; madéy nush ; ey Berader  
 B. Hamírey tshûki, púki thàs, palútos  
 Ni rátey ló ne bëy, oh Berader !

The last word in each sentence, as is usual with all Shín songs, is repeated at the beginning of the next line. I may also remark that I have accentuated the words *as pronounced in the songs* and not as put down in my Vocabulary.

*Translation.*

MESSAGE TO A SWEETHEART BY A FRIEND.

You are going up to Gitshe, oh my dearest friend,  
 Give my compliment and salute when you see my hawk.  
 Speak to her. I must now go into my house ; my mother  
 is no more

And I fear the sting of that dragon,\* my step-mother—  
 Oh noble daughter of Samat Khan ; I will play the flute  
 And give its price and keep it in my bosom.

The second song describes a quarrel between two brothers who are resting after a march on some hill far away from any water or food wherewith to refresh themselves.

*Younger brother.*—Am I to eat now, what am I to say, there is, oh my brother, neither bread nor water.

Am I to fetch some [water], what am I to say, there is no masak [a water-skin], oh my brother !

*Elder brother.*—The lying nonsense of Hamir (the younger brother) wounds me deeply (tears off the skin of my heart).

There will be no day to this long night, oh my brother !

12. THE TRANSITORINESS OF THIS WORLD.

<i>Kàka, mosè djò ráum</i>	<i>Mèy dásnga nè bèy</i>	<i>Tàbàm</i>
Brother! I what am to say?	My choice it is not	In the
<i>aresà dáro</i>	<i>Módje làshga nè béy</i>	<i>Dajála</i>
whole of the present time	To me shame is not	The next
<i>ele jílto</i>	<i>Jáko udàsóne han</i>	
world near has come	People despairing will be	

\* The "Harginn," a fabulous animal mentioned elsewhere.

*2nd Verse.*

<i>Watàn dāro zār</i>		<i>Tu mashahūre billé</i>		<i>Ash</i>
In my country famous		You famous have become		To-day
<i>bajóni dégi bárri musafiri</i>		<i>Zari mójo</i>		
to get you prepared on a great journey		Openly me		
<i>lai langtddi=tje</i>		<i>Djill mey hawallé</i>		<i>Sín qatída</i>
much pains		My soul is in your keeping		The river
<i>phúne</i>		<i>Sudà chogarong</i>		
is flowing, the large flower		Of silver colour.*		

## A PRAYER OF THE BASHGELI KAFIRS.

[*In the Kalásha dialect.*]

The ideas and many of the words in this prayer were evidently acquired by my two Kafirs on their way through Kashmir :

“Khudá, tandrusti dé, prushkári rozì de, abattì kari, dewalat man. Tu ghóna asas, tshik intàra, tshik tu faidá káy asas. Sat asmán tì, Stru suri mastruk mótshe dé.”

(To be continued.)

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES OF THE LATE SIR WALTER ELLIOT.

(Continued from Vol. IV., page 164.)

### XVIII.

#### BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE "SALIGRÁMA."

BY A NATIVE.

[The Saligráma is a small, smooth, spherical black stone, curiously marked with one or more circular hollows, as if made by some burrowing insect. At the side of the hollow is a small knob, like a fossil shell or whorl, called the *chakra* of Vishnu. Every worshipper of Vishnu keeps one as an object of daily adoration. Saligrámas vary in price. A common one costs from 3 to 5 Rs. One that has come down for generations in a well-to-do family, or that has belonged to a man of renowned sanctity may fetch as much as from 150 to 200 Rs.—R. S.]

ON the north side of the River Gandaky, near Oudh, there is a mountain called the "Saligráma Purvatum," extending to 12 Yojanas, (or 120 miles) in length, and held sacred as partaking of the omnipresence of the god *Hurri* or Vishnu. On its lower part, there abounds a species of sacred stones of which "Saligrámas" are formed. These are carried down into the Gandaky river by the *Chakra-naddi*, a stream running from the mountain. Certain gold-coloured insects, borne on that river and called "*Vujjrakutum*," attach themselves to the stones, and in the course of several years bore the holes and *chukrams* or circular marks seen on them.

The stones are of 2 kinds :—" *Jalajum* " or born in water, and " *Sthalajum* " or born on dry land ; the former are smooth and handsome, the latter rough and uneven. Each insect engraves two " *Chukrams*," up and down, in a hole. The stones often have more than one hole, some as many as 7 or 8. The engraving is sometimes made on the outside of the stone. Stones without the " *Chukram* " are useless. The " *Chukrams* " wrought in various forms are the distinguishing marks for recognizing the " *Saligrámas*,"

and naming them after the different incarnations of Vishnu : —as, *Vansudeva, Narraina, Gopala, Matcheya, Kurma*, etc.

“*Saligrámas*” vary also in colour ; as white, black, yellow, red, blue, etc., which are said to confer different blessings on the possessor, both in this and the other world. The white ensures salvation ; the blue bestows wealth and health ; the black confers popularity ; the red gives power ; and so on. The most esteemed and venerated are those which are neither too large nor too small in size, and are round, smooth, deep-holed and engraved inwardly. Such as are wide-holed, crooked either in form or engraving, broken, cracked, or not bright, are considered of less virtue, except for “*Recluses*,” who may keep and adore all kinds of “*Saligrámas*” indiscriminately.

We are told that the way to distinguish a good from a bad “*Saligráma*,” is to put it into a measured quantity of cow’s milk or rice, for a day ; and to mark whether the quantity increases or diminishes. If it increases, or at least does not diminish, the “*Saligráma*” is to be considered lucky and acceptable ; if it diminishes, it is not suitable. These “*Saligrámas*” are adored as the domestic gods of all classes of Brahmins in India. They wash them and pray to them every day, offer them, in the first instance, the victuals prepared for their own use, and drink the water in which they are washed as conducive to every blessing and happiness. They cannot become polluted, nor do they require any ceremonial purification as idols do.

## X I X.

### SATI.

[The Form and ceremony of performing the *Sagamánam* or *Sahagamánam* (departing of a woman with her husband) commonly called *Sati*, translated by C. V. Ramaswamy, Brahmin ; Madras, 1846.]

When a man of the Brahmin caste dies, the wife rubs turmeric powder over her body and places on her forehead the *Kumkam* or spot made with a red powder. She chews betelnut, and holding a lime in her hand, she makes the

usual declaration of wishing to ascend the funeral pile. She then dresses herself in a yellow cloth, and adorns her head with flowers, sandal and other perfumes. With a smiling countenance she distributes her jewelry among her children and relatives, giving a part also in charity to Brahmins. Then praying to God, she accompanies her relations in procession to the Burning ground (*Smasanam Bhumi*) where (on a pile of fuel) the corpse of her deceased husband is laid. Taking leave of all the people about the place, as the Rajah of the country, the principal personages and other spectators, she recites prayers for the safety of the Rajah and country. She then walks thrice round the funeral pile, mounts it and reclines close to the body of her departed husband. The people then place large faggots and bundles of wood on the pile, and pour on it many pots of oil, resin, etc., to quicken the fire. Sometimes the woman in proof of her courage and fidelity to the deceased, exhibits to the spectators her glass bracelets, the lime she holds in her hand, the part of the cloth folded in front, the marriage *Tali* (nuptial golden ornament), or some other object. If this is found afterwards unconsumed by the fierce flames, it is believed by all to be a proof of her fidelity to her husband. In the case of even those who have not thus antecedently appealed to the spectators for this proof of their virtue, any portion of their bracelets, clothes, marriage *Tali*, etc.; which may remain unburnt, are separated by the people, the next day, from the ashes, are put in a clean place, and are worshipped with sandal. On holidays they offer them milk, fruit, etc., in the place where the *Sagamandam* was performed. They used formerly to make two stone images of the departed couple\* and erect small temples to them. The images were rubbed with turmeric powder, and adorned with glass beads and rings. On the following Friday boiled milk, rice and fruit were offered to them. Travellers and villagers used to make

\* These old stone images are to be seen all over Southern India, on roadsides, in villages, and in the fields.—R. S.

vows to repair these temples, with the object of recovering from illness, obtaining offspring, etc. If they obtained their desires, they moreover offered milk, rice, and cloth, according to their means. They held that these new deities would appear to them in dreams, favour them with their commands and grant them their wishes. Some persons vowed to consider them as their household or family deities (*Péranálu*); and others promised to give their names to their expected children, and believed that they would remove unhappiness, sickness and all misfortunes from the family. The deities thus recognised, were expected to warn the master of the house of all future ills in the family, and how to avert them. Thus they were held to fulfil the wishes of the heads of families, for some years; but in time their power was believed to cease, though the departed couple were still expected to protect their own family during the lifetime of its members. Sometimes it happened that they did not help them at all. If the cloth, glass rings, and limes of the woman were all burnt to ashes, no virtue or power was ascribed to the couple, except for people of their own clan; and therefore no others would respect or worship them, or vow to perform any ceremonies, because they had not the power to fulfil their wishes.

This custom of the *Sahagamánam* is directed in the Puránás to be observed by all sects or castes. Pregnant women, however, of all castes are not permitted to burn themselves with their husbands' corpses, because they are then considered to enclose *double souls*. Any female who is made to die thus by force or compulsion will certainly have to wander about as a *Bhuta* (ghost) for a long time before she attains *Moksham* (salvation).

There are slight variations in the rules for the Kshatriya (warrior-caste) woman, who performs the *Sahagamánam* for her husband.

When a *Kshatriya* man dies, his wife at once bathes, anoints her head with oil, rubs her person with sandal and other perfumes, adorns herself with flowers, dresses herself

in a long saffron-coloured cloth, and takes a lime in one hand and a mirror in the other. Accompanied with music, she goes with her husband's corpse to the burning ground, engaged in prayer to God. Into a pit previously dug is thrown a quantity of sandal wood with roots of some jungle trees, and around it a screen of mats is raised. The woman now takes off her jewels and distributes them among Brahmins and women; looks up, and prays to the Sun for the prosperity of the country and of the Rajah. Then, breaking one side of the screen, she jumps into the flaming fire. The people then throw the surrounding matting into the fire, and pour on it pots of ghee, resin, camphor, and other fragrant things, until both the bodies are consumed. Some women at the moment of going into the flames, take up some of the fire in their hands. Others quietly lay themselves down alongside the corpses of their husbands. Some die before they can lie down thus, but others have answered, twice or even thrice, the call of the spectators. After both bodies have been entirely burnt, the sons or relations of the departed collect the glass rings, beads, cloth or other articles which the flames have respected, and preserve them in a pure place in their houses as relics, believing that thereby their desires will be accomplished.

The same rules are ordained for the *Vaisyas* and *Baliyas*; but in the caste of the *Vacariwa* the wife enters the pile with her husband's corpse. The *Reddis*, *Velamás*, *Cummás*, *Maharathas*, *Rajputs*, and *Bondelies* act as the *Vacari* caste; the *Arava Velamas*, the *Kollars* and some others observe the forms of the *Kshatriyas* or the *Brahmins*.

If the husband has died in a distant country, the widow on receiving the news of his death, rubs herself with turmeric, adorns herself with flowers, wears a yellow cloth, and does her hair in 5 or 10 plaits, to which she hangs limes. With the drawn sword of her husband in one hand, and in the other a mirror into which she looks, she proceeds, attended with music, to the adjacent villages in which she has relations residing. These are bound to pay for the musicians and

to supply her with all she needs or reasonably demands. She thus visits the neighbouring villages for 10 days, spending her time in pleasure, (witnessing) dances and music, etc. She does not sleep, but continues night and day in a state of exhilaration and excitement. As a rule, she takes no food. Some women however eat a little rice; others are prevailed upon, by the earnest request of their relations, to take a little milk.

On the eleventh day, a funeral pile is prepared in the name of her husband; and when it is lighted, she enters into the fire according to the abovementioned rules. Her unburnt ornaments are gathered and kept by her relations, who worship them, as is said above, and believe that thereby some of their wishes may be accomplished, should fate be propitious.

According to the *Purānas*, women departing thus with their husbands live in heaven for 3 *kerores* of divine years, and enjoy every felicity and happiness in *Dēva-Lokam*.

Various motives may induce women to perform *Sahagamānam*; as 1st, affection and love to her deceased husband; 2nd, because she has no children to live for; 3rd, fear of want of food and straitened circumstances; 4th, resentment and anger against their relations; etc. The Brahmins call this ceremony *Sahagamānam* (going with the husband); the Kshatriyas call it *Agni Pravesam* (entering the fire). The custom is common over all India.

A letter from Captain Robert Gill, dated Mahum, near Julna, May 1st, 1848, says: “. . . I have not forgotten your wish about monuments erected over Sutties. At Bajain I found 9—all erected by the side of a beautiful tank, but totally different from those you described. They were simple square *tumuli*, twice as high as broad, surrounded by a cornice. The upper half was hollow and arched on every side, and contained within sculptures of the two feet and a *lingam*. My informant, moreover, told me that other images were placed in the interior of the house of the deceased woman's nearest relations, and wor-



shipped daily. One of the Suttees took place so late as within the last 3 years ; and the monument erected on that occasion was quite new.

“At Karinjah I was too unwell to go out, but made enquiries and learned that a Suttee had taken place there within the last year (1847), and that the monument was similar to those just described. I have not yet found any of the description of sculptures which you wish for, though I never fail to stroll round almost every village I pass, in hopes of doing so.”

## XX.

### LEGEND OF THE KOLAIR LAKE.

(TRANSLATED FROM THE *Márkandeya-puranam*, BY A  
BRAHMIN.)

[The Kolair (or Colair) Lake forms the drainage area of the richly irrigated rice-growing tract between the Godáveri and Krishna Rivers, on the East Coast. It is about on mean sea level, and runs into, or is filled by, the sea, according to the tides. It is mostly overgrown with tall reeds, and is the abode of millions of aquatic birds of every description.—R. S.]

IN former times, at an examination of the learning and acquirements of the Pándavás and Konravás, Duryódhana was rejoiced to see that Karna displayed skill superior to that of Arjuna ; and being pleased to find one who could overcome that hero, he appointed Karna Sovereign of *Anga-désam*, the country lying between the Krishna and the Godáveri, northward, up to the River Nirmala. Karna took possession of his dominions, and founded a large town, 3 yojanas (30 miles) in length and as many in breadth ; and called it Karnapuram, after his own name. He also consecrated a pagoda to *Gokarnésvara*. During his prosperous reign he attracted Brahmins in great numbers to the town, by granting *Agrahárams* (Brahmin hamlets) for their support. On his fall, in the battle between the Pándavás and Konravás, Dharmaraja succeeded to the throne ; and after him came a long line of kings of the Soma Vamsa (family of the Moon). During the Yudhisthir

epoch of the *Kaliyuga*, Mahanandi of the Magadha family, being the most powerful chief of the age, ruled to the utmost limits of the earth. He took four wives from the Kshatriya caste, and one, of remarkable beauty, from the Sudras. He had sons by all. By the four Kshatriya wives he had Pumsapatadu, Vakshyapudu, Karadandu and Mandapáludu. By the Sudra wife he had Mahapadmudu; and being particularly fond of this last son, he made him supreme king over all his dominions, bestowing only 4 minor districts on his other sons. He then retired from the world, for contemplation and prayer. While Pumpsapatadu, Vakshyapudu, Karadandu and Mandapáludu reigned respectively in their kingdoms of Kalinga, Pulinda, Anga and Vanga, Mahapadmudu, their stepbrother, undertook a great warlike expedition, and received homage from all Kshatriyas, whom he subdued and reduced them to the same level as the Sudras, forcing them to live by cultivating the earth. He subjected the whole world to his sway.

Karadandu, King of Anga, whose capital was Karnapuram, reigned with benevolence; but the 8th descendant from him, having no issue, entrusted the management of his kingdom to his *Mantri* (minister); and accompanied by his wife, retired to the river Nirmala, to offer up prayers for a son. In a few years, a spirit of wickedness and disregard for his master entered the *Mantri's* head. He made himself absolute king, and even altered the name of the metropolis from Karnapuram to Kolairpuram, and proclaimed the change everywhere. He also wickedly deprived the Brahmins of their *Agraharams* and *Mányams* (rent free lands) granted by former Rajahs; and thus reduced them to great distress for want of even food and raiment.

It happened that a *Yogi* came to the town, and stopping before a wretched, half-ruined house, he questioned its mistress, who told him the whole history of the local poverty. Moved with compassion, he communicated to her a *mantram* (spell), called *Múttraconti*; and explaining its process to her, with many other things, he went his way.

This *mantram* gave riches to all—Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. It consisted in the woman's washing white rice in a particular manner, and giving it to her husband at the morning *Onposanam*; and when the *hóman* is made with them the grains are said to be converted into so many grains of gold. A first trial having been found successful, the Brahmin joyfully directed his wife to continue the practice daily. In time, however, the woman communicated the secret to many other women; and for 18 years the town enjoyed unparalleled prosperity and wealth:—houses and *Mahals* were even erected with gold.

But *Agnihotra* could not endure the sight of the wickedness involved in the preparation of the spell. There then resided near Mahadevi's pagoda a very good Brahmin called Nilakuntha, whose wife Sumati was a woman of great virtue. She one day said to him: "My Lord, the whole town is become rich by means of a *mantram*; will you permit me also to use it?" The Brahmin thereupon rebuked her, and would not consent to the wicked practice. Jataveda condescended to visit this Brahmin's house, and said that he, the God of Fire, intended to consume the town; but he blessed the Brahmin and his wife, so that, through his mercy, they would remain safe under their own roof, and would have all necessities that they wished for. He then disappeared. Before long, however, *Agnihotra* began his work of destruction. He went round the town in a circle; and a fire sprang up, which continued raging for 21 days. The soil too subsiding to the depth of 7 Palmirah trees, the influx of the sea eventually quenched the fire.

Meanwhile the king had continued his prayer for 50 years, after which *Iswara* (Siva) was pleased to bestow on him a son, whom he named Bhimadatta. Disguised as an Ascetic, the king, with great joy, set out with his son for Karnapuram. He sought and inquired for it everywhere, but none could tell him of it. Prosecuting his search, he came to Indra-Kiladri, and asked an old Brahmin whom he

found there if he knew where Karnapuram was. The Brahmin told him the whole past history of the place. The king was struck with surprise ; and seeing that these disasters were caused by the wickedness of the *Mantri*, he asked advice how he might recover his lost kingdom.

The Brahmin was a great worshipper of *Durga* ; and praying fervently to the goddess on behalf of the king, she appeared and asked him what he wanted. The Brahmin answered that the king then present was the former ruler of Karnapuram, and that he wished her to do him good. At the prayers of the goddess, the sea retired from *Angadesám*. Then she erected there a fort and established the king in it, conferring great riches upon him. He subsequently elevated the ground for 100 villages, and peopled them.

While the tenth descendant of this king was on the throne\* Chola-rajah, belonging to the race of *Sáliváhana*, wishing to conquer this fort, built another over against it ; but it was only after 12 years' labour that he succeeded at length in taking it, by reopening a channel from the sea, information regarding which was given to him by a shepherdess. The letting in of the sea thus refilled the Kolair Lake, and made the king quit his fort. Chola-rajah, however, permitted him to erect another village and fort, not far away, called after his own name, Kaldindi, which is still in existence. But during the victorious career of Raja Narendra he was again restored to his own. Subsequently to the *Sáliváhana* era, during the reign of Tanisha Padsha,† the Rajah was again expelled by the Sirdárs Akkanna and Madanna ; and a portion of land on the seacoast was allotted to him, where he erected his capital and over which he continued to rule.

But the waters have never again retired from the Kolair Lake.

\* This would be in the XI. Century A.D.—R. S.

† Probably a Golconda general. Muhammad Kuli Kutb Shah conquered this country in A.D. 1567.—R. S.

XXI.

A DHARWAR VILLAGE FESTIVAL OF DURGA.\*

(COMMUNICATED BY A NATIVE OFFICIAL TO SIR W.  
ELLIOT, APRIL 20, 1829.)

[This is a festival in honour of Durga as *Mahishásuramardani*—the destroyer of the Demon *Mahishásura*.—W. E.]

AT the village of Mangalagudda, appertaining to the Potadkhal division of Badami Taluk, in the Dharwar Collectorate, is a temple of *Mahishásura-Mardani* (destroyer of a giant transformed into a buffalo) under the name of Mangalavva Devi; and a great feast is solemnized triennially in honour of this deity. Your orders to report in writing on this festival caused inquiry to be made from several well-informed persons, with the following results:

The *Mahákutakshetra* (holy place) is 12 miles in circumference, and is full of *Lingams*. In it is the village of Mangalagudda, of which the goddess is *Mahishásura Mardani*. Formerly to extend her fame in the Kaliyuga (the present Iron age) she appeared to certain *Hatikars* or herdsmen, with whom she was pleased; and from that time the festival has been held every third year. The following are the details with the names of the performers of the festival, and of the *Hatikars* devoted to the goddess.

The worshipper is named Nāgunnah. He is about 60 years old and of the Khshatri caste. The person now actually performing the *Puja* ceremony to the goddess is Mangalavva, a female connected with the family of Nāgunnah's brothers or cousins, and her husband is dead. During her lifetime she alone ought to perform the *Puja*. After her death any one of the worshipper's family who may be commanded by the goddess, shall make the *Puja*. This is the practice at present.

The headmen residing in the village of Nāgarhal, who are of the kurumbar or shepherd caste are: 1 Kenchana Gonda, 2 Bhimana Gonda, 3 Karí Hanumanna, 4 Jádida Papanna.

\* Another such Sir Walter described in Trans. Ethnog. Soc., N.S.I., 97-100. Here the details are more complete.—ED.

The four Hatikars or performers of the festival are Hanumanna, Satyanna, Mudakanna, and Ninganna, residents of the village of Bachanagudda, and are of the shepherd caste.

On the 14th day of the decreasing moon of the month *Māgha*, which is the day called Sivaratri (the night of Siva), the four Hatikars pray to the goddess; and, in obedience to her instructions, go to villages where there may be *Sidi* trees, make *puja* to them, and then cut them down and bring them away. They also cut and bring trees from the country wherever procurable. With these they erect a wooden *Mantapa* (porch) called *Hire-handara*, forming a large *pandal* (shed) in front of the goddess.

During the night of the 8th day after the erection of the *Handara*, the four Hatikars, calling out *Sami! Dévara!* (Lord! goddess!) slaughter 6 sheep and cook 1 *kudo* (about 80 quart measures) of *joree* grain (*Holcus Sorghum*), which with repeated cries of *Sami! Dévara!* they dedicate to the goddess, who is seated on the *Maradi* (platform) close by the temple. Then all eat it. The next day, the four Hatikars again slaughter 6 sheep and cook 1 *kudo* of *joree*, as they did the day before, but on the banks of the Atimara-devâ River, at the place where the deity resides.

From the 5th day of the increasing moon of the month *Chaitra*, for 8 days, the four Hatikars pay the priests at the rate of half a pagoda each, for their eating expenses, and as wages.

On the day of the new moon of the month *Phālguna*, the space in front of the goddess is oramented with the coloured powder called *Arki*, which is thus made: An earthen pot is filled with 11 kinds of grain, cleanly washed in river water, and is placed for 3 nights before the large lamp called *Nanda Dipa*\* in the priest's house. After 3 days, the grain is pounded, and the powder, dyed in different colours, is used to draw lines in different patterns on the ground in front of the goddess, on the 5th day of the increasing moon, when she is placed on the platform.

\* Properly *Ananta Dipa*,—the light kept burning before the idol in every house.

From the 1st to the 4th of the increasing moon of the month *Chaitra*, the priests, Hatikars, etc., worship and distribute charities in their respective houses: nothing is done before or near the goddess. On the 5th of *Chaitra Suddha*, the goddess takes her seat and the female named *Mangalavva*, who has to worship the goddess, must from that day fast from the preceding night. In the morning, after bathing in the river, she sits, still fasting, before the goddess, and must not stir from that place, till sunset on Saturday. So strictly does she maintain her vigil, as not even to eat, drink, sleep, yawn, etc. On the same day (the 5th of *Chaitra Suddha*) the goddess is placed on her seat, thus: In the evening she is taken to the river and brought back to the pagoda, with drums, tomtoms, and other music; and her ablution (*abhishika*) takes place in the pagoda with river water. Then she is dressed in a *sári* (or woman's cloth) and the ceremony of "filling the *onti*" (skirt) is performed,—the worshipper clothing the goddess with a new *Sári* and *choli*, and then filling up the receptacle formed by holding up its edges, with dry coconuts, dates, rice, betel nuts, etc. The ceremony is repeated, on the 2nd day by the headmen of the village *Nágarhal*, and on the 3rd and 4th days by other officials. Afterwards meat offerings are presented by them, in order, and the skirt filled. Next, the *Desai* (Chief) of the *Khata* presents a new *sari* and *choli*, the *onti* of which is also filled, and meat offerings made. Then the clerks of the *Desai*, without presenting a *sari*, fill the *onti* of the one already on. After them the headmen of the village of *Potadkhal* do the same, and are followed in turn by the village accountants.

During this ceremony, they throw over each other, before the goddess, the *Ranga* or coloured powder of a certain grain mixed with saffron, turmeric, and other powdered colours: the priests begin, and the Hatikars continue in succession. The *Circar* presents 12 sheep,—four named villages giving each two sheep, and four others each one sheep. The worshippers kill the sheep, placing their heads on the spot covered with coloured powder, and the flesh is

carried to the worshippers at the *Bhandar* or place where the kitchen stores of the goddess are kept.

After this, about daybreak, bull buffaloes are offered. First comes that of the Chief, either already dedicated for this purpose or merely purchased; then that of the inhabitants of Nágárhál, of Revadi, of Undi-Atar; then the Circar Buffalo, and lastly that of the headman of Potadkhal. Buffaloes are also offered, during five days, by those who have vowed to do so. It is the command of the goddess that thousands of buffaloes and *lakhs* of sheep should be killed. Last year from 20,000 to 25,000 sheep and over 400 buffaloes were sacrificed.

The sacrificer of the Buffaloes is of the Dhangar caste. The priest takes up the head of the first buffalo sacrificed, and placing it on his own head, goes with it five times round the pagoda, and then places it on the coloured powder. All the heads are thus placed in the *Mandapa*, while the bodies are carried away by those who offered the animals. On the 6th of the increasing moon of *Chaitra*, mutton is dressed in the kitchen of the goddess, and the married women of the priests' caste, with others, eat it in the presence of the goddess.

Those who have vowed to walk about the Pagoda, clothed only with cinctures of leaves (*hutagi*) now do so for 5 days. This the priests and 3 or 4 of the Hatikar or shepherd families do without paying any fees; and none are paid by the headmen, accountants, chiefs and priests of the 8 villages which offer sheep; but all others who do the ceremony under a vow, pay a fee. There were between 200 and 300 last year.

Another kind of vow now performed is that of rolling their prostrate bodies on the ground 3 or 5 times round the pagoda.

On the 8th and 9th day of the increasing moon of the month *Chaitra*, the ceremony of *Bhagad*, or swinging with the back or side pierced with an iron hook,\* here called *Chedal*, is performed by the 4 Hatikars, the chief, head-

\* This is now forbidden.—R. S.



men, accountants, etc., without paying any fees ; and then, with a fee, by those who have vowed to do so : last year there may have been about 40 such *Bhagads*.

On the 9th day, the saturnalia connected with the sprinkling of red water called *Vakali* and the plunder of sheep and buffalo heads called *Talisurí* (tali=head, suri=plunder) takes place, the former about noon. Before the *Talisurí*, the *Rákshasa* (demon) who was formerly brought away from the country of *Badami*, and kept (buried) at this place, is taken out (or raised) by digging a pit in the *Mandapa* and putting into it a cocoanut, with 5 pice, and a black ewe, brought in covered with a cloth, and slaughtered in the pit, which is then filled up. Thereupon all present become frenzied, as if possessed ; and while in this state, they snatch up and carry off the heads of the sheep and buffaloes sacrificed ; and for a couple of hours, during which the plundering lasts, great confusion prevails.

After this, the goddess is taken to the river, and brought back again, the *Hatikars* washing and cleaning the pagoda in the interval. During the 5 sacrificing days, flies do not swarm about ; but they do after the plunder of the heads.

Performance of *Hutagi* and *Sidi* and the sacrificing of Sheep and buffaloes continue to the full moon of *Jyishtha*, and depend on the number of devotees from remote parts.

## XXII.

### SORCERY AND MURDER.

[Extracts from statements made during the trial of two men, *Barradu* and *Suggadu*, in 1852 in the Sessions' Court of the *Godáveri* District ; evidently translated by a native.—R. S.]

The prosecutor, *Marla Davan Dora*, deposed : " I see the prisoners now before the Court. I entered into *Nyastam* (engagement of friendship) with the first prisoner whereby I am prohibited from telling his name : the other's name is *Suggadu*. My plaint is, that on the *Dassara* feast day, my wife, *Viri*, went for fuel and brought it to the house. At 7 a.m. she went to a field, when the two brothers, now prisoners before the court, came across to her

on the road. The first had a cudgel in his hand, and the second a bill-hook. The first struck my wife on the head with his cudgel, and she fell. Then the second gave her 2 cuts on the neck with the bill hook, severing the head which fell to one side, apart from the body ; and she died. They did this on the supposition that she was a sorceress. She never killed any one by sorcery. The first prisoner's daughter died ; but I do not know whether naturally or by sorcery. My younger brother's daughter also died ; but sorcery was not suspected, and she died a natural death. The first prisoner's daughter died 15 days before the Dussara feast, after a week's illness. My wife did not attend her or give her any medicine. They were friends ; but on this occasion she did not go ; and I do not know why she was suspected of using sorcery against her. I do not know if any one told the prisoners so. My wife knew no sorcery, and did not say that she would kill the first prisoner's daughter. The belief in sorcery does not exist among men in my (part of the) country. . . . When the prisoners killed my wife, my younger brother Mallu Dora and the first witness, Chota Reddy Dora, were also present. We did not interfere, for fear lest they would kill us also. . . . The cudgel was as large as a hand ; . . . the blow from it broke my wife's head, and blood issued from it. . . . The head was taken away by the same man who cut it off—the 2nd prisoner now before the Court. He carried it off by the hair, under the impression that she being a sorceress, it would otherwise reunite with the body. . . . They buried the head under ground . . . my wife's jewels, *viz.*, 2 marriage plates (worth each 8 annas) and a nose-ring (worth 4 annas) were stolen ; but nothing else ; the second prisoner carried them away, as they had fallen when my wife's head was cut off. . . . I saw them killing my wife, from my house, which was distant, as it is from this place to the Court-house gate (about 30 yards).

\* \* \* \* \*

[The remainder of the evidence is of the same purport, but of no special interest. The prisoners were convicted.—R. S.]

## THE PELASGI AND THEIR MODERN DESCENDANTS.

(*Continued from Vol. IV., page 180.*)

(BY THE LATE SIR P. COLQUHOUN AND H. E. THE LATE  
P. WASSA PASHA.)

### PHŒNICIANS, THE INTRODUCERS OF WRITING INTO EUROPE.

THE Phœnicians who dwelt southwards from Tripoli were the first to invent an alphabet in the proper sense. The previous Egyptian writing had been of three kinds, Hieroglyphic, Hieratic and Demotic—written from right to left. Hieroglyphic was kyriologic and enigmatic. Hieratic, derived from hieroglyphic, was phonetic and symbolic; while Demotic was a simplified form of the latter. Phœnician on the contrary was written from left to right and was alphabetical. It was from the 21 Phœnician letters that the 16 original Greek letters, mentioned by Pliny,\* were taken and these were, Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, Ι, Κ, Λ, Μ, Ν, Ο, Π, Ρ, Σ, Τ, Υ. Palamedes, at the time of the Trojan war, is said to have added 4 : Θ, Ξ, Φ, Χ; and Simonides 4 more : Ζ, Η, Ψ, and Ω. But on this unimportant point authors differ. The Etruscans never had these 8 letters; but they certainly had *F*† the sixth letter in the old Greek alphabet, which though omitted by Pliny is stated by him to have been introduced by Kadmus—a Phœnician—and used from B.C. 1500, upwards to B.C. 1000. The Phœnicians were well known, and were in alliance with that great ancient commercial monopolist, Solomon; but even 100

\* Plin. vii. 56.

† Gruter: Inscrip. Antiquæ, Tom. I., p. 144, where, however, we have  $\Xi$  written from right to left. Marsh makes a great point of the Digamma, or, as he calls it, the Æolic Digamma, but he falls into the error of confounding form with substance, and rendering intricate a very simple question. The oldest written form of the *w*, *ou*, or *v* sound was the Latin *F*, which was the 6th letter of the alphabet.

years before that epoch, they had founded Gades. In race they were Semitic, and coming from the borders of the Red Sea were hence called Erythræans. About 869 B.C., being conquered by the Assyrians they wandered westward, and founded Carthage, B.C. 864.

We hear nothing, however, of the Greek Race or language, and it is therefore, reasonable to suppose that the advance of this race occurred at a far anterior period, and that it preceded the Phœnicians as traders; or if it existed in those regions contemporaneously, it was overshadowed by the superior commercial acumen of Semitic traders, and it was not till the destruction of these that they acquired pre-eminence.

Still this does not show that even at that early period the Pelasgi were a wholly savage and uncultivated nation. We find them to have been well instructed in certain arts; though in the sense used by the Greeks they were barbarians, that is to say non-Greeks. When the Pelasgi adopted the Greek language as a general means of inter-communication, they would naturally speak it in dialects bearing some affinity to their own language, and varying in intonation and construction. In the same way, the Irish, Welsh and Scots speak a peculiar English, though they have lost their own language, which was the basis of the present linguistic variations, by which they are unmistakably distinguished from the natives of England.

The dialects of Greek are therefore, the result of the translation, by a foreigner, of his own language into Greek, furnishing a proof that Greek was a language adopted by a foreign race, and not its native tongue. Their native tongue, however, left its impress on the adopted language, even after their own had been forgotten. Thus in the present day Greek is recognizable in the mouth of an Albanian, and is easily distinguished from the speech of those who from infancy have been educated in the Athenian Schools, and have never known any other language but Romaic.

Moreover the dialects of various parts of the present kingdom of Greece, where Romaic is the official language, are easily distinguished. Thus it is easy to detect among the higher classes in the Ionian Islands and other places formerly occupied by the Venetians, an Italian, in Athens a French, and in Constantinople a Turkish element. So the dialect of ancient times also arose out of the native language, namely Pelasgic and became impressed on the speech of the people even after their own language had faded from memory.

#### CONQUEST BY TRADE.

The Anglo-Teutonic invasion of England was begun by the settling of traders on the *Litus Saxonicum*, and afterwards accomplished through their being called on for assistance by one of two contending parties of native Britons. This ended in the auxiliaries subjugating the country and introducing their language to the exclusion of the Gaelic. Not that it is supposed that they exterminated the native population, though this may in some respects be considered an invasion in force. Trade had been the motive for entering the country, and not conquest, as in Cæsar's time; yet the Romans, notwithstanding an occupation of 400 years, failed to implant their language on British soil.

The history of Ireland does not afford an exact parallel. The Norwegians, Normans and English began by invasion, gained a firmer footing by aiding one or another party; and finally subdued all. The difference is that, in the case of England, the settlement began in trade, but in the case of Ireland, it was from the very first an enterprise of war and aggression for the object of plunder.

#### THE WARS OF THE HERACLIDÆ NOT AN INVASION FROM WITHOUT.

The only invasion of which history gives any trace in the Peloponnese is that of the Heraclidæ, who, however, were not foreigners, but a neighbouring Pelasgic tribe.

They made five attacks. Hercules having re-established Tyndarus on the throne of Sparta obtained thereby a supposed claim to the Peloponnese. This claim he bequeathed to his son Hyllus, as the chief of his numerous progeny, who even at the time of his death formed a large clan, termed the Heraclidæ. These settled in Trachinia; and having, under the leadership of Hyllus, slain Eurystheus, they occupied the country, but were soon after compelled to retire to Athens.

On a second attempt, Hyllus was slain by Echemus, the champion of Atreus; and thus the second attempt failed. Cleodacus, the son of Hyllus, made a third attempt, which was equally fruitless. His son, Aristomachus, who made the fourth attempt, perished in battle.

Aristodemus, Temenus, and Cresphontes, the three sons of Aristomachus, made a fifth invasion, with a large force of men and ships; and having succeeded, 80 years after the Trojan War, divided the Peloponnese between them. These attacks covered a period of 120 years. Thus if the Trojan war occurred B.C. 1184, these attacks must have commenced 40 years before that event (A.D. 1224), and been still in progress during that expedition.

Now as Atreus, ruler of Mycenæ, is described as the antagonist of the Heraclidæ, and as Agamemnon and Menelaus were his sons, it follows that these leaders of the forces against Troy, must have been engaged in wars at home, when they are represented as spending 10 years in war abroad! Thus the dates do not coincide; for if, according to Gladstone's chronology, the siege be put back 241 years beyond the Arundelian date, what becomes of Atreus, who was then not even born? and of his sons, Agamemnon and Menelaus, the leaders of the Trojan expedition?

Hercules must, of course, be taken as a mythic person, a mere ideal of prowess and strength—a Samson, to which Semitic hero he bears some similitude. Hence, on the presumption that the Heraclidæ represent an invasion,

or immigration in force, of another race, it is sufficiently clear that it was not they, but some antecedent race, which besieged Troy. This could only be the Pelasgi; for not only is there no intimation that Hercules was of the Greek race, but on the contrary he is stated to have been and must have been of a Pelasgian tribe. He was the son of Jupiter by Alcmena the daughter of Electryon ruler of Mycenæ, and wife of the Theban Amphitryon who was educated in Bœotia. His father being a god, and if anything a Pelasgian god, Hercules himself must be a Pelasgian, for he was not the son of his mother's husband; and on that mother's side too he was a Pelasgian like his putative father. Hercules therefore was in every respect a Pelasgian. Hence the coming of the Heraclidæ was no foreign invasion in force, but only an internal conflict,—the attack of one tribe on another, of the same country.

#### THE BESIEGERS OF TROY, PELASGIANS.

According to the Arundelian (or vulgar) chronology, the siege of Troy began in B.C. 1194, and Troy was captured in B.C. 1184. If Agamemnon and Menelaus were 50 years old at the capture, they must have been born about B.C. 1234, when Atreus was already dead! The first invasion of the Heraclidæ is placed in B.C. 1224; the fall of Troy in B.C. 1184; and the return of the Heraclidæ in B.C. 1104. This would be 80 years after the Trojan war, which must have been going on during the attacks of the Heraclidæ. But this is not presumable, since all Greece is represented as making common cause against the Trojans; and yet there is no trace of such a truce or compact at that time. This, however, is immaterial, since the real point resolves itself into the question, *Were the Besiegers of Troy Pelasgians or Greeks?* According to the Mythical History itself, they must have been Pelasgians, consequently the siege must have occurred anterior to the arrival of any other foreign race within the Pelasgic area. *Ergo*, the Greek race must have been already there.

For Greeks, the Latins used the two words *Græci* and *Pelasgi*, but not the word Hellenes. The Arundelian marbles inform us that the word Γραικοὶ was not confined to the neighbourhood of Dodona; and those who were formerly called Γραικοὶ, afterwards were termed Ἕλληνες. Pliny\* says that before the time of Hellen, a son of Deucalion called Græcus was king in Thessaly. Both these names therefore were local names. Ἕλληνες τὸ πρότερον καλούμενοι.†

Hence it would seem that the Pelasgic immigration into Italy was anterior to the adoption of the name Ἕλληνες by that race, and before the change of the tribal name. Generically, therefore, they were Pelasgi, and tribally Græci.

#### THOSE CALLED GREEKS IN FACT PELASGIANS.

Thus the Greeks were not a foreign and intrusive race, but a Pelasgic race which adopted the language now called Greek. Some other term is, therefore, wanting to express the speakers of the Greek Language.

#### THE SYSTEMATIZATION OF THE NEO-PELASGIC.

It being thus sufficiently clear that Pelasgians and Greeks were originally distinct in race and language, a few observations on the Albanian language—the actual representative of the Pelasgian—may now be in place, showing that it is entirely unconnected with Greek.

The Albanian form of speech has now been systematized by three Albanian Scholars, one of whom has reduced it to a regular grammatical form. Heretofore but very little of it had been reduced to writing, and that little had been put down in what is termed the Cyrillic Alphabet. Dr. Hahn‡ had made a more or less successful attempt to reduce it to a mixed Alphabet of Latin and Greek letters, with certain variants. At length a Society was expressly formed for this purpose, of which the leading members were the

\* Plin. Hist. Nat. iv. 7.

† Marm: Oxon. p. i. t. ii., Ed. Lond., 1782.

‡ Albanische Studien.



Effendis, Pasko Wassa of the Western, Joan-i-Adanash Vrétose of the Eastern, and S. Sami Traseri of the Muhammadan confessions. They ultimately adopted the characters of Western Europe, namely the Latin alphabet, with some modifications and additions.

The Albanian alphabet now consists of 35 characters, of which 26 are those of the Western alphabet. Seven are vowels, viz., *a, e, i, j, o, u,* and *y*; and there are 9 combinations, viz., *dh, gj, nj, lh, rh, sh, th, zh,* and *xh*. These make a total of 35 signs, which, with the grave, acute, circumflex and nasal marks (viz., *` , ´ , ^ ,* and *˘*) suffice to express all necessary sounds. The *θ* and *δ* of the Greek are represented by, and equivalent to the *th* as in *with*, and the *dh* sounded like the *th* in *that*—the *dth* or Saxon *ð*. They have the French *j*, and the English *w*; and the nasal of the Gaelic and French is indicated by an accent.

#### POINTS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GREEK AND PELASGIC.

The Albanian has the Semitic "*shin*" or "*sh*," which is deficient in the Greek.

The Genitive inflection is the same as the Dative.

The verb has no Infinitive in an inflected form; it is expressed by a prefix.\*

There are but two genders, and no dual number. All these are points of construction differing from the Greek. The circumstance that Æolic Greek has no dual is some evidence that those who spoke it were Pelasgic foreigners. In like manner, as Italy is said to have been peopled by these Æolian Pelasgi, Latin, at least as now known, has no dual, whereas other languages of Aryan root, Slavonic and old Teutonic, had a dual number, as also had ancient Greek and the Semitic tongues.

#### SUMMARY.

Hence it would appear: 1. That the whole Peninsula of Asia Minor was invaded and settled by a Pelasgian race,

\* Romaic is remarkable for the same deficiencies, showing that it is a mere translation of Albanian.

superseding, or extirpating the previous population or amalgamating with it by taking its women as wives and concubines,—whereby the speech of the intruders became corrupted, and a new language was created ;—

2. That another tribe of the same Pelasgian race passed the Hellespont into Thrace, and subsequently, onward through Macedonia, into Illyria, dispossessing the previous race, of probably Iberian or Turanian, or Greek speaking Aryan origin, and finally occupying all the country and Islands to the south, viz., the Peloponnese and adjacent Islands of the Archipelagos ;—

3. That at a subsequent period they passed across to the Po, colonized Tuscany or Etruria, and penetrated southward, and were followed and driven on further by the Tyrrhenians of the same race ;—

4. That after they had become grecicized, they sent further colonies to Italy, in which movement Herodotus joined ;—

5. That they passed from the Peloponnese to Crete ;—

6. That after they had become grecicized, they sent out other Colonies to the Islands and coasts of Asia Minor, whither some Pelasgian colonies had preceded them. and settled in the Islands ;—

7. That although these newer Colonies had become Greek in speech, the foundation of the population was Pelasgic in race ;—

8. That these grecicized Pelasgi founded colonies beyond the limits here mentioned, and extended themselves even to Kherson in the Tauric Chersonese ;—

9. That the Greek race did not invade the Pelasgic area in force, but were settled in the country anterior to the Pelasgi ; preceded the Phœnicians as traders, disseminating their language as that of civilization and commerce ; and ultimately grecicizing a large proportion of the inhabitants, especially in the Peloponnese and Attica ;—

10. That the besiegers of Troy were, like the Trojans themselves, Pelasgi who became subsequently a Greek speaking race ;—

11. That the Pelasgi have ever since uninterruptedly maintained themselves in the area in which they originally settled ;—

12. That they attained the zenith of their power under Alexander the Great ;—and

13. That with a singular tenacity they have, even down to the present day, triumphantly maintained and preserved their ancient language manners and customs, through the lapse of time, amid the change of circumstances, and despite the distractions of disastrous wars, the difficulties of frequent devastations and the disintegrating effects of successive subjugations.

## PART II.

### THE PELASGIC ORIGIN OF THE HOMERIC POEMS.

Heretofore the Homeric poems have been considered original, on the same principle that the Sanskrit was once held to be the most ancient of all languages and the parent of other Aryan tongues, from being the oldest of which any knowledge has been preserved ; and in fact, just as a people are held to be autochthonic, until some more ancient race is proved to have existed.

It is admitted that there were languages anterior to those now used ; but what they were is only known through their present descendants, while their parents are lost in the haze of antiquity. The comparatively recent discoveries regarding Sanskrit, however valuable they may be, carry us philologically but one step further back ; for they merely demonstrate that there had once been a form of speech more ancient still,—the parent or predecessor of Sanskrit itself, as well as of the other existent Aryan tongues. Sanskrit, therefore, stands in the position of a brother or cousin, and not in that of a parent, to so many dead and living languages.

### THE ORIGINALITY OF ANCIENT AND MODERN EPICS.

It is admitted that Virgil not only copied the general scheme of his epic from the Homeric poems, more especially

from the *Odyssey*, but that he carried his plagiarism often to the extent of literal translation. Neither can it be denied that Dante owes his conceptions to this latter author; and Hogg's rendering of the *Paradise Lost* into Latin Hexameters restores from Virgil's *Æneid*, the lines translated textually from that author by Milton. The Homeric Poems are, therefore, so far undeniably the basis of these Epics: but it remains to be seen whether even those in their present shape, be entitled to the claim of originality.

It is a bold act to assail the Gospel of classical scholarship and impugn its authenticity. Yet it is trusted that in the sequel will be clearly seen that this King of Epics is no more original than the revised version of the New Testament,—albeit from the hands of more able and careful translators. Our assertion, however, does not, in any wise, impugn the merit of the Homeric Rhapsodies in the abstract, but only in the concrete; and it amounts, in the end, only to showing, that they are an admirable rendering, in a most powerful language, from another, maybe equally powerful and eloquent one.

#### THE CYCLIC POEMS, THE TROIKA AND THE BARDS.

That eminent classical Greek scholar, the late Mr. F. Paley of St. John's, Cambridge, in the preface to his edition of the first 12 Books of the *Iliad*, alludes to the "Cyclic" Poems and the "Troika"; but as both of these has perished, it is only possible to speculate on their possible existence and probable tenor. He seems to imply that both these poems existed in a form as complete as the present Homeric Poems, which are mere fragments or selections from these antecessors: a view hardly consistent with the present theory. That such a Poem as the "Troika" may have existed, it is unnecessary to enquire, however improbable that may be; but that the Cyclic Poems did exist is consistent with the present contention and with probability. The same however cannot be said of the Homeric Poems, that in their present form they are compiled out of the

“Troika.” To contend that a perfect epic existed at that early period, of which the scattered fragments have been woven into Iliad and Odyssey, like the scattered portions of the body of Anubis, is inconsistent with probability, and untenable also on other grounds, which the sequel will show. On the other hand, it is a far more reasonable supposition that these two epics took their origin from the panegyrics of bards attached to the several heroes of the deeds recorded, and were so many isolated odes by different Bards: bards in those, as in the Gaelic Countries, were attached to the persons of leading chiefs or rulers, to whom the title of King had been ignorantly applied. Their oral utterances afterwards became the folklore, the history, and the only record of past events, handed down by professed Bardic reciters, who at a later epoch fell into disrepute as a mendicant class, devoid of all originality, the mere living book of past events. The art of writing would undoubtedly give, sooner or later, to this class, a *coup de grâce*. They would cease to be a necessity, and the fittest alone would be tolerated, as quasi dramatic personages, analogous to the great Italian *recitatori*, or those in this present age and country, who make a livelihood by reciting the well-known poems of standard authors. Thus acted on by time and because no longer necessary, the bardic panegyrics on great chiefs fell into decay. Many of them were lost, only some survived in a fragmentary form, because the men whose minds had been trained to the retention of many thousands of lines no longer existed, or existed at least so sparsely, as to be even as difficult to find as would now be a Welsh harper.

The retention and repetition of long poems is not even in the present time an unusual feat by persons who have never thought of making it a speciality; and some, though occupied in important and all-absorbing professions, can repeat the greater part of Virgil, Horace, Greek plays, or even Homer, from the mere recollections of school or

college,\* and this, it must be remembered, not in their mother tongue, but in dead languages. In like manner the Shastras were handed down orally in India in a tongue which had ceased to be the vernacular, and many of the so-called Ossianic poems, the remains of the old historical bardic odes, may be heard in an antiquated Gaelic, from the mouths of illiterate people, who undoubtedly have this faculty in a far higher degree,—the result of necessary dependence on memory,—than their educated fellow countrymen, who place their reliance on books. Thus the preservation of these bardic pieces presents no difficulty, and certainly less in semibarbarous ages than at the present epoch, especially when we remember that the oldest chronicles were, for the convenience of memory, composed in rhythm.

Two classes of these poems have survived, those in the Homeric collection, and those of which the substance alone has been preserved by the tragedians. In how far these latter worked the *ipsissima verba* into their dramatic productions is necessarily unknown; but on account of the change in language and expression, presumably to no greater extent than that of paraphrasing them, so as to render them free adaptations. That in so doing they preserved the feeling and barbaric force of the original, tempered by the Attic language and culture, is obvious from internal evidence. The ruffianism of Ajax, and the discourteous imperiousness of Agamemnon and Menelaus, as depicted by Sophocles, are true to their character in the Homeric poems, while that of Ulysses and Teucer are toned down; but Tecmessa is an Attic matron rather than an Homeric concubine: she receives more prominence than even Andromache or Helen. Nor is this true of Sophocles alone. Æschylus and Euripides adopted the same type and followed the same rule, yet it cannot be denied that these characters are more forcible and natural in Homeric than in Attic Greek.

\* Sir Robert Collyer, now Lord Monkswell, would undertake the recital of the whole Iliad in 6 months.

## SUMMARY OF THE LONDON ORIENTAL CONGRESSES OF 1891 AND 1892.

THE "*Occasionally* Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" is now over. In May it advertised itself as the "Oriental Congress 1892"; in June as the "Ninth Oriental Congress"; in July it boldly assumed the title of the "Ninth International Congress of Orientalists"; in August it became simply an "International Congress of Orientalists"; and in September it was reported as the "International Oriental Congress." In its opening address it started by abusing the "Statutory Congresses," their Founders and promoters, and at its final meeting, it professed to issue "Regulations for the organization of the *International Oriental Congress*" in accordance with the original Statutes, when its very existence and object were a defiance of the principles of the International Republic of Oriental letters, founded in Paris in 1873. These "regulations" are only in so far based on the Statutes, as the Statutes themselves are based on the alphabet. Otherwise there is no real connexion. The "regulations" may apply to almost any Congress—Oriental or Occidental; they "can be repealed, varied or revised" by any Congress; they have no element of permanence and are a mere cover for the encroachments made and contemplated on the existing Series, whilst appropriating its name, whenever this can be done with impunity. The new "Müller Series" shall "*if possible* determine the time and place of the succeeding Congress"; its President may be nominated by the inviting *Government*; its organizing Committee shall "settle the conditions of Membership"; "the Proceedings shall be handed over for custody of the (respective) Asiatic Society." These and other provisions are incompatible with the non-official and non-professional character of the international, private and open Institution, as founded in 1873.

The Congress of 1892, with its intermittent appellations, had five days' easy work—about 18 hours—relieved by two

half-holidays and followed by excursions to Oxford and Cambridge and a visit to the Zoological Gardens. The latter was natural after the bear-gardens of the Stockholm-Christiania Congress from which this year's Congress claims to be descended and from which it has received the un-Oriental heirloom of a drinking-horn. The speech also of Professor Garner's Simian protégés was calculated to afford speculation to those Orientalists who had never heard an Oriental Language. That speech is, perhaps, connected with solar myths or with the inarticulate Sanscrit of Chamber-Philologists. Among the blind, the one-eyed is King; and Englishmen, forgetting that the material which they collect in the East, is worth any number of "chips from a German workshop," have hitherto been such poor linguists that they readily acknowledge as a leader one who cannot speak, if he can otherwise command, a single Oriental language, but who has a perfect knowledge of the ways to manage an English audience and the English Press.

Among the English Orientalists who stood aloof from the London Congress of 1892 may be mentioned Dr. Pope, Dr. Rost, Prof. Margoliouth, Dr. C. Taylor, Dr. Cust, Mr. R. Cull, Sir Monier Williams, Dr. Isaac Taylor, Dr. H. Adler, Mr. Hyde Clarke, Sir Austin H. Layard, Sir Ch. Nicholson, Prof. G. Oppert, and a host of others, most of whom took an active part in the Congress of 1891. The Scotch Universities took no interest in it. Of France all but two out of the 125 of last year were absent, as were also the leading Sinologists Schlegel and Cordier, Cartailhac, Capus, Foucaux, Robiou, Marre, Vinson, Lincke, Merx, Maspero, de Rosny, Amélineau, Derenbourg, Beauregard, Graffin, René Basset, Lamy, Tsagarelli, Esoff, Montet, Turrini, Severini, Ludwig, Grünert, Carolides, Vasconcellos-Abreu, Gayangos, Donadiu, Simonet, Vambéry, Monseur, Van den Gheyn, Fausböll, Skarstedt, Leland, Hein—names of last year's Congress. The French Founders, of course, did not attend and no Summaries of Research were prepared. The great Pandits, Nyaratna, Guruprasada, and others of equal standing were



silent. Are all these scholars not true Orientalists, and how about men like Glennie-Stuart, Simpson and Vincent Smith who read papers at *both* Congresses? How also was it that even the Geographical Section under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society did not attract explorers, as did the Congress of last year and that it ignored recent discoveries in Dardistan and the regions round the Pamirs? How was it that there were no Deputations from the City and British Chambers of Commerce, no ambassadors and no heads of religious communities that would have anything to say to a Congress which was MAINLY Max Müller and little else? Even the illustrated papers, unlike last year, had nothing to show of men and things Oriental, but only brought Max Müller's portrait. The Congress of 1892 will be chiefly remembered for ignoring what is practical and useful in Oriental learning. Oriental Medicine, systems of Education, Arts, Industry, Commerce, Laws, Agriculture and other branches of applied sciences, so prominent in 1891, have been omitted from the 1892 programme. Whereas last year a number of countries and districts were first brought to European notice by natives of Hunza-Nagyr, Yasin, Chitrál, Gabriál, Koláb, etc., 1892 scarcely touched Central Asia, but it created the Kingdom of Armenia, from which it appointed a representative on its Committee, in ignorance or defiance of Turkey!

The Congress of 1892 has had a number of excellent papers and has signalized two important discoveries—the Hechler MS. of the Septuagint and the work of Mr. F. Petrie in Egypt which was so appreciated at last year's London Congress. In both instances, however, private enterprise had to draw public attention to their merits. The Congress of 1892 has dragged the controversy regarding its legality into its literary meetings, and has in that respect not imitated the reticence of its predecessor of 1891. When the time for stopping it by injunction was supposed to be passed, it felt no longer "afraid or

ashamed" to resume a number and title to which it has no right. 1892 has further instituted comparisons between the Scholars it attracted and those of the last Congress which are doubly odious as they include members who took part in both meetings. It has made a definition of what is a "true Oriental Scholar" which is as one-sided as it is egotistical. Not "only he who publishes texts that have not been published before or translates what has not been translated before" is a true Oriental Scholar. It is possible to conceive of Publishers of Oriental texts who may not be Oriental Scholars. Valueless texts and valueless or bad translations are also not uncommon. Texts also for which the nominal Editor may have gained large sums and a reputation have been revised by unknown sweaters. He who has been to the East and can speak an Oriental language, or the native Oriental Scholar, may often correct the Orientalist of the closet in deciphering texts or in translating, as he almost invariably surpasses him in insight into Oriental thought. It is true that Prof. Max Müller will admit to his Congress "dragomans and intelligent couriers," say one who has become a Count, but otherwise he will draw a hard and fast line between Orientalists who, like himself, are not Oriental linguists, and others who are. The former will be the main constituent elements of his Congresses; the latter of the "so-called Statutory Congresses" that not only bring Oriental specialities up to date, as did the meeting of last year, but that also try to show the utility of Oriental learning in Education, Art, Industry, Commerce and Administration. The former will propose to the Foreign Office to subsidize "modern Arabic"; the latter has shown that the study of Classical Arabic alone gives influence among Muhammadans and that an European, learning only an Arabic dialect runs the risk of being misunderstood beyond its limits or, within them, of being considered an adventurer. The proposal of a "Muhammadan Encyclopædia" is better, though almost as impracticable. The improvement of the "School of Modern

Oriental Languages" in connection with the Imperial Institute is not only desirable, but also most urgent. The Congress of 1892 also repeated "the pious wish" of other Congresses in favour of Folklore, but that of 1891 actually gathered hundreds of proverbs and scores of legends and songs. What we, however, chiefly object to is that Lord Reay should have been used to again bring forward the proposal of an "International Institute of Orientalists" which was lost at the Scandinavian Congress in 1889 and which elicited the protests of 600 Orientalists in 37 countries. It is, indeed, intolerable that a number of persons should, even at the risk of making themselves ridiculous, attempt to control by means of such an Institute the progress of Orientalism all over the world, which is the special business of each country interested in it. When we remember the miserable shots made by the self-elected Past-master of Sanscrit learning and others to translate Her Majesty's Indian title and the offensive rendering of our National Anthem which was advocated by supposed Orientalists in the India Office; when it is borne in mind what the "*toujours perdrix*" of an edition of the Veda, ever renewed at Oriental Congresses, has cost this country and India, we may well hesitate before giving such persons the control of a research that should be alike scientific, disinterested, and practical. Above all, we should not allow the conspiracy to be repeated, with or without the Swedish drinking-horn and Swedish decorations, which intends to convert an open international gathering of Orientalists in their private capacities into an official, if not a political, instrument. When the Russian Government attempted to do so in 1876, on the occasion of the third Session of the Congress founded in Paris in 1873, English Scholars protested and Russia gracefully yielded by re-asserting the original principles and by ratifying and republishing the original Statutes. At Stockholm-Christiania in 1889, a similar attempt was made and was defeated. It is much to be regretted that in 1892 Englishmen should have been

found so dead to the dictates of honour as "to eat their words," after signing a pledge to oppose the Institute Scheme, as an encroachment on an International Republic of Letters, and the man who was identified with it, and that they should themselves have proposed such an Institution to be placed in his hands. We are, however, glad to hear that the proposal was not accepted without the opposition of some honest members. What the protestations of peace of Messrs. Müller and Co. are worth may be inferred from his repeating Abraham's parting words to Lot: "If thou wilt take the left hand, I will go to the right: and if thou depart to the right hand, I will go to the left." It may, however, be observed that Lot remained in possession of the field, that Abraham left it and that he did not depart with anything belonging to his relative, whereas the party that secretly and irregularly—in a meeting of 9 persons—elected Max Müller to be President of a Congress whose *raison d'être* was to oppose the Christiania encroachments have not yet returned the subscriptions for 1891 which were paid to them. No wonder that they should wish to go to the right when the Congress of 1891 goes to the left and *vice versa*.

Nothing was easier or more logical than for the London Congress of 1892 to acknowledge the already organized Lisbon Congress as the "Tenth" of the Series, whilst reserving its absurd claim to be the "Ninth," but, in spite of 18 members objecting to the selection of Geneva in 1894 as the "Tenth," that city was selected on the alleged invitation of 7 persons, when neither the University, nor the State nor any learned body of Geneva had joined them. This was purposely done to perpetuate the strife, especially if the following report which has appeared in almost all the newspapers is correct: "*The Special Committee reported that it had been decided to accept an invitation to hold the tenth Congress in Geneva in 1894, on the express condition that it should be distinctly recognised as the tenth, and as having no connection with any other body* (applause). *It*

*was decided that after the next meeting the Congress should meet only once in three years,"* as if the practical demands of Oriental learning could wait till some new and perhaps unfounded theory had been elaborated out of the inner consciousness of a so-called Orientalist "once in three years!"

Among the many manœuvres of a Congress constructed by intrigue was the one which used the influence of Lord Cross to get the Foreign Office to invite Foreign Governments to send delegates to the anti-statutory Congress of Max Müller. The letters which we publish elsewhere sufficiently indicate the nature and method of an attempt, which has proved to be singularly abortive. Never was our Foreign Office so snubbed all round. For this it has to thank the India Office. It had never taken any interest in Oriental Congresses, and, when it did, it was by a mistake, due to carelessness and to an inexcusable ignorance of what had occurred in 1891. Most of the Governments did not care to join in this insult to France, to Portugal, and to the eminent men and measures connected with last year's Congress. France marked her sense of Lord Salisbury's invitation by delegating three high officials to the Lisbon Congress; in Portugal his fall has led to the renewal of the old friendship that binds that country to England. Even the German Governments were afraid to wantonly offend French susceptibilities and stood aloof from the Congress—as did Russia, as did most Governments—except Holland, which has excused itself on the ground of having been invited by the British Government and which with Sweden and Austria were represented on the "Quatuorvirate" of the Christiania Committee, which was for ever to rule the Oriental Congresses. Italy, we believe, which had specially delegated her Ambassador to the Congress of 1891, was misled into the self-stultification of being twice represented at a "*Ninth*" Congress. That title, we have it on the distinct authority of Lord Cross, had been abandoned by "the gentlemen connected with the Congress agreeing

to leave it out," and again, on still higher authority that "Lord Cross deeply deplored the schism which had occurred and that his sole desire was to induce the two parties to re-unite," and, finally, "that the difficulties about the Congresses had been removed. There were several minor points on the question raised about the Congresses, which would settle themselves, but the real point was the title of the coming Congress, which he had settled was not to be called the Ninth Congress." We must, however, do the Indian and the Foreign Offices the justice to admit that they retraced their steps as soon as they discovered the *faux pas* of their Conservative predecessors. They did not send any delegate to the Müller Congress and gave it no official reception—omissions in which they were followed by all other Government Departments, in contradistinction to last year's Congress; then the British Government in the Colonial Office not only sent a Delegate to it, but also deputed the Commissioner of Fiji and Rotuman to take part in the work in the Polynesian Section. Above all, must it be remembered, that Her Majesty the Queen-Empress sent a gracious Message to last year's Congress as the Statutory Ninth International Congress of Orientalists.

The schism among Orientalists was, therefore, on the point of being healed, when those whose interest it is to fish in troubled waters, have brought infamy on themselves and their Congress by again resuming the title as soon as in their opinion they were out of legal danger. Professor Max Müller may yet learn to know when he is spoken to in Sanscrit; he may give as learned a disquisition of the influence of Babylonia on China, as he has, by mistake, made on the erroneous supposition of China influencing Babylonia; he may even emulate Sir Monier Williams in starting an Institute and prevent anyone joining it or his Congresses who does not subscribe to his solar and other myths, but he will never wipe out the stain of his improper election, or the disgrace on his Congress for having evaded

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by a trick the legal consequences of their acts. Now as in March 1891, the demand for the return of subscriptions due to the Congress of that year is maintained by its organizers. Their determination is to be found in the words of Sir Patrick Colquhoun, Q.C., the President of the Committee for the Congress of 1891, that "without in the least opposing the assembling of AN Oriental Congress in 1892, we forbid the use of the name, organization, and of any portion of the funds of *the* Ninth International Congress of Orientalists for any other purpose than that of 1891; and we are prepared to take all such measures as may be within our power to enforce, if necessary, the rights which the founders and 400 signatory members, representing thirty countries, have confided to our care."

The very thin legal "opinion" which the Oriental Congress of 1892 has obtained in its favour and which we publish elsewhere, condemns its conduct, if read with fuller knowledge or "between the lines." The legal action, however, which will be taken is not precisely what the opinion in question tries to meet. *Qui vivra verra.* In the meanwhile, the adjoined rough comparative statement will show to those interested in the matter the success of the open private Congress of 1891, in spite of all difficulties, against the would-be official Congress of 1892, which had one more year than its predecessor for its construction, besides the aid of the traitors from an existing organization and the aid of a misled Conservative Ministry and of subsidies of certain Indian Chiefs. Mr. Gladstone, it may be remembered, although in perfect health, never came near the Congress, which he wisely abstained from calling the "Ninth," for he sympathized, like every honourable man, with the object to get that title removed, although "he was not in a position actively to interfere." Indeed, there was a stampede among the honorary Vice-Presidents. Even Lord Northbrook did not often attend, although, in spite of assertions of a benevolent neutrality between the Congresses of 1891 and 1892, the Royal Asiatic Society's officials had

all along covertly aided the Committee for the Congress of 1892, till they had substituted themselves for the original office-holders of the latter. The Congress of 1889 showed us Alexander drunk; that of 1892 Alexander dull. "Scholars on the Rampage" (*A. Q. R.* of January, 1890) chronicled the deliria of the former; our forthcoming revelations will describe the rude awakenings of the latter.

We prognosticate a desertion of the pseudo-Ninth Congress as long as it calls itself "the Ninth" by all persons who are not part of the conspiracy. The toady may yet miss many names in the revised list of ornamental supporters of the 1892 Congress, but the student will have no difficulty in arriving at a conclusion regarding the true value of the respective Congresses of 1891 and 1892 in comparing the following statements of work and support:

## SECTIONS.

1891 (London).

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (a) Summaries of Oriental Research since 1886 in 16 specialities.  | (m) Dravidian.   |
| (b) 1. Semitic languages, except Arabic.   | (n) Malayan and Polynesian.  |
| 2. Arabic and Islām.   | (o) Instructions to Explorers, etc.  |
| 3. Assyriology.  | (p) Ethnographical Philology, including the migrations of races.   |
| 4. Palestinology.  | (q) Oriental Art, Art - Industry, Archæology and Numismatics.  |
| (c) Aryan: 1. Sanscrit and Hinduism.   | (r) Relations with Oriental scholars and peoples.  |
| 2. Pali and Buddhism.  | (s) Oriental Linguistics in Commerce, etc., with sub-sections regarding the various modern Oriental languages, (the Indian Vernaculars, Persian, Turkish, Armenian, etc.). |
| 3. Iranian and Zoroastrianism.   | (t) The Anthropology, Science, and Products, natural and artificial, of the East.  |
| (d) Africa, except Egypt.  | (u) Exhibition and explanations of objects illustrative of Sections (b 2), (b 3), (c 1), (c 2), (e), (f), (g), (q), and (t).   |
| (e) Egyptology.  | (v) Exhibition of Publications relating to Oriental Languages, Travels, etc.   |
| (f) Central Asia and Dardistan.  |  |
| (g) Comparative Religion (including Mythology and Folklore), Philosophy, Law, and Oriental Sciences (including Medicine), History (including the relations of Greece and the East), etc. |  |
| (h) Comparative Language.  |  |
| (i) Suggestions for the encouragement of Oriental Studies.   |  |
| (j) Indo-Chinese.  |  |
| (k) Sinology.  |  |
| (l) Japanese.  |  |



SECTIONS.

1892 (London).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| I. India.                                 | VI. Egypt and Africa.                   |
| II. Aryan.                                | VII. Australasia and Oceana.            |
| III. Semitic.                             | VIII. Anthropological and Mythological. |
| (a) Assyrian and Babylonian.              | IX. Geographical.                       |
| (b) General.                              | X. Archaic Greece and the East.         |
| IV. Persia and Turkey.                    |   |
| V. China, Central Asia, and the Far East. |   |

This final classification was very gradually and waveringly reached after the first-issued programme, which resembled that of the Stockholm-Christiania Congress. It is, however, still most unscientific, as we have already pointed out in our last issue, in spite of its evident desire to imitate some of the features of the Congress of 1891.

1889 (Stockholm).

- |                    |                                |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| Semitic and Islám. | African, including Egyptology. |
| Aryan.             | Central Asia and the Far East. |
|                    | Malayan and Polynesian.        |

ABSTRACT STATEMENT COMPARING THE CONGRESSES OF 1891 AND 1892.

1891.	1892, (after an additional year of preparation.)
Countries represented ... 37.	... 18
Governments ... 8	... 6
[and 5 British Colonies,] viz.: <i>The British Colonial Office, France, Russia, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Persia.</i>	[and 5 Indian provincial Govts.,] viz.: <i>Austria, Holland, Italy, Sweden and Norway, Egypt, Siam.</i>
<i>Learned bodies</i> ... 45	... 40*
4 <i>Scotch Universities</i> and Chancellor of Cambridge.	Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge.
Chambers of Commerce and Deputations from City ... 3	... None
<i>Members</i> (including 11 literary Ladies, but excluding Ladies accompanying Members) ... 632	... 440†

\* This number includes 3 Branches of the Royal Asiatic Society. In an official list of the monopolists of learning, the "Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien," and its translation, "the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna," is also given as two Institutions!

† This includes 75 Ladies, sometimes three Ladies of one Member's family, and scarcely any Orientalists.

Papers	...	...	160	...	...	...	...	101
Summaries of Research in Oriental Specialities	...	...	16	...	...	...	...	None
Donors of books, etc.	...	...	55	...	...	...	...	40
Separate books presented	...	...	342	Separate books and pamphlets	...	...	...	61
Hours of work	...	...	100	...	...	...	...	18
Sections	...	...	36	...	...	...	...	10
Average attendance at ordinary meetings	...	...	57	...	...	...	...	6 to 12
				(to judge from newspaper reports.)				
Ambassadors or Ministers accredited to the Court of St. James'	...	...	11	...	...	...	...	None
Ministers of Public Instruction	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	None
Cardinal, Bishop, Chief Rabbi, etc.	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	None
Special collections illustrating recent Discoveries	...	...	5	...	...	Hechler's Manuscript.	...	
Publishers exhibiting Oriental works	...	...	12	...	...	...	...	I

## INTERNATIONAL COMPARISON.

Whilst the Congress of 1892 has no Members even from such countries as *Spain* which contributed 19 to the Congress of 1891; none from *Turkey* which gave 9 members to 1891; none from *China* which had 6 Members in 1891; none from *Japan* which was represented by 11 Members in 1891, except the Japan Society, founded by the Congress of 1891, it has even in *Great Britain* only 188 Members to 215 in 1891, and only 26 in *India* including 5 Governments to 45 in 1891. In Central Asia and Dardistan 1892 has none. France has *nominally* 6 Members in 1892 against 125 Members in 1891; Austria has 16 against 20; Italy 18 against 27; and Russia 14 against 17; only Germany is the country better represented at the 1892 Congress, there being 50 German Members to 20 in 1891, but it may be noticed that even the German Government, following the example of France and Russia, has not sent a Delegate to the Congress of 1892.

## DETAILS OF COUNTRIES.

1891.		1892.	
1. Algiers (including 1 society	7	...	None
2. Australia (including 2 learned bodies)	4	...	None
3. Austria-Hungary (including 2 learned bodies)	20	1. Govt., and including 5 learned bodies	16
4. Belgium (including a learned body)	10	2. ...	6
5. Canada	1	...	None

6. Ceylon (including 1 society)	4	...	...	...	None
7. China ... ..	6	...	...	...	None
8. Denmark ... ..	5	3.	...	...	1
9. Egypt ... ..	9	4. Govt. including a Library and its Librarian	...	...	7
10. France (its Govt. and in- cluding 9 societies)	125	5.	...	...	6
11. Germany ... ..	20	6. including 9 learned bodies	...	...	50
12. Gt. Britain (including Col. Office and 7 societies)	215	7. including 11 societies	...	...	188
13. Greece (including Govt. and University of Athens)	7	...	...	...	None
14. Hayti ... ..	1	...	...	...	None
15. Holland (including 1 society)	6	8. Govt. and including 2 societies	...	...	13
16. India and Burma (includ- ing 1 society)	45	9. 4 Local Govts., and includ- ing 4 learned bodies	...	...	26
17. Italy (including Govt. and 3 learned bodies)	27	10. Govt. and including 6 learned bodies	...	...	18
18. Japan (including 2 learned bodies)	11	11. (a Society) ... .. (created by the Congress of 1891.)	...	...	1
19. Johore ... ..	2	...	...	...	None
20. Malta ... ..	1	...	...	...	None
21. Persia (Govt.) ... ..	2	12.	...	...	1
22. Portugal (including Govt. and 3 learned bodies)	9	13.	...	...	1
23. Roumania ... ..	2	...	...	...	None
24. Russia and Finland (Govt., and 2 societies)	17	14. including 3 learned bodies	...	...	14
25. Servia ... ..	1	...	...	...	None
Siam ... ..	None	15. Govt.	...	...	1
26. Spain (Govt. and 6 learned bodies)	19	...	...	...	None
27. Sweden and Norway ...	12	16. Govt.	...	...	3
28. Switzerland (including Geneva University)	5	17.	...	...	5
29. Tonquin and Annam ...	1	...	...	...	None
30. Tunis ... ..	2	...	...	...	None
31. Turkey ... ..	9	...	...	...	None
32. Polynesia ... ..	4	...	...	...	—
33. U.S. America (including 2 learned bodies)	14	18. including 2 learned bodies	...	...	14
34, 35, 36, 37. Kashmir-Gilgit, Gabrial, Koláb, Yasin- Chitrál, Hunza - Nagyr, Badakhshán.	9 — 632	Total	...	...	373
		Ladies	...	...	75
					448

THE NINTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF  
ORIENTALISTS (1892).

COUNSEL'S OPINION.

I am of opinion that the organisers of the Congress cannot be restrained from the use of the designation "Ninth" at the suit of Dr. Leitner or any other person. In the first place, I think\* that the Congress about to be held is properly described as the "Ninth." It appears to me that the Congress of 1889 had power to appoint the Committee for arranging the place of the next Congress, and that this Committee has duly fixed the intended Congress accordingly.† By Article 3 of the Paris Statutes each Congress appoints the place for holding the next Congress; and I think that under this Article, as well as by virtue of its inherent powers, it was within the scope of the Authority of the Congress of 1889 to appoint a Committee, and to delegate to that Committee the choice of the next place of meeting. Considering that it was impossible during the Session of that Congress to name a place for the next meeting, I think that the course pursued was the only reasonable and practicable course to be taken under the circumstances. It was clearly not contrary to the spirit of the Statutes referred to as a matter to be observed in Article 17. I notice, also, that Article 18 contemplates the appointment of a Committee for carrying out the next Congress. I may add that Article 2 appears only to apply to the case where, the place of next Session having been fixed by the Congress, there is a failure on the part of the Committee for the next Session to notify before the 31st December the time for opening the new Session, in which case only the fixing of another Country for the next meeting devolves upon the Committee of the last Congress. As to the alleged resolution of 1873, relied upon by Dr. Leitner and his friends, I think that, even if it was passed, it did not in any way bind the Congress of 1889, and could not have any operation so as to take precedence of the provisions made by that Congress for the continuation of the meetings.

In the second place, I do not see any harm from confusion of names or otherwise that can ensue proper to be prevented by injunction. The Congress alleged by Dr. Leitner and his friends to be the genuine ninth has already been held in September, 1891. The Congress at Lisbon is described by the same persons as the tenth, and cannot be affected by the proposed Congress.‡

In the last place, I think that any application for an injunction is too late.§ It is clear that the matter has for a long time been in controversy.

\* "I think," "I do not see" are insufficient statements without giving the grounds for the assertions.

† The Christiania Committee never fixed any place. London had been fixed—and that too for 1891—before it accepted an accomplished fact.

‡ This paragraph is sufficient to show the "thinness" of this opinion. The obvious confusion of publications being issued for several years from two Series of Congresses each calling themselves "The Ninth" or "The Tenth" would seem to prove the necessity for a distinctive appellation.

§ Precisely. See the correspondence on the subject.

Sir Henry Rawlinson, Sir M. E. Grant-Duff, and others withdrew from the Congress of 1891; and a letter of protest, dated 28th January, 1892, is stated to have been written. All the arrangements having been allowed to be made,\* I think that it would be improper that in such a case as the present any injunction should be granted on the eve of the time appointed for the meeting of the Congress.

(Signed) A. G. MARTEN.

11, New Square, Lincoln's Inn,  
26th August, 1892.

1891. PER CONTRA.

*Conclusions of Dr. Pankhurst's opinion* (for his "opinion," in its entirety, see last number of the *A. Q. R.*).

In the state of things disclosed by the matters aforesaid, I am of opinion as follows:

(1) That the representations and acts of the persons aforesaid in arranging or attempting to hold, and purporting to hold, "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists in London in 1892" constitute an unwarrantable and wrongful usurpation and assumption of the name, style, title, number, rights, and functions of the International Congress of Orientalists founded in Paris in 1873, and of the series of Congresses based thereon, and forming part thereof.

(2) That the holding of "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892, having regard to the fact that "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" has already been held in London in 1891, besides of necessity involving confusion and leading to absurdity, is wrongful, and a violation of the Statutes by which the holding of the International Congresses of Orientalists is governed.

(3) That the retention by, or on behalf of, these persons of subscriptions paid or intended for or for the purpose of "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists," held in London in 1891, is illegal.†

(4) That the receipt and application of subscriptions, and the issue of circulars and papers soliciting subscriptions for or for the purpose of "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" in London in 1892, the holding thereof being wrongful, as aforesaid, are also wrongful.

R. M. PANKHURST.

5, New Square, Lincoln's Inn,  
3 June, 1892.

\* Protests have been constantly made, sometimes with a temporary apparent success, and reliance was, therefore, placed on sense and good feeling prevailing eventually.

† Counsel also refers in his opinion to the following fact: "Dr. Badenoch by letter, on behalf of the organising Committee of such last-named Congress, addressed to Dr. Bullinger, says: 'You have not yet returned the subscriptions which you obtained for the Congress of 1891, and in lieu of which literary and other papers have been sent by us to the subscribers at our expense.'"

## THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

(NINTH AND TENTH SESSIONS : LONDON, 1891 ; AND LISBON, 1892.)

THE following letter, which explains itself, was addressed by Dr. G. W. Leitner to the India Office :

TO J. A. GODLEY, ESQRE., C.B., ETC., UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Woking, 12th July, 1892.

SIR,—As I am convinced that the action taken by the India Office with regard to the projected London Oriental Congress of 1892 will lead to much ill-feeling, unless an early remedy is applied, I beg to inform you that I have received information\* from responsible persons in Portugal and France respectively which clearly shows that any official support given to that Congress would be considered an affront to those two countries.

The reason is obvious. In the case of Portugal, the King is the President and all the Ministers and other leading persons, native and foreign, in Portugal are Members of the Committee organizing the Xth International Congress of Orientalists to be held at Lisbon from the 23rd Sept. to the 1st of October. Now, the London Oriental Congress for 1892 not only proposes to hold its meetings from the 5th to the 12th September next, but also announces a Tenth International Congress at Geneva† thereby showing the animus which inspires it as regards the Portuguese Congress. As for France, the President of the Republic, M. Carnot, is the son of Senator Carnot, who was connected with the foundation in Paris in 1873 of the series of the non-official gatherings known as "the International Congress of Orientalists" of which "the Ninth" took place *de facto* in the order of sequence last year, and was further the *de jure* Ninth Congress in the opinion of the Founders of the Series. Now the 1892 Congress started originally in connection with the attempt made by a minority at the 8th Congress of Stockholm-Christiania in 1889, with which Prof. Max Müller was identified, to set aside the Statutes and original principles of these open Congresses, in which all schools and nationalities are on a footing of perfect equality, in favour of a monopoly by mainly a few German Professors. (See Prof. A. Weber's proposals on pages cxxiv-cxxvii of forwarded proceedings.)

This attempt was, at first, defeated; but it has since been practically revived by seceders from the Committee of 1891, although they had

\* 1. Lisbonne le 5 Juillet "Je puis vous garantir que le Ministre Anglais à Lisbonne a invité notre Gouvernement à se faire représenter à ce Congrès, ce qui prouve que l'on persiste dans l'usurpation." 2. The news from France is to the same effect.

† I have just heard from a Geneva authority : "Ni l'Université, ni la municipalité, ni l'Etat de Genève n'ont, à ma connaissance, prit part à l'invitation que vous m'annoncez. . . . Le Congrès de Londres (1891) est un fait qu'on ne peut supprimer."

pledged themselves to the maintenance of the Statutes and to hold a Congress under them in 1891, some of whom are intimately connected with the India Office. To ask, therefore, the French Govt. to send a representative to the London Congress of 1892 is to ask it to support a movement which, in its *raison d'être*, is intended to destroy every vestige of the French origin of this International Republic of Oriental letters.

It is, therefore, quite clear to me that the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India could not have had before him the material bearing on this point, whatever other material he may have had. Further he could not have been fully advised as regards the confusion and manifold inconveniences, not to speak of legal and other difficulties and the manifest absurdity arising from the London Congress of 1892 calling itself by the same name as that of 1891 and the reproach which any support of a rival Congress, under that name, conveys on the eminent men and measures, including a Library of publications in progress, connected with the London Congress of 1891.

H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught was a Patron of that Congress; Her Majesty sent a Message to it; the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies was represented at it; 600 Orientalists from 37 countries and 38 learned corporations supported it, and it would be ignoring them all to ignore that the Ninth Congress in which they took part was really the Ninth. Were the Congress of this year to call itself, as once suggested by Prof. Max Müller himself, "the International Congress of Oriental Scholars" or by some other distinctive name, confusion would be avoided and peace would be restored. Lord Cross knows that, for that desirable consummation, we were willing, as far as possible, to admit last year the seceders on their own terms, provided they recognised the Statutes, in the Congress of 1891 and, even now, were they to admit Lisbon as the Tenth Congress, the reunion of Orientalists would *ipso facto* and immediately take place, whereas by the conduct which they are pursuing and in which they are officially assisted by what is obviously a mistake, the schism must be perpetuated through the simultaneous recurrence of Congresses of which two call themselves Tenth, two Eleventh and so ad infinitum. (See enclosed Circular A.)

I have the most perfect confidence in the Right Honorable the Secretary of State for India fully and faithfully adhering to his promise, made last year, to observe complete impartiality as regards the Congresses of 1891 and 1892. If he has desired the Foreign Office to suggest to the various foreign Governments to send representatives to the London Congress of 1892, he will either withdraw that desire or request that the same consideration be extended to the statutory successor of the Congress of 1891, namely, the Lisbon Congress, presided over by an Orientalist King and in a peninsula that is full of Oriental memories and monuments. This gracious and impartial course is specially indicated by the circumstance of his having been unable to do anything for *our* Congress last year, and of officials and others connected with the India Office being on the London Committee for 1892. He will also I hope, send a Delegate to the Lisbon

Congress and, if no other person is available, I beg to offer my unpaid services in that capacity.

Hitherto the support of the India Office to the Oriental Congresses has been confined to sending a Delegate to it and when the Congress was first held in London in 1874, to ask its Members to visit the India Office Library. Even this last formal and slight favour was not shown to us, on the ground, I presume, of the necessity of preserving the strictest neutrality. I am, however, now told that if the India Office show an unusual interest in the London Oriental Congress of 1892 and have induced the Foreign Office, which never took any part in these gatherings, to move all over the world on its behalf, it is because Lord Cross has convinced himself from material laid before him of the thoroughly representative character of the body that intends to meet in London this year. I am, therefore, obliged to show that the body in question is infinitely less representative than the one to which all countenance was refused last year.

Taking the end of June 1891 and of this year as a convenient date for comparison, I find by the circulars then issued by the respective Committees that 1891 had then 500 Members representing 32 countries; 90 papers, and Delegates, promised or sent, by 7 Governments and 28 learned bodies. It had completed the organization of over 30 Sections, including those specially interesting to the scholarship and commerce of this country and its relations with Orientals. (The Lisbon programme is even more extensive.)

The last Circular, on the other hand, of 1892 bears no longer the 140 odd names of previous Lists, perhaps owing to the protests of those erroneously included in it; H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught does no longer figure on it; and only the *promise* of 13 papers is mentioned in it of which it would be too much to say that 3 are likely to be important additions to knowledge; 5 of their 10 authors have yet to make their reputation and only 11 learned bodies, including 3 of minor standing, are mentioned as adhering to the 1892 London Congress and no Government has as yet deputed a Delegate to it. It has only increased the original 6 stereotyped and sterile Sections by two and has lost some specialists as Sectional Presidents and Secretaries. No wonder, therefore, that an artificial stimulus is required in order to prop up a Congress that cannot stand on its own merits. Indeed, it altogether detracts from the representative character of a non-official gathering, like the International Congress of Orientalists, to use, however indirectly, the pressure of a Government Department like the India Office or the Foreign Office, in order to obtain Delegates from the various Foreign Governments. This was not the course adopted, at any rate, by the Congress of 1891, nor was it necessary; for the mere intimation of its being about to be held to the various Governments, including our own Colonial Office, sufficed to obtain from those interested in it, Delegates who took an active part in its proceedings or literary work.

This work occupied 10 hours daily during 10 days. The daily Press of this and other countries reported its proceedings at length, and thus drew attention to the importance to the public of subjects that had till then been



ignored. The last Congress had four times as many papers as the average of previous Congresses; it covered all branches of Oriental learning and for the first time brought up to date "Summaries of Oriental Research" in 16 specialities so as to facilitate further progress in them; it has affected Oriental Education and Examinations in this and other countries and learned Societies have been formed from several of its Sections. Above all, it represented the triumph, against a dishonest opposition, of the original progressive and yet truly conservative principles of the institution, which alone are worthy of the support, not only of the independent Scholars but also of the officials of this and other countries interested in the East.

It is impossible to ignore a Congress of 600 scholars representing 37 countries, presided over by the Lord Chancellor of England and guided by high Indian officials and by leading Members of British Universities, including the scholarly Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and supported (for the first time) by nearly all the Ambassadors and Ministers accredited to the Court of St. James and by the heads of the various religious denominations.

It seems to be equally impossible to recognise a Congress of seceders, as long as it uses a name and title that do not belong to it, and does not return certain subscriptions originally paid for 1891. (See Resolutions of Founders and public letter of Sir Patrick Colquhoun, Q.C.)

The restoration of peace among Orientalists is now, to a great extent, in the hands of the Secretary of State, if he will adopt any of the courses which I have ventured most respectfully to suggest; and I shall be glad to hold myself in readiness to wait on His Lordship in order to produce the material in support of my statements should he wish me to do so.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

G. W. LEITNER,

Delegate-General of the Founders and of the Ninth and Tenth  
International Congresses of Orientalists.

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A copy of this letter was simultaneously forwarded to the Foreign Office with the following forwarding remarks:

"13th July, 1892.

"In continuation of previous correspondence and of our interview regarding the Oriental Congresses of this year, I beg to enclose the copy of a letter which I have sent to the India Office on the subject. I hope that in the interests of fairness, of the regard to certain countries concerned, and of the scientific and practical value which attaches to the extensive Lisbon programme, you may be able to send the purport of my letter to the India Office as also one of the forwarded circulars of the Lisbon Congress, to your representatives abroad, as has been done for the London Congress of this year."

The following correspondence also passed between two of the Vice-Presidents of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, held in London in 1891, and Lords Salisbury and Cross :

TO THE MOST NOBLE, THE MARQUIS OF SALISBURY, K.G.

"21st July, 1892.

"I trust you will excuse me for troubling you on a matter which is of some interest to Orientalists, and in which the action of the Foreign Office, obviously taken under imperfect information, may grievously offend several foreign governments.

"Last year an Oriental Congress in accordance with the Statutes laid down for these series of meetings in Paris in 1873, was held in London under the patronage of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught, H.I.H. the Archduke Rainer, with Lords Lytton and Dufferin as Honorary Presidents, and the Lord Chancellor as President, assisted by Dr. Taylor, the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. It was the 9th of the series and was attended by delegates from every country in Europe, many of them of the highest distinction. Italy was specially represented by its Ambassador in London, and France by its most distinguished Orientalists. A powerful party of English Orientalists seceded from this Congress and determined to hold one of their own under the Presidency of Professor Max Müller, who not being an Englishman by birth, would have been ineligible as President of a Statutory Congress.

"The office-holders of the 9th Congress, of which I was one of the Vice-Presidents, have no feeling but that of friendship and cordiality towards the Orientalists who desire to hold a Congress in London this year. They only object, and object strongly, to the term "9th" being given to it, thus ignoring last year's Congress which was graciously acknowledged by Her Majesty, and presided over by the distinguished persons I have named to your Lordship.

"Last year Lord Cross, whom I had begged to join our Congress and assist it with the influence of the India Office, declined on the ground of not desiring to depart in any way from the impartial attitude which he desired to maintain between the rival Congresses. This year, in spite of this pledge, he has, as I understand from a communication addressed by ..... to ....., not only given the support of the India Office to the so-called 9th Congress of 1892, but has himself become a Vice-President of it, while he has induced the Foreign Office to move its representatives abroad to have delegates deputed to it from the countries in which they are officially employed. I would venture to point out to your Lordship that had the Foreign Office been properly informed of the facts of the case it is impossible that they could have taken this action which will seriously offend France and Italy and other countries who have been officially represented at the 9th Congress of 1891; and I earnestly trust that your Lordship will withdraw any approval or assistance which the Foreign Office may have granted to the so-called 9th Congress of 1892, and maintain the attitude of impartiality which Lord Cross asserted against the genuine and Statutory 9th Congress in 1891."

*Reply.*

"Hatfield House, Hatfield, Herts, 22nd July, 1892.

"I beg to acknowledge your letter of the 21st inst. I have already had a letter upon the other side. I am afraid it is a dispute in which the Foreign Office could not intervene with any likelihood of an advantageous result, and that therefore we had better take no steps in the matter.

"SALISBURY."

*Remark by the Delegate-General.*

The F. O. is not asked to interfere in any dispute, but to undo the effects of its interference by recalling the Circular to Foreign Governments to send Delegates to the Congress of one of the disputing parties.

Lord Salisbury replied to another Vice-President as follows:

"23rd July, 1892.

"I am desired by Lord Salisbury to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th instant, and in reply I have to say that His Lordship will make inquiries into the matter to which you refer; he does not, however, think that it is one in which Her Majesty's Government can interfere."

TO THE RT. HON. VISCOUNT CROSS, INDIA OFFICE.

"21st July, 1892.

"As one of the Vice-Presidents of the 9th Statutory Oriental Congress of 1891 I invite your attention to the fact that you promised neutrality between that Congress and the gentlemen who were endeavouring to bring about a Congress in England this year, and you declined to assist our Congress on the ground of your desire to be impartial between these conflicting claims.

"I now understand on the authority of ....., that H.R.H. the Duke of York has consented to be President of the 1892 Congress styling itself the 9th, as that which has the support of the India Office, Lord Cross being a Vice-President.

"I would beg to say that this seems to be in direct opposition to the pledge of neutrality which was given last year; and not only this, but the India Office has moved the Foreign Office to invite its representatives in foreign countries to procure the deputation of delegates to the so-called 9th Congress of 1892 in London, although your Lordship must be aware that the 9th Statutory Congress was held last year under the patronage of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught and received the recognition of Her Majesty the Queen. The action of the India Office consequently puts a slight on Her Majesty and the Duke of Connaught, and compromises the Foreign Office in all those countries which sent delegates to the 9th Congress of 1891, especially France, who were the founders of these Statutory gatherings, and Italy whose Ambassador was the delegate appointed by H.M. the King of Italy.

"The office-holders in the Congress of 1891 have no feeling but one of

cordiality towards the distinguished gentlemen who desire to hold a Congress in London this year, and the only thing on which they insist is that the term 9th Congress shall not be applied to it and the Congress of 1891 ignored. I would therefore beg your Lordship to have the kindness to procure the withdrawal of this designation; otherwise we shall be compelled, by legal injunction and by full publication of the facts of the case, to place this breach of faith and courtesy before the public of Europe for consideration and decision."

*Reply to the above.*

"26th July, 1892, India Office, Whitehall, S.W.

"I am desired by Lord Cross to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 21st inst. His Lordship wishes me to say that the Secretary of State has consented to become a V.P. of the Congress to be held in London and *with the concurrence of his Council* (1) has moved the Foreign Office to invite Foreign Governments to send delegates to it.

"He did so because he was advised that the Congress might fairly be said to represent the Oriental learning of Europe and for no other reason (2). This being so and in view of the interest which our Government of India has in such matters, he would not have considered himself justified in holding aloof. As to the question which has arisen respecting the right of the Congress to describe itself as the '9th Congress of Orientalists,' Lord Cross does not offer any opinion nor would his action have been influenced one way or the other by any answer which might have been given to that question (3). The Secretary of State in Council has given no pledge or promise which is inconsistent with the course which he has taken (4). I am, etc., etc.

"CHARLES F. BRUCE."

*Remarks by the Delegate-General on the above letter.*

(1) I respectfully deny that the Council were placed in possession of the facts.

(2) This reason applied far more forcibly to the Congress of 1891.

(3) The discussion as to which Congress was the legal one, *i.e.* had a right to call itself "The Ninth," was, at any rate, the alleged reason for the neutrality of Lord Cross between the Congresses of 1891 and 1892.

(4) This is not a matter of opinion, but of fact, and the fact of Lord Cross advising the Queen to be neutral between the Congresses of 1891 and 1892 is alone in favour of the presumption of Lord Cross's own neutrality.

At a well-supported meeting of the members of the Ninth and preceding Sessions of the International Congress of Orientalists held on the 6th August, 1892, the following Resolutions were unanimously passed:

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS.

1st Session, Paris, 1873.

2nd " London, 1874.

3rd " St. Petersburg, 1876.

4th Session,	Florence, 1878.
5th     "	Berlin, 1881.
6th     "	Leyden, 1883.
7th     "	Vienna, 1886.
8th     "	Stockholm-Christiania, 1889.
9th     "	London, 1891.

We, the members of the Ninth and preceding Sessions of the above Series of the International Congress of Orientalists, hereby—

(1) approve of the following resolution of the Committee of Permanence of 1873, and of the Committee of Permanence of 1891 (18th June, 1892):

**"RESOLUTION.**

"The members of the Permanent Committees of 1873 and 1891 protest against the usurpation of the number and title of 'The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists' (which has already been held in London, in September, 1891) by a Committee preparing a Congress under the same designation in 1892, in spite of the absolute prohibition of the two above-mentioned Committees. These said Committees claim, along with the number of the series inaugurated at Paris in 1873, also the very title of the Congresses as being their property and that of their lawful successors, and absolutely forbid to any person whomsoever unconnected with these statutory Committees and their lawful successors, to take the denomination of these Congresses, the title of which is guaranteed by the laws of all countries in respect of literary property."

(2) declare as follows :

"(a) That 'The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists,' duly held in pursuance of the Statutes in London in 1891, was recognised by the Governments of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, Greece, Russia, and of other countries, was attended by delegates of 38 learned bodies and formed by 600 Orientalists, as members, representing 37 countries.

"(b) That the arranging to hold or the holding in London, in 1892, of a Congress designated as 'The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists,' constitutes an unwarrantable and wrongful usurpation of the name, style, title, rights, and functions of the International Congress of Orientalists founded in Paris in 1873, and of the Series of Congresses based thereon and forming part thereof."

The following Circular letter, which has been very influentially and internationally signed, has been addressed to those persons on the Seceders' List who are believed to be unacquainted with the facts of the case :

"Woking, 15th July, 1892.

"DEAR SIR,—As it appears that the Orientalists' Congress announced as about to be held in London in September, 1892, with which your name is

associated, is still being described as "the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists," notwithstanding the letter of protest addressed by M. le Baron Textor de Ravisi, President of the Comité de Permanence of 1873, to Professor R. K. Douglas, lately one of the Secretaries of the proposed Congress, on the 28th January, 1892, we think it our duty, on behalf of the Organizing Committee of the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists to be held at Lisbon in 1892, appointed by the genuine Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, which was held in London in 1891, to call your attention to the illegality and absurdity of the proceedings to which you are thus being made a party by the persistent and wrongful appropriation by this pretended Ninth London Congress of 1892 of a title which does not belong to it.

"That we do not overrate the gravity of the matter will appear from the important opinion of Counsel which we have obtained, and of which a copy is enclosed. While we have the heartiest sympathy and goodwill towards any organization which has for its object the promotion and furtherance of Oriental studies, and wish nothing but success to every genuine Congress of Oriental students, whenever and wherever it may be held, we cannot but strenuously maintain our rights and those of the great body of Orientalists which met at London in the Ninth International Congress of 1891, and will meet at Lisbon in the Tenth International Congress of 1892, to the sole use of those descriptions as against any body taking upon itself to use them without any legal title to them.

"We are, dear Sir, on behalf of the Foundation Committee of 1873, and of the Committees of the Ninth and Tenth International Congress of Orientalists, your most obedient servants." (Here follow the signatures.)

P.S.—The General Meeting held on the 6th instant of Members of the Ninth and preceding Congresses of the series founded in Paris in 1873 unanimously decided to add the following sentence to the above letter addressed to those whose names are presumed to be on the List of the pseudo-Ninth Congress without their full knowledge of the facts: "We are therefore satisfied that on full consideration you will either withdraw from the so-called 9th Congress of this year or take such steps as may be necessary to alter the designation of that Congress so as to prevent the injustice and confusion of which we now complain."

G. W. LEITNER,

Delegate-General for the IXth and Xth International Congresses of Orientalists.

Woking, 10th August, 1892.

ABANDONMENT OF THE NUMBER "NINTH" BY THE  
COMMITTEE PREPARING AN ORIENTAL CONGRESS  
IN LONDON IN 1892.

*The following correspondence is reprinted from the "Pall Mall Gazette" for the information of Members :*

[*Copy.*]

2, King's Bench Walk, Temple, 20th August, 1892.

SIR,—We are instructed by our client, Dr. G. W. Leitner, Delegate-General of "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists," held in London last September, and acting on behalf of the founders and "the Comité de Permanence" of "The International Congress of Orientalists," to inform you that he has received with much satisfaction an intimation that the committee of which you are the chairman and which is organizing a Congress to be held from the 5th to the 12th proximo, under the designation of "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists," has finally abandoned such designation, which belongs to the Congress which was held in London in September last.

When the intimation above referred to reached Dr. Leitner he was on the point of instituting legal proceedings for restraining the continued user and appropriation of the number and title of "The 9th International Congress of Orientalists," and we are now desired to inform you that he will not invoke the assistance of the Court in the matter in the event of your being able to confirm the information of your committee having abandoned such user, by your sending us, by return of post, a letter on behalf of yourself and your committee undertaking that the further use and appropriation of the said number and title will be henceforth and finally discontinued.—We are Sir, your faithful servants,

DAUBENY and MEAD.

Sir George Birdwood.

The following is Sir G. Birdwood's reply :

[*Reply.*]

7, Apsley Terrace, Acton, W., Aug. 21, 1892.

DEAR SIRS,—I regret that I cannot give an authoritative reply to your letter of yesterday's date, as I am now no longer in any way connected with the late "9th Congress of Orientalists" who proposed to meet in London next month. On the 9th instant the organizing committee formally withdrew, as I was informed on the 14th inst., the words "the 9th," from the title of the proposed Congress, and as this was the second meeting at which important resolutions affecting the constitution and status of the proposed Congress had been taken in my absence—an absence due to my not having had any intimation whatever of the said meetings being convened—I on the 15th inst. resigned, on the above express grounds, the chairmanship of the executive committee and my vice-presidentship and membership of the Congress; my resignation having been accepted, I have no doubt whatever of the words "the ninth" having been withdrawn from the designation of the said Congress, and that the said Congress is, in fact, voided and has ceased to exist. I have seen also a prospectus of

the Congress still proposed to be held in London next month, in which the words "the ninth" nowhere appear.

There seems, therefore, to be little doubt on the point, but still, having only the information I have given on it, I propose to send on your letter to the "Secretaries to the Congress of Orientalists, 22, Albemarle Street, W.," and I would advise you to at once further address them direct. This is the more necessary as they have issued a Notice of Meeting for 3.30 p.m. to-morrow "to consider" the question of the title of the newly-proposed Congress, and have asked me to attend, but I do not intend to be present in any capacity.—Yours faithfully,

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

*Pall Mall Gazette*, 24th August, 1892.

Sir George Birdwood also wrote as follows to the Editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*:

SIR,—My resignation of the Chairmanship of the Executive Committee of the disnumbered Congress of Orientalists, to be held here early next month, has not the slightest significance in relation to the Congress, the success of which is trebly assured by the presence of its illustrious President, Professor Max Müller, and the brilliant German, Austrian, Italian, and other foreign Orientalists who have promised to attend it; by the scientific importance of the papers contributed to it; and the staunch support given it from all over the world by the enthusiastic admirers of Professor Max Müller. My resignation, in short, is a circumstance of an entirely private and, so to say, domestic character; but as my correspondence with Messrs. Daubeney and Mead on the subject of the designation of the ensuing Congress has been made public, in your issue of the 24th inst., I beg that you will, in simple justice to myself, give publication also to my letter of the 14th inst., a copy of which follows, referred to in the said correspondence, communicating my resignation to the Secretaries of the late 9th, and now disnumbered, Congress of Orientalists, of London, of 1892.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

August 29.

[*Enclosure.*]

7, Apsley Terrace, Acton, W., 15th August, 1892.

*To the Secretaries to the 9th Congress of Orientalists.*

GENTLEMEN,—I beg to tender to the Executive Committee of "the 9th Congress of Orientalists" my resignation of the Chairmanship of the Committee as also of my Vice-Presidentship and Membership of the Congress. You are aware of the trying circumstances under which I was most reluctantly led to accept the Chairmanship of your Committee, and that in consenting to serve the office so long as a certain ignominy might attach to it I have from the first explicitly stated my intention to resign it, when the success of "the 9th Congress of Orientalists" was secured; and, frankly, not only from a sense of my deep unworthiness for the office, in the event of its becoming, as it has now become, one of specific distinction, but because also of my absolutely insurmountably incapacity for any representative position necessitating my having to be in personal public evidence.

Nevertheless I should not have at this moment resigned, nor in this



formal manner, but for the fact that two meetings of your Committee, at which most important modifications in the constitution and character of the Congress were made, have recently been held, without any notice whatever being given me of their having been convened. It was only at the last meeting at which I had the honour to preside that I for the first time heard of the previous meeting, at which Sir Alfred Lyall occupied the chair, having been held. Again, it was only on Wednesday last, the 11th inst., that I casually heard from Mr. Thomas H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., of the meeting of your Committee held on the previous day, at which it was agreed, so Mr. Thornton informed me, to withdraw the term "the 9th" from the style and title of the Congress: a surrender which withdraws the Congress from its regular series, and radically affects its status. Professor Rhys Davids has informed me that the meeting of the 9th was notified to me by telegram. That telegram, however, has not yet been anywhere delivered to me, while a day or two before I left town, on a short holiday, between Wednesday the 3rd and Tuesday the 9th instants, on my writing to know whether the meeting I had suggested for Tuesday the 16th, to-morrow, was to be called, I was told that the notices for it were being sent out;—and I was told nothing more. I feel, therefore, that under such circumstances there is nothing for me but to resign at once and with this formal statement of my reasons for so doing.—I have, etc.,

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

*Pall Mall Gazette*, 30th August, 1892.

The following is the letter of the present Hon. Sec. and Hon. Treasurer of the London Oriental Congress of 1892:

*To the Editor of the "PALL MALL GAZETTE."*

SIR,—In stating that the coming Congress of Orientalists is "dis-numbered" Sir George Birdwood must have been misinformed. It is true that at a meeting of the Organizing Committee, held on the 10th inst., a majority were of opinion that for the present the word "ninth" should be omitted from the title, not as abandoning claim to the appellation, but with a view to allay for the time being an irritating controversy.

But no resolution to that effect was passed, and at a fuller meeting, held on the 16th inst., the idea was decisively rejected.

Accordingly the "Ninth International Congress of Orientalists" will be held on September 5 and following days.—We are, Sir, your obedient servants,

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS, Hon. Secretary.

August 31.

E. DELMAR MORGAN, Hon. Treasurer.

[*Pall Mall Gazette*, September 1, 1892.]

Dr. Leitner replied on the whole question as follows:

SIR,—Allow me to observe that the letter from Messrs. Davids and Morgan, published in your issue of yesterday, would seem to bear out the view of Sir George Birdwood, the retired chairman of the organizing committee of the so-called "Ninth" Congress, which is to meet next week, that it had been proposed to drop the words "the Ninth" only until the Congress met, and then, when it was too late to receive an injunction against their use, to resume them.\* This view is certainly borne out by the

\* Extract of letter from Sir George Birdwood to the Hon. Secretary of the so-called "Ninth" Congress, dated 31st August, 1892:—"Even now, while asking me to 'remain a Member' of the Ninth (*sic*) Congress, I observe

event. To all appearances the words "The Ninth" had been deliberately and finally removed by the organizing Committee of Prof. Max Müller's Congress in consequence of their expectation of our taking legal proceedings to prevent their usurpation of a number that belongs to the Series founded in Paris in 1873, of which "The Ninth" has already taken place in London last September, being "The Ninth" *de facto* in the order of sequence in the above-mentioned Series, and "The Ninth" *de jure* in the opinion of the Founders, whose authority the seceders have themselves acknowledged in their earlier circulars, where they represented that they were acting under powers received from the Founders, who, however, promptly denied it. It is not the case, as asserted by Messrs. Davids and Morgan, that there was no decision of their Committee to drop the words "The Ninth" finally, or that it was only in operation from the 9th to the 16th August. I can prove that the decision was arrived at and acted on, and that too for a longer period than it is admitted, merely as "an idea" by Messrs. Davids and Morgan. The letter of Sir George Birdwood, their former Chairman, to our solicitors shows that "the idea was *not* decisively rejected" on the 16th August, for he advises them on the 21st August to write at once to "the Secretaries to the Congress of Orientalists, Albemarle Street," as they had "issued a Notice" for the 22nd "to consider" 'the question of the title of the newly-proposed Congress.' Indeed, up to the 31st ultimo, there was still some doubt on the matter, as appears from the letter of that date of Sir George Birdwood to Prof. Rhys Davids, of which the letter in the *Pall Mall* of the same date (though published yesterday) by Messrs. Davids and Morgan is the result. I saw it yesterday afternoon, when it was too late to apply for an injunction, the writ and affidavit for which had been settled. Yesterday was, I believe, absolutely the last day on which we could have applied for an injunction. We have thus been tricked out of our injunction, but Messrs. Davids and Morgan have strengthened our right to damages by their conduct, which implicates their Committee, for they distinctly assert that "a majority were of opinion that *for the present* the word 'Ninth' should be omitted from the title, not as abandoning claim to the appellation, but with a view to allay *for the time being* an irritating controversy," in other words, meaning all along to resume the very word which formed the dispute, when pretending to give it up finally! Facts, however, are stronger than assertions. I have two of their printed "Lists of Members," a smaller one "corrected to 1st August" and a more complete one "*corrected to 16th August*" on which the words "The Ninth" are omitted from the title of their Congress. I have to-day received a programme, which although dated 14th May, 1892, contains the most recent additions to their Congress, thus showing that the decision arrived at on the 9th August to drop the words "The

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the paper on which you write is imprinted:—'International Congress of Orientalists, London, 1892,' a circumstance confirmatory, as it would appear, of the amazing statement made to me last week by members of the Committee who sought to induce me to withdraw my resignation, that you proposed to drop the words 'the Ninth' only until the Congress met, and then, when it was too late to receive an injunction against their use, to resume them."—*Overland Mail*, 2 September, 1892.

Ninth" was not only conclusive as to the future denomination of their Congress, but that they also wished to give it a retrospective effect by omitting, even in their past documents, the words "The Ninth" from and after the 14th May, 1892. It is, therefore, clear that whatever claim the Müllerites may have had to the title "Ninth," they have themselves relinquished it finally by the documentary evidence alluded to sent to the newspapers and to their Members. As we have never been opposed to the holding of an Oriental Congress, provided it did not usurp our number and title, I expressed a hope to some of our Members that they would join it, as it had given up the words "The Ninth"; and I have no doubt that, just as the assumption of the number helped the seceders to form a party among Members of past Congresses, so did its recent abandonment bring over many who would not have lent their names to it otherwise. I do not envy such success or the means and men that obtained it. In spite of it all, the Müller Congress will not have the Summaries of Research in 16 Oriental specialities, the practical results, the 160 papers or the 600 Members from 37 countries of our Congress of last year, which represented the cause of legality and of the independence of scholars and the equality of all schools and nationalities against a conspiracy on our International Republic of Oriental letters. I will not stoop to detail the evasive answers of Professor Müller and Co.\* I am convinced that Oriental culture and learning, rightly understood and studied for their own sakes, lead to higher standards of knowledge and life than among some of their self-elected High-Priests in this country. I will, however, conclude by stating that as late as the 27th August I was assured in writing, on an authority that cannot be gainsaid, that peace had been restored, "*all being satisfied that the word 'Ninth' had been dropped.*" Its retention is an insult to the distinguished men and measures of last year's Congress, and to those honourable men and scholars who have lent their names to the Congress of this year, in ignorance of the facts.

*Woking, Sept. 2.*

G. W. LEITNER,

Delegate-General of the Founders and for the Ninth and Tenth International Congresses of Orientalists (London, Sept., 1891, and Lisbon, Sept. 23-30, 1892).

*Pall Mall Gazette*, 3rd September, 1892.

It will be clear from the preceding correspondence that Sir George Birdwood's resignation was not on any question of principle, however mistaken, but, as he himself expresses it in his letter of the 29th August, was "of an entirely personal and, so to say, domestic character." Indeed, by his letter to our Solicitors he saved himself from inclusion in the injunction, whilst his letter of the 31st August to the Hon. Secretary of his Committee preceded the latter's public resumption of the word "Ninth" coupled with the admission in the *Pall Mall Gazette* of the 1st September that the word "Ninth" had only temporarily been withdrawn, so as "to allay for the time being an

\* The answers referred to are those to Dr. Badenoch in October, 1890, and to our Solicitors in August, 1892. N.B.—This note, and the one on the preceding page, have been added since reprinting the correspondence.—G. W. L.

irritating controversy." In other words, it was Sir George Birdwood's own letter that helped to stave off the injunction till it was too late to apply for it. He deserves credit for any indignation he may feel at the way in which we have been tricked, but which has earned for us a moral victory, far greater than any legal one could have been. *Ab uno disce omnes*. It was to Sir George Birdwood that the disruption in the London Committee, appointed by the Founders and about 300 Signatories for 1891—and 1891 only—was due. The Christiania Committee had surrendered to it and had accepted 1891, but it was Sir George Birdwood who aided in reviving the schism among Orientalists, by getting the very man secretly and irregularly elected as President—at a meeting of 9 persons—who had been identified with the encroachments of the Christiania Committee on our statutes and principles. Sir George Birdwood had signed the protest against the encroachments of the Christiania Committee, contesting the legality of its composition and proceedings, and thereby had mainly justified his own election as Vice-President of a Committee, formed by the Paris Founders to re-assert the statutes and original principles of 1873, and to oppose the Christiania Committee. In the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1891, will be found reprinted the letter showing why, in the opinion of the Founders and of 22 representatives of the bodies connected with the origin of the Congress, he could no longer be allowed to retain office in the legitimate Committee of 1891. He is now the "retired" Vice-President of two Committees, of the one that protested against the Christiania Committee, as also of the one of the seceders, who have since supported it. As for Professor Max Müller, he has, of course, every right to found a Congress of his own, and to avail himself, within the limits of fair-play, of the assistance given to him by former opponents, provided he does not usurp the title of the Institution founded in Paris in 1873, or a number in its Series. It may be added that we have copyright in the various and numerous publications already issued, or in serial progress, of "the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists," and that "the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists," which will be held at Lisbon in September, 1893, as also its legitimate successors, will be similarly protected. In the meanwhile, we hail with satisfaction, as a possible sign of better feeling and sense, the circumstance that the *Times* has adopted for its reports of the London Oriental Congress of 1892, the heading which our Solicitors suggested to Professor Max Müller, as a *modus vivendi*, namely, that of "International Oriental Congress."

G. W. L.

12th Sept., 1892.

On the last day of the Congress of 1892, being unaware of the nature of our contemplated proceedings, Professor Müller has resumed the number and title in the Paris Series to which his Congress has no right. According to the *Times* of to-day, he is reported to have said: "We need no longer be afraid or ashamed of our old title of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists, though we all know how cruelly that title has been treated during the last three years." Yes, 600 Orientalists in 37 countries know of its misappropriation by the "*Occasionally Ninth Congress*," but we do not know whether it "need no longer be afraid" as it certainly has every need to be "ashamed."

G. W. L.

13th Sept., 1892.

# THE LISBON ORIENTAL CONGRESS.

AMONG the 50 papers already promised to or received by the Lisbon Oriental Congress that on "Sea-voyages by Hindus," by Pundit Mahesh Chandra Nyaratna, C.I.E., may settle a vexed question which is causing much stir at present among the orthodox of that race, whilst Professor Felix Robiou's "The Religious Conditions of Iran, Egypt, etc., during Alexander's Conquests" may throw light on kindred "Græco-Buddhistic" influences. The mass of Portuguese material, especially on India, will be an interesting feature of the Congress. Professor René Basset writes on "the Oriental Manuscripts at Lisbon" and reports on those he has found in Oran and other parts of French Africa. Professor Gustav Oppert, of Madras, continues his researches in "Indian Theogony, comprising Sakti worship;" Pandit Dhruva, of Baroda, contributes two very important and exhaustive papers, one on the "Vedic Chronology" and the other on "The First Dawn of Aryan Philosophy." The Aryan Section will be specially strong in papers from European and Native Indian Sanscritists. Morocco yields, through M. Jules Rey, an important contribution to the history of the expulsion of the Moors from the Iberian Peninsula, and may also be represented by a Moroccan Exhibition in connection with the Congress, which, whilst on an excursion to the Alhambra at Granada, will hear from the Spanish Congress of Africanists how important is the study of Arabic in African commerce and exploration. Professor Carl Abel will give the results of further inquiry into his "Indo-Egyptian Affinities." Dr. W. Hein submits the second part of the "Biography of Omar;" Dr. A. Lincke, besides a "Summary of Assyriology," gives a paper on the "Colonization of Assyria," a subject that will be illustrated by an Assyrian collection; the Master of St. John's, Cambridge, "On a MS. in the Royal Library of Parma, in connection with the *Pirke Aboth*," the Rev. Rabbi Gollancz, "Sindbad in Syriac;" Mr. S. Stuart-Glennie on "the Migrations of Nations;" General Showers, "Relations with Orientals;" Mr. Vincent Smith, "Indian Numismatics in 1892," which will be brought up to date; General Furlong, a "Synchronological Map of Religions;" Miss Garnett, "a paper on Folklore;" whilst several Indian Civilians will give their researches into "the Sikh Granth" and "Indian Ethnology." Among Italian and Swedish scholars, Professor C. de Cara and Rector Skarstedt will be represented by memoirs on studies with which their names are identified, whilst Portugal itself gives abundant proof of Oriental scholarship in Prof. Vasconcellos' Oriental studies on the *Lusiade*, etc., Ben Oliel's "Lokman," Combargua's "The Gipsies of Portugal," "the Ethiopian Discoveries" by Esteves Pereira, and considerable material on ancient and modern Indian Law and methods of Education.

A paper on "Sanskrit Music" by Raja Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore together with a gift of the Nyastaranga, the curious wind instrument that is played by the mechanical pressure of the muscles of the throat from the outside, will certainly be one of the attractions of the Congress.

The Raja has also composed a musical and poetical address in Sanscrit to the King of Portugal to whom an Arabic Ode has also been presented,

the numerical value of the letters of which gives the dates of his ascension and of the Congress. Pictures and descriptions of the ancient and modern arts and professions of India have also been sent. The illustrations of the trades and trade-implements of Kashmir, including their technical dialects, will be specially interesting as will also be the exhibition of pictures of the various classes of Muhammadan and Hindu ascetics. Morocco and Portuguese Africa will be, of course, represented. M. Meyer, a Batavian Civilian, contributes a paper on the influence of Portuguese in the Dutch Colonies, and the Lisbon archives will unfold much unexpected material regarding India at and after the time of Vasco da Gama's discovery in 1498. The National Press at Lisbon is already printing a number of publications for the Congress.

As we are going to press, we have received the following circular-letter from the Delegate-General :

DEAR SIR,—I have received the following telegram from M. Cordeiro, Secretary of the Xth International Congress of Orientalists :

"Congress of Orientalists adjourned by Government order owing to Cholera precautions. Stop departures Congressists. Continue to send names of new members and papers to organizing and executive Committees."

It is proposed to adjourn the Congress to September '93, unless a majority of Members should desire it to be held at an earlier date. I may add that the Lisbon Congress has already 50 papers and a large number of members representing 20 countries. The postponement for a year, far from injuring the Congress, can only add to the success of the Meeting.—I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

G. W. LEITNER, Delegate-General.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, ETC.

We quote the following article, written just before the Oriental Congress of 1892 :

## AN ANGLO-SWEDISH ORIENTAL FARCE.

ACTS I. AND II. (1889 AND 1892).

We have not yet seen the last of "the Swedish burlesque," as Sir Henry Rawlinson so aptly called it, in recommending that steps should be taken to prevent its repetition in England. The King of Sweden, who is said to have admitted to Archbishop Sundberg that there was "a little humbug" in the Swedish Congress, has again deputed its Secretary to present to Professor Max Müller a second time (the first being at Upsala, in 1889) a Swedish drinking-horn, which, says the *Times*, "is in future to be handed from President to President of the International Congress of Orientalists." It will certainly not be accepted by the Institution founded under that name in Paris in 1873, and of which nine Sessions have already been held, though it is a fitting emblem of what took place at the Swedish Congress, of which the London Congress of next week is the worthy, if illegitimate, successor. The Swedish or 8th Congress ended in a row, did not appoint the place of the next meeting, as bound to do by the Statutes, and was not invited by any less bibulous, or, indeed, any country. A Committee of four German names was somehow formed at Christiania, to permanently guide International Orientalism, with Professor Max Müller as *homme de confiance*; but England, France, Russia, and nearly all other countries interested in the East were omitted from the oligarchy. This led to protests from 600 Orientalists in 37 countries, which obliged the Paris Founders to themselves select a place and date in accordance with a resolution of the first Congress "whenever the continuity of the cause [of the Congress] should require it." The result was "The Ninth International Congress of Orientalists," which was held in London for ten hours daily from the 1st to the 10th September, 1891, and which will now be statutorily succeeded by the Tenth Session, to be held at Lisbon from the 23rd proximo to the end of the month, under the presidency of the King of Portugal, himself an Oriental scholar. Now, some seceders from the 1891 Committee wished to have their own innings, and allied themselves with the Christiania usurpers to hold a Congress of their own, which they also called "Ninth"—a designation, the absurdity of which was too much for their own wiser supporters, who forced them to abandon it, stimulated by threats of legal proceedings from the Founders. The funny thing is, that some of those who protested against the Stockholm Bacchanalia, and against the attempt to convert an open republic of letters into a close official preserve, under the leadership of King Oscar and of Count Landberg, assisted by Professor Max Müller, are now among their humble supporters, though distracted with dissensions among themselves, which have just ended in the withdrawal of their chairman, Sir George Birdwood. Messrs. Ginsburg, Sayce, Douglas, and others seem to have forgotten their virtuous indignation or written protests, and now form chorus to the hymn in his own glory of Max Müller, who, not yielding to Cæsar what is Cæsar's, by giving kings the usual honorary presidencies, has remembered that royal personages and statesmen are often most proud of what they least know. He has accordingly flattered them and himself by making them his own vice-presidents, so that, if not themselves an Oriental rose, they may at least be near the one that is credited by non-Orientalists with the true perfume of Oriental scholarship. The proper position for royalty and prime ministers is, of course, to be patrons of learning, not assistant-professors. [More recent circulars rectify this presumption.]

The Swedish drinking-horn has already been once presented at Upsala, with the cheers of those that did not suffer from the effects of the hydromel of the Scandinavian gods. The *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1890, gives the following account :

"He (Professor Müller), bestriding the hillock of Odin, at old Upsala, handed down, in a speech worthy of the object, a drinking-horn to successive presidents of future Congresses of Orientalists and Orientals, out of which they were to drink to the health of King Oscar!" The programme of the Swedish Congress announced that "Near the tombs of Odin, Thor, and Freya, the hydromel of the gods will be drunk. . . . There will be solemnly remitted to the Congress, in the name of H.M. the King, an object, in order to perpetuate among the Orientalists the memory of this Congress." This "object" was the drinking-horn, which is to be paraded a second time in London. It seems cruel to inflict on those who were absent the memory of scenes that those present try to forget, and even more cruel to connect with Oriental learning an emblem of Occidental wassail—repugnant alike to Muhammadans and Hindus. Of course, if, in the words of the Swedish programme, "the Orientalists of the entire world should group themselves round the august monarch of the North," then, indeed, the Scandinavian drinking-horn might remain; but, as the Czar, an even more august "Figure of the North," is reported to have said, "Who is the King of Sweden, that he should put himself at the head of the Orientalists of the world?" This reminds us that our own "Grand Old Man" is in the swim, and that he will lecture on "Ancient Greece and the East," in connexion with a Congress, the object of which is to destroy every vestige of the French origin of a truly international republic of Oriental letters. "When Greek meets Greek then comes the tug of war"; but when he meets a Parnellite leader and Hebrew scholar, then does he fraternize with Dr. Ginsburg, the Chief Secretary of the Congress, and give a lecture on "Ancient Greece and the East," with the probable result that Greek scholars will mistake him for an Orientalist, and Oriental scholars admit that he, indeed, knows Greek. Were Mr. Gladstone to perform on a physical tight-rope, as he will in a few days on an intellectual one, he would also be sure of a large audience, even in September; but we hope that he and the members of the Congress will, at any rate, resist every attempt to convert a gathering, in which all schools and nationalities should be on a footing of perfect equality, into a monopoly or a bear-garden.

*To the Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."*

DEAR SIR,—I find with surprise and regret that a reference which I made, in the House of Commons some months ago, to the new Constitution of Japan has been seriously misunderstood, no doubt unintentionally, in an article which appears in your last number. Whether this is owing to obscurity in my words, or to their compression in a newspaper report, I need not enquire. All I desire is to disclaim most explicitly and emphatically any intention of disparaging in any way the Constitution of the Japanese Empire. I carefully studied that instrument some years ago, and formed a very high opinion of the skill with which it had been prepared. Nothing was further from my mind than to condemn as unsuited to the conditions of a great Oriental monarchy the provisions on which I commented, though I held that similar arrangements would be unsuited to Ireland or any other part of the United Kingdom. This was my argument: and it would have been as foreign to my purpose as opposed to my wishes and sentiments to say anything that could be deemed wanting in respect or friendliness to those representative institutions which the new Constitution has created, and whose working many of us in England are watching with lively interest and sympathy. Requesting you to insert this disclaimer in your next issue,—I have the honour to be, faithfully yours,

J. BRYCE.

August 11th, 1892.



One of our most valued supporters in Persia has written to us the following letter, which is well worthy of publication, as it contains information of an important and interesting nature in an attractive form.—ED.

"I have also received the July number of the *Review* and read Part I. of Biddulph's Physical Geography of Persia. Last year I received from London 'Report on a Visit to Persia,' by C. E. Biddulph (Waterlow Brothers and Layton, London, 1891), and I now find that Biddulph's present paper in your review is almost a literal reprint of pp. 6 to 11 of it.

p. 6 of the report is reproduced pp. 43 and 44 of the Review.

7	"	"	43, 44, 45	"
8	"	"	46, 47	"
9	"	"	47	"
10	"	"	47, 48	"
11	"	"	44, 48	"

"The sequence of the paragraphs has been altered and some of the sentences have been modified, but the text is practically the same. I hope Mr. Biddulph did not give you his paper as original or unpublished matter.\*

"Some of his statements are correct, but many others are incorrect and misleading—caused by the writer's ignorance of the subject. The mountainous character of Persia has attracted very much attention indeed, in fact most writers on Persia from the 16th century until the present time have fully noticed it. Rainfall is by no means dependent on the height of the mountains, for Northern Beluchistan with its 9,000' and 12,000' ranges and peaks is practically rainless. The description of the hills of inner Persia rising out of the great gravel slopes is not correct. That roads and railways in Persia can be constructed only at a ruinous cost is nonsense. The obstacles to construction are not greater in Persia than in most other countries. The distance from Kum to Teheran in a bee line is  $74\frac{1}{2}$  miles, not 'a little over 80,' and that traversed by the new road does not 'considerably exceed 100 miles,' but is 93.6 miles. The length of the old road was 89.2 miles. The hills between Kum and Ispahan do not cover nearly  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the route, but only about 40 miles out of 150. The statement that the great desert is for 'the most part absolutely incapable of sustaining any form of life' is incorrect. Many forms of animal life may be found in the desert. In the report Mr. Biddulph estimated the total area of desert at 200,000 square miles, in his present paper at 150,000 miles. He then adds 'that nomad tribes take their flocks to graze upon the scanty vegetation which appears in portions of the desert,' a statement which contradicts what he has said before regarding the total absence of life forms, and, besides, does not fit in with the term 'desert.' These are some of the incorrect statements. It would be impossible to criticize any further.

"In your summary of events (p. 236) you refer to heavy snowstorms in April last, which did much damage to the telegraphs, which are now being worked on the Duplex system. Col. Wells, R.E., the Director of the English Government line from Teheran to Bushire, writes:

\* We were not aware that it had been published, nor were we assured that it had not; naturally we presumed the latter.—ED.

"We had a blizzard at Dehbid (5 stages from Shiraz on the Ispahan road) on the 29th February, but no snow since, at least none that has caused a moment's interruption."

"And the Inspector of the Indo-European Company's lines from Teheran to Gulpa on the Russian frontier, writes :

"Unsere Leitungen waren am 3ten April auf dem Kafân Kûh durch einen Orkan gestört, welcher 4 pfosten ans der Erde riss. Von Schnee Keine spur."

"The lines are not yet worked on the Duplex system, but last April there was some talk of introducing the system.

"The Cholera is gradually spreading. In Khorassan it is practically finished, but we have it here at Teheran since the 1st inst.; it is in Astrabad, Gilan and Mazanderan, and pretty strong at Tabriz. It is also at Yezd, and various places between Ispahan and Shiraz. I hear from Bombay that some big Hindu priest intends going to Chicago next year. He fancies he will be able to convert the Yanks to Hinduism, but the American Consul at Bombay, also agent to the World's Fair, looks upon the priest as a splendid exhibit, and I should not wonder if the Americans paid the priest's passage.

"How will the unfortunate quarrel regarding the Congress of Orientalists end? I do not know the Count who was at the head of the 1889 Congress, but already in 1888 I heard from one who knew him well in Syria, etc., the prediction that the Count would create discord. My friend's prediction has apparently been fulfilled, for since 1889 there have been no end of little fights. It is a pity that some orientalists, whose names I need not mention to you, do not stick to the statutes. Surely, two congresses cannot be run simultaneously for any length of time with any chance of success.

"I trust I shall be able to get to Europe during the coming winter and make your acquaintance. Some years ago I was on the point of going to Woking with my friend Purdon Clarke, but was unfortunately prevented at the last moment. I see you had quite a tamasha at your mosque on the 6th of July, 1892, on the occasion of the 'Aid uz-zuhâ. Why don't the Liverpool Muhammedans build a masjid? Their first-floor room in a rickety house is not quite the thing."

#### ABUSE OF AN ORIENTAL CONGRESS FOR OCCIDENTAL POLITICAL PURPOSES.

*To the Editor of the "ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW."*

SIR,—Permit me to call your attention to the *Times* report of Major Wingate's paper on "The Rise and Wane of Mahdism in the Soudan." This paper was read yesterday, at the Oriental Congress now sitting in London, by Colonel Plunkett, R.E. The Mahdi and his Successor are here accused of having "gradually destroyed ancient tribal systems and tribal government," and we are told that "the piteous appeals of the once powerful tribes of the Soudan to be freed from their present bondage are indeed proof enough of their present misery and degradation."

In ordinary disquisitions an Oriental Congress is not satisfied without looking back to some period of which those only 1,500 years before Christ are considered as modern. Why is this custom disregarded in writing of the "Rise and Wane of Mahdism"? If we may judge from the report in the *Times*, not a word was said about the cause of the rise of Mahdism. We are told that :—

"Utterly uneducated and ignorant of the world's history and geography, the capture of Cairo, Constantinople, Mecca, Paris, and London presented to the Mahdi no greater difficulties than had been experienced in the capture of El Obeid and Khartoum."

Unless all that has been done in the Soudan during the last quarter of a century has been planned for some diabolical purpose, of which both the rise and the fall of the Mahdi and his Successor formed essential parts, the British Government has shown even greater ignorance and incapacity than those of the Mahdi. The conquest of the Soudan, nominally by Egypt, was really a European work, and to this conquest and to the systematic weakening of the Egyptian army by the British Government must be attributed the revolt, with all its consequences, of a people "struggling and rightly struggling to be free."

Why has the British Government thus thrown the Soudan under the convulsive management of "uneducated and ignorant" Moslems, and forbidden the Sultan Caliph, whose servants do know that London and Paris and Constantinople are neither in Arabia nor on the Nile, to recover, by the legitimate means which he alone possesses, the allegiance of his subjects, so long estranged from him by the intrigues of the Christian Powers who pretend to protect him from Russia?

If the British Government had accepted instructions from Russia for all their proceedings in the Soudan and in Abyssinia they could not have better aided Holy Russia in her work of destroying every Mahometan State, persecuting every Christian Church, and exterminating the Jews.

From the professional point of view of an energetic military officer, Major Wingate's paper is doubtless one of considerable merit, and it has even a political value, if taken in conjunction with statements on the other side respecting the ancient history of the means which were taken "to strengthen the Khedive." But, in the place where it was read, the Burning of Persepolis is not ancient history, much less the Bombardment of Alexandria. To class this paper with the clear cold light arising from the patient and laborious investigations into the vestiges of long past ages could only be a disguise to an Oriental Congress.

Your obedient servant,

C. D. COLLET.

7, Coleridge Road, Finsbury Park,  
9 September, 1892.

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A correspondent from Tientsin, China, is good enough to send us the following information regarding General Tcheng-ki-tong, a former contributor to the *A. Q. R.* :

Tcheng-ki-tong has been tried, condemned and rehabilitated almost in a breath. He had been nearly a year in Tientsin busy with his literary exercises which possess such a charm for him, and apparently indifferent to all beside. The Chinese Government did not wish to stir up any mud, and would have willingly allowed the so-called scandal of Tcheng-ki-tong to gradually fade into oblivion. But His Excellency Hsueh, the Minister to Paris and London, thought otherwise. He was indignant at the failure of his impeachment of the General, and impatient of the delay in bringing him to book. He telegraphed to Li Hung-Chang to ask where Tcheng-ki-tong was, and what he (the Viceroy) was doing in his case. Li Hung-Chang took little if any notice of the message, and let matters drift on as before. His Excellency then telegraphed to a subordinate Taotai, demanding a categorical reply. That officer of course could only report the message to the Viceroy. The Minister in London declared that his prestige had suffered a mortal blow through the immunity accorded to a man for whose punishment he stood pledged, and he threatened to resign. He finally sent an ultimatum to the Tsung li-Yamen declaring that he would perform no more diplomatic functions unless Tcheng's case were dealt with. The Yamen and the Viceroy were at length roused to action by their energetic envoy, and Tcheng was promptly degraded. He continued his literary recreation apparently heedless of the capricious shafts of fate. Then his friends were roused to assist him. The whole question was his debts in Paris. They raised a subscription and then entered into negotiations for a compromise which was ere long effected; and Consul de Bezaure, who was employed as the agent in the final adjustment, has telegraphed to say that every creditor whose claim was registered at the French Foreign Office was satisfied. And thus the incident has terminated happily for all concerned, and the sentence against Tcheng is annulled.

The various parties to the negotiation have been terribly exercised in mind, and the friends who rallied to the rescue of the inculpated debtor have made great sacrifices. One man only has remained to all appearance indifferent equally to the pains and penalties inflicted on him and to the redemption provided by his friends. With the pen always in his hand, he seemed to say to friend and foe alike, "Pray don't interrupt me!"

#### NOTES.

MAJOR R. POORE, J.P., of Old Lodge, Salisbury, draws our attention to an extract from the proceedings of the Supreme Council of India, taken from the *Bombay Gazette* summary of August 5, as a strong argument to show the importance—not only to India, but to all Eastern or Western civilized communities—of subdivision into small sections or wards of sight for local administration. Major Poore, whose experience and knowledge of such matters can scarcely be overrated, in applying this principle to England, insists that only by its correct and full understanding can County Councils and like bodies usefully perform their—really most important—duties instead of becoming merely extravagant burdens on the ratepayers. Though the incident in this case refers to the police only, the principle is applicable to all administration; and its *raison d'être* is that full sight of fact must be given before decisions can be taken.

The extract referred to by Major Poore contains an account of a meeting of the

Supreme Council of India, at which the Hon. Sir Charles Crossthwaite, in introducing a bill to further provide for the administration of towns in Lower Burma, made the following remarks:

"All over Burma there was, in former times, a police machinery by which villages and portions of towns had their headmen, under whom were minor officials, each entrusted with the supervision of a number of houses, usually ten. Even where this machinery has, from ignorance and neglect, fallen into disuse, people are readily induced to adopt it again, and take to it without difficulty. As an example and proof of this I may state that in 1883 Rangoon and its neighbourhood were in a very disturbed state. Dacoities (highway robberies by gangs) and robberies were frequent, and life and property were both unsafe. The police were helpless and disheartened, although their superintendent, the late Mr. Jameson, was one of the most experienced and able officers in Burma. Like most successful Indian administrators he took counsel of the people of the country, and at their desire the old system was reverted to. The town was divided into wards, and 'myoganlugyis,' which is the Burmese translation of aldermen, were appointed, who undertook to help the police to supervise bad characters and prevent crime. The system has been worked now for nearly ten years without legislative sanction, and, as the Chief Commissioner reports, since that time Rangoon had been remarkably free from crimes of violence, and it is generally believed that the myoganlugyi system has contributed materially to its immunity from disturbance.—Sir Charles Crossthwaite added that the measure was of a very simple character, its main provisions being: (1) the division of towns into wards and blocks; (2) the appointment of persons to be headmen of wards, or aldermen of blocks; (3) the conferment on such headmen and aldermen of certain powers, and the imposition on them of certain duties."

MR. THEODORE BENT is at present engaged in bringing out a work on the Ruined Cities of Mashonaland (Messrs. Longmans and Co.), in which he hopes conclusively to prove several valuable points concerning the Orientation of these ruins to the rising sun. The patterns which decorate many of the ruins and which go only round a portion of them have been accurately placed so as to receive the sun rays at the summer and winter solstices; Mr. Bent has no less than nine instances of this, and these patterns are placed in connection with certain monoliths which show that the temples were nothing but vast gnomons used by the primitive inhabitants for distinguishing the seasons. Furthermore from accurate measurements taken on the spot it will be shown that all the buildings were constructed with mathematical accuracy, the small round tower having a circumference equal to the diameter of the big one, and the big one having a circumference equal to the diameter of the circular building on the Lundi river; and also the towers have been employed as units of measurement for the curves of all the principal circular buildings in the Zimbabwe neighbourhood.

Having carefully compared his finds in the ruins with objects in some of the principal European Museums, Mr. Bent has been able to show the Phœnician origin or at least the strong Phœnician influence which has been brought to bear upon them. Proving thereby that it was from the district of Mashonaland that the early commercial races of the world obtained the large quantity of gold with which history has credited them.

Mr. Haliburton's article in our last issue on "Dwarf Tribes," as might be expected, was largely quoted in the contemporary press, and created much interest in scientific circles. We now hear of further discoveries in connexion with this subject, that were to have been brought forward at the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists at Lisbon, which has now been postponed to next year. The researches and discoveries alluded to refer to the points of correspondence between the survivals of prehistoric (dwarf) races in Mount Atlas and the Pyrenees.

The discoverers of the latter were Professor Maratza and Dr. Bide; the former having investigated the *Nanos* (dwarfs) of the province of Gerona (between Barcelona and France), in the district of Ribas. Dr. Bide brought to light the *Jourdes*, a strange race in the Western Pyrenees, and inhabiting the district of Caceres; these are cave-dwellers, they cannot speak either Spanish or Portuguese, are hairy, and do not mix with other races.

The postponement of the Lisbon Congress may, in this instance, have the advantageous result of enabling Messrs. Haliburton, Maratza, and Bide to secure actual specimens of

these interesting little people from various points of the Pyrenees and the Atlas, to serve as tangible proofs of their important discoveries, when the subject is brought forward at Lisbon next year.

#### THE OLDEST INDIAN MANUSCRIPT.

Two years ago Lieutenant Bower, then in pursuit of the murderer of Mr. Dalglish, the Scotch trader in Central Asia, discovered in Chinese Turkestan the remains of a subterranean city. In one of the excavations near it he found a curious birch-bark manuscript, which he took with him back to India for the investigation of scholars. The manuscript is described as having been dug out of the foot of one of the curious old erections just outside a subterranean city near Kuchar. These erections are said to be about 50 feet to 60 feet high, in shape like a huge cottage-loaf, built solid with sun-dried bricks, with layers of beams now crumbling away. Dr. Hoernle, who undertook the examination of the manuscript, thinks that these erections are Buddhist stupas, which often contain a chamber enclosing relics and other objects. These chambers are generally near the level of the ground, and are often excavated by persons in search of hidden treasure. There is no reason why a birch-bark manuscript, thus preserved from the chances of injury, should not last for an almost indefinite period, especially if the chamber is air-tight. Dr. Hoernle has communicated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal the result of his examination. The manuscript is written in Sanscrit of a very archaic type, not in the Sarada character of Cashmere, as was at first surmised, but in the Gupta character,—a much earlier form. Separate portions of it were written by different scribes, and at different dates; and the latest portion must, he thinks, be not later than the second half of the fifth century—say, 475 A.D.—while the earlier portion must be half a century earlier. The Bower manuscript, as it is now known, is therefore the oldest Indian manuscript, and one of the oldest manuscripts existing in the world. It is composed of five distinct sections: the first and fifth are medical works, the second and fourth collections of proverbial sayings, and the third the story of a charm against snake-bite given by Buddha to Ananda. A translation will be published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the expense being undertaken jointly by the Governments of India and of Bengal.

We are requested to state that although the account, in our last issue, of a model "Indian Rajah at Home" was, indeed, "a sketch from real life," it was necessary, so as to avoid identification and the reproach of flattery, to divert attention from his personality. The Rajah was, therefore, represented as a type of "a strict Hindu;" and the writer of the account was thus enabled to describe a real Oriental Durbar, with the Rajah reclining on a soft carpet and "blowing a cloud," while giving public audience as a judge of appeals. As a matter of fact, however, the particular Rajah referred to is not a Hindu, but a strict Sikh, and as such does not smoke. In all other respects the account of his admirable administration is literally correct, and is quite typical of a good Indian Rajah of the old school, of which the Rajah described is one of the few remaining instances.

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

HER MAJESTY has graciously received visits from two native Indian Chiefs who are travelling in Europe, not for the first time, and are accompanied by their families : the Thakur Sahib of Gondal, and the Gaekwar of Baroda. Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda was honoured with the Order of the Crown of India, and Her Majesty conversed with her in the Hindustani language, which she has been at the pains of learning to speak fluently.

In the late general elections and the consequent change of Ministry, our Summary is concerned only with noting that Mr. Gladstone has chosen respectively as Secretaries of State and Parliamentary Under Secretaries, as follows : Foreign Office, the Earl of Rosebery and Sir Edward Grey ; Colonial Office, the Marquis of Ripon and Mr. Sydney Buxton ; India Office, the Earl of Kimberley and Mr. George Russell ;—that an Indian gentleman, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, has been elected for East Finsbury ;—and that several Anglo-Indians are returned as Members, among whom we welcome Sir George Chesney and Sir Andrew Scoble, as likely to do good service for India.

In INDIA itself, a plentiful though late rainfall has averted all danger of famine, and relief works have almost ceased. Excess of rain however has caused damage in many places ; and the out-turn of nearly all the crops will be under the average, as a result of the earlier drought. The wheat crop of the Punjab and Central Provinces, (two-thirds of the whole) will be less by 125,000 tons, and the entire wheat crop will be only 6,737,000 tons, or 650,000 tons less than the normal yield. Next in importance is the progress of the new Indian Currency Association which has formed branches in every large city and town and has sent to the Secretary of State a numerously signed memorial from officials, bankers, merchants, and native chiefs. It urges the general consideration of the question on the Secretary,

especially the closing of the mint to free coinage of silver, and the coining of gold. The statistics produced during the controversy have utterly destroyed the fallacy that a falling exchange in any way benefited Indian trade. Lord Lansdowne in accepting and forwarding the memorial declared that the Indian Government "could not state its views on the subject." This apathy is generally and deservedly condemned. Meanwhile the Government will take part in the International Money Conference, to which they have deputed Sir W. H. Houldsworth, Bart., M.P., Sir C. D. Fremantle, K.C.B., and Mr. Bertram W. Currie for England, with General Richard Strachey C.S.I. and Mr. G. H. Murray of the Treasury for India. A great deal more than this conference, from which we hope very little, is necessary to be done, earnestly and immediately, by those responsible for India, unless they wish to stimulate the natural disgust there at a state of things which should never have been allowed to arrive.

Sir C. Crossthwaite who is nominated successor to Sir Auckland Colvin as Lieut.-Governor of the N.W. Provinces, will be replaced as Member of Council by Sir C. Pritchard from Bombay. who is succeeded in the Bombay Council by Mr. A. C. Trevor, Commissioner of Sindh. It has been decided that Lushailand is to be governed by Assam, and the Chin Hills by Burma,—the future of Chittagong being left for further report. The Mowhra Flowers Bill has been passed through the Bombay Council notwithstanding much opposition and discontent, and the Supreme Council have also passed the Madras Civil Courts bill, described by the press as certainly useless and probably mischievous: it would seem that *quieta non movere* is only acted upon by the Indian Government when there is urgent need for action. The Indian Councils Bill passed by Parliament last session has been referred to the various local Governments for their recommendations as to its practical execution. The Indian taxpayer is saddled with another Anglican "Bishopric" of Lucknow, to which has been nominated



the Rev. A. Clifford, M.A., of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, late Secretary to the C. M. S. at Calcutta. The telegraph rate to England is again increased 2 annas per word, Press messages remaining at R. 1/1. The recent orders regarding a Provincial Service have been extended to the P. Works Dept.: 12 and 13 appointments in alternate years will be filled from Indian Colleges, with smaller pay and worse furlough rules than for the Imperial Branch which is recruited from England. The Bengal Report on the Poor White question gives Calcutta (with Howrah) an Indo-European population of 21,000, of whom 3,000 excluding children are destitute. Of these 8 per cent. are Europeans and 22 per cent. Eurasians; 70 per cent. are in work. Remedies seem limited to a recommendation to utilize them in the army and navy, but as they cost 80 per cent. more than natives, and are not considered much superior as war-material, this hardly seems feasible, though probably trial will be made with one regiment of Eurasians. The Survey Department report the survey in 1890-91 of 117,915 square miles, or 44 more than the year before. The Lieut.-Governor of Bengal called a meeting of officials and non-officials to consider a general scheme for drainage and water supply, for municipalities and rural areas in the provinces, and after mature discussion, a resolution to adopt the scheme was passed and will be followed by legislation. It is doubtful if the landowners on whom the cost will fall can bear the burden, which is heavily felt where already established—the municipalities are as a rule very poor.

Sir James Dormer has submitted his scheme for reorganizing the Madras army, proposing the establishment of Class Regiments: 12 of Tamils, 9 of Telegus, 3 of Muhammandans, 1 of Coorgs, 1 of Moplahs, and 1 of Nyars; there seems real need of reform. A battalion of 500 Manipur police is being raised to collect revenue and keep order. The relief of the troops in Gilgit is being effected by the despatch of 1 Mountain Battery, the 4th Regiment Kashmir Rifles, the

5th Kashmir Infantry, and 200 of the 15th Sikhs, besides 30 officers. Owing to Afghan demonstrations near the Zob valley (Gomal Pass) a force of 300 infantry and 100 cavalry with 2 mountain guns have been sent to Kajuri Kach, at the request of the Waziris. A saving of Rs. 60,000 having been effected last season by using the Karachi route for troops going northward, it will be tried this season also, with 3 troop-ships. Last season there arrived in India, 14,729 soldiers, 510 women, and 625 children, and there left 11,704 men, 572 women, and 259 children—a number somewhat less than the year previous. To encourage the study of Oriental languages by the rank and file of the British army, the present Lower Standard examination is divided into two separate ones, and the amounts given for that and the Higher Standard are apportioned accordingly: we doubt if this lowering of the standard will advance these studies. Important to be noticed is the fact that as the Depots are unable to fill up vacancies in the 2nd Dragoon Guards and the 7th and 18th Hussars, the Adjutant-General has called for volunteers from Cavalry Regiments at home: they must be over 20 years old, have 5 years still to serve, and be of good character,—but they are to get simply nothing at all for volunteering for India. The 3rd class of the Order of Merit has been conferred on 15 Indian soldiers for distinguished gallantry and good service in Africa.

Intellectual activity is shown by the registration for publication of 696 books in the Punjab, for the first quarter of 1892. The Engineers at work in the Godavery district have found near the old fort of Arugolanu the ruins of a Buddhist Monastery—a *vihara* court, with 2 *chaytiars* at one end, cells for monks round the sides, and a Stupa outside at the other end: hitherto only detached stupas had been found. Sir D. Brandis, late Director-General of Forests, has presented his great herbarium to the Saharanpur Botanical Garden; and the Indian Museum at Calcutta has acquired by purchase Mr. Rivett Carnac's

valuable collection of Indian coins. Alum has been discovered in large quantities at Jurgaon near Quettah, and good Kerosine (quantity unknown) in Shirani.

A few are still on the Ajmir Marwara relief works. In the Madras Presidency Rs. 2,650,000 were spent on well-digging and repairs, 5,000 being completed and 17,000 in progress. The amount spent in relief from the 1st April 1891 to 31st May 1892 was Rs. 2,160,000; and revenue to Rs. 3,098,000 was remitted. Government have granted Rs. 20,000 for waterworks at Trichinopoly with an annual Rs. 1,300 for maintenance, beginning in 1894;—also Rs. 150,000 for waterworks at Sibi;—Rs. 40,000 towards the exhibition of Indian tea, and Rs. 10,000 for Delhi art-ware at Chicago. Rs. 15,000,000 have been sanctioned, to extend the Chenab irrigation works to serve 700,000 acres. The late report on Irrigation works gives 54 major works with a capital outlay of Rs. 273,253,170, and a nett revenue (including interest) of Rs. 12,353,080—the nett profit being 4·5 per cent. On 76 minor works the capital outlay was Rs. 42,949,930; nett revenue Rs. 2,731,130, a profit of 5·12 per cent. Some of the minor works, especially in Sindh, return a very large profit—as much as 25 per cent. in some cases. The Director-General of Railways reports a capital outlay of £226,000,000 (= Rs. 2,276,700,000); gross earnings £24,000,000, working expenses £11,000,000, profit £12,000,000. The average dividends were 5·42 per cent.; 122,500,000 passengers travelled 276,000,000 miles, and 17,000,000 tons were conveyed. Rs. 9,100,000 have been spent on Collieries etc. The nett loss to the State was Rs. 1,725,000; and if the Rupee had been at par the interest would have been 21,458,633, and have yielded a surplus on the guaranteed Railways of Rs. 6,953,109: this is the loss on one item alone. The depression of trade has caused a falling off of Rs. 550,000 on the Bombay Railways for the 1st quarter—the figure is now nearly Rs. 1,000,000. The total fall off in Railway traffic between

1st April and 18th June was Rs. 2,450,000. There were opened (1891-'92) 874 miles and under construction or sanctioned 1,697 miles. Lines at work were 10,103 miles of broad, 7,171 of metre, and 228 of special gauges :—17,609 miles. These employed 280,000 natives, 5,936 Eurasians, and 4,626 Europeans. Six serious collisions during the year disposed of 56 killed and 135 injured. A new bridge 2,100 feet long was opened at Papaghni on the N.W. Madras Railway. The Gauhatti and Lamding line has been purchased by the Assam Bengal Railway; and the Hyderabad Umarmkot Railway has been opened for traffic, the first link in a new line between Karachi and Delhi. Numerous rivers have been in high flood—the Caubul, Indus, Chenab, Adyar—and have done much damage. Injuries more or less extensive and serious are reported from various lines: the Peshaur line near Nowshera, the Punjab Railway at Raiwind and at Lala-Musa and Khundwin, the Rajputana line (Sankaria Bridge swept away), the Quettah line flooded, as also the Kotri-Sukkur. The increased traffic at Calcutta has led to trial borings for a tunnel under the Hoogly between Howrah and Budge Budge. Destructive fires have occurred at Arthur Bunder, loss Rs. 30,000; Rawul Pindi, loss Rs. 20,000; Peshawur, loss Rs. 100,000.

From GOA the *India Portuguesa* recognises the difficulty of providing India with European missionaries, and urges, rather tardily, their replacement by native clergymen and native bishops. A national Lyceum has been opened at Panjim. An increased tariff has been adopted in the hope of getting 4 lakhs additional revenue, and the postage is tripled. The customs, like the receipts of the West of India Portuguese Railway, have fallen since the denunciation of the treaty with India.

From the Native States, we learn that the Maharajah Holkar has given 4 Bigahs of land for a Parsi tower of silence at Indore. K. C. Bedarkar's report on the administration of Indore shows great general improvement, especi-

ally in revenue matters and public works. These have cost Rs. 350,000, and include a General Library, a Technical School and the Holkar College. Elementary schools are increasing, as also charitable institutions and vaccination operations. The Baroda Government has appointed a sanitary Commissioner, a lady doctor, and dispensaries in the taluqs of Kerala, Chansama, and Waghadia. An Agricultural Exhibition was opened at Trivandrum by the Maharajah of Travancore, who specially noted the progress (since the last exhibition in 1884) of tea and coffee cultivation and of the plumbago mines: a block of 1 ton of plumbago was shown. The Maharajah of Dhar we note with regret has suffered from a paralytic stroke. The late Sir Bahadur Khanji of Junagadh has been succeeded by his brother the Nawab Rasul Khanji, who began his reign by giving Rs. 10,000 for enlarging the Islam Madresseh at Karachi, to 2,000 students, with a boarding-house for 100. It now teaches only 500. Khan Bahadur Khurshedji Kustomji Thanawalla, late Chief Justice of Baroda, has been made Dewan of Rutlam. The command of the new Bhopal Cavalry Regiment of the Imperial Defence is given to Resaldar Husn Din Khan of the 3rd Lancers Hyderabad Contingent, who served in the Afghan and Burmese Campaigns and received a sword of honour at the Muridki Camp of Exercise in 1890. The Mysore and Kapurthulla Durbars announce they will take part in the Chicago Exhibition. At the request of the Durbar, the Government have commissioned Mr. Evans Judge of Shahjehanpur and Major Thornton Resident of Jeypur to try the murderers of Kunj Behari Loll of Ulwar—Major Ramchunder, and his syce, and 2 Thakurs of Kankrowli. A native gentleman at Poona has given Rs. 100,000 for a Pasteur Institute, and the Secretary of State has sanctioned a medical officer's taking charge of it, provided it does not cause an increase in the medical staff.

The rebellion against the Amir of AFGHANISTAN has become general in the Hazarajat, where fighting continues

with various success, the truth being singularly difficult to get at. The Usbeks have joined the movement, though 4,000 of them have emigrated to Russian territory. Other risings or at least uneasiness have appeared in Jelabad, and among the Achakzais and Durranis.

And while his hands were thus full, the Russians have appeared in the Pamirs, under Col. Yonoff, with 4 other officers, 2,000 men, 12 guns, and a squadron of Cossacks. A fatal encounter has taken place at Somatash, with loss on both sides, and the Russians are reported from various other parts of the Pamirs. The expedition has a scientific staff, but is professedly undertaken to verify Russia's frontiers in the Pamirs, and to protect the Russian Kirkiz against Afghan tyranny! It is now stated that the Czar has ordered Yonoff to return; but he has taken up winter quarters on the Murghab; and there is little doubt that the thin end of the wedge in a claim to the whole of the Pamirs, including perhaps also Roshan and Shignan, has been inserted. The Amir has notified the facts to the Indian Government, which will most probably leave Lord Rosebery to be talked into overlooking the matter. But if the expedition was authorized, it should mean immediate war; if not, Col. Yonoff should be tried by a court-martial and shot. Had the Amir's country been at peace, the Russians would not have entered, or being there would never have been allowed to return alive. Notwithstanding all these troubles, the Amir, with a silliness worthy of a child, has been annoying us in the East and South, at Jandol, the Khyber, the Gomal, and in British Beluchistan, by either encouraging raids, or sending out bodies of troops. Meanwhile the Indian Government finds no remedy for these complications except continually inviting the Amir to a meeting which he does not care for. Perhaps he is right not to leave Cabul just now, as his absence might lose him the throne. The outlook for both the Amir and the Indian Government, already not by any means a bright one, is yet more darkened by the death of the Mehtar of Chitral, and

the seizure of the throne by the younger son Afzul Khan to the exclusion of Nizam ul Mulk, the elder, who will most probably fight for his rights. The whirlpool thus created will draw in many dangerous factors as allies on one side or the other.

In BURMA heavy floods have injured the Railways at Prome and in the Mu valley. The crops are very good, except in Pakkoku and Lower Chindwin. Professor Greisbach reports quantities of Jade at Uru, and great alluvial deposits of gold on the Upper Irrawady; and Dr. Noetling large quantities of a dark-brown amber, showing a bluish tint in certain lights. The Mergui coal-fields are proving very fruitful. Lands suitable for tea-growing are found in many places near Bhamo. The old trade with China is reviving. The North Chin Hills have been explored and reduced to order, and the South Chin Hills have been subdued, without bloodshed except at Shurheva; 190 slaves were recovered, and slavery there is ended. Roads and telegraphs have been increased, 160 miles of the latter in the Bhamo district alone. Government has resolved to prohibit opium in Lower as in Upper Burma; but opinions differ as to the wisdom of the policy or its practicability. A fourth Inspector of Schools has been sanctioned; the circles being the Eastern, Central, Western and Upper Burma. Crime in Upper Burma is reported to be normal, but there has been an increase of 30 per cent. in Lower Burma, owing to the famine and immigration from Upper Burma. The Government has resolved to avail itself of the older system for maintaining order, by having head-men for each village and ward of a village, who is held responsible for its welfare and quietness; this system, which had not quite died out, is as popular as it is effective. A further reduction of 1,039 men is announced in the police force, which now numbers 14,349.

The rising in Pahang is still unsubdued after more than 6 months; and we go a little beyond our usual course to call attention to it. The Sultan of Pahang, an independent

chief, having in an evil moment granted some mining concessions to European companies at Raub Penjanm and other places, asked the Straits' Governor to send him an officer to advise him in his relations with them. The officer sent gradually arrogated to himself, with the title of a Resident, the powers of a sovereign, and practically got the whole administration into his hands, so much so that he is called by the *Times* and others "The Governor." The Sultan bore this patiently; but his head-men at length rose against the usurpation, and have held their own with varying success: at least, they are yet unsubdued, and may renew the contest at any moment. Meanwhile the Governor first "ordered" the Sultan to reside at Pekan, and later on, has removed him to Singapore, and decided to administer the country by Englishmen. No charges of incapacity, tyranny or unfriendliness have been made against the Sultan, nor is he even charged with complicity in the unfortunate resistance into which the chiefs of the state have been goaded by a shameless usurpation. We ask the question, by what authority has the Sultan of Pahang been deprived of his kingdom by a set of subordinate officials, unknown to fame? Now that the general elections are over, we hope this series of transactions, little to the credit of the British Government, will meet the condemnation which it deserves, and that the Sultan will be restored to the authority which he has done nothing to discredit. It shows how the affair is for a complicated purpose, that we find in the *Times* that "3 men were found guilty of waging war against the Sultan." *His* subjects resisting *our* forces, in order to restore to *him* an authority of which *we* have *deprived* him, are said to wage war against *him*! Thus we use his name to strengthen our false position, while we condemn him to what is virtually imprisonment in exile.

There has been a terrible eruption on Great Sangir Island, with much loss of life: it was stated to be a complete destruction, with 12,000 lives lost, but this seems on the face of it a great exaggeration.



Lord Brassey tried ineffectually to have North British BORNEO made into a Crown Colony. The N. B. Borneo Company have sold 1,000,000 acres, and 17 estates are cultivating tobacco, but there are no dividends. The population is reported at 120,000, with 245 Europeans (160 British), 52 Eurasians, 67,062 Asiatics; that of Sandaka the capital at 6,350,116 being British. The exports (cocoa, rubber, tobacco and timber) have risen from \$401,604 in '85 to \$901,290 in 1890, and the imports from \$648,317 to \$2,018,089.

In TONQUIN a French Convoy from Hanoi to Lama Son, fell into an ambushade of Chinese and retreated with the loss of 12 killed 17 injured. From a debate in the French Chamber we learn that there are now 13,000 Native and 8,000 French soldiers in Tonquin. They are trying to raise local European corps. As the credit for military purposes was exceded, the navy were to give up their part of the vote for the military.

The JAPAN Parliament after several Government defeats was closed. The ministry has been reconstructed as follows: Premier, Count Ito; Home Office, Viscount Inouyé Nasaru; Foreign Office, Mr. Nutsu Munitimtsu; Finance, Mr. Watanabé Kumtaké; Justice, Mr. Yamegata; Education, Mr. Kano Tokana; War, Mr. Oyama; Navy, Mr. Niri; Ways and Communications, Mr. Kurada; Agriculture and Commerce, Count Goto Shigoro. An attempt made to murder Mr. Kano Tokana and Count Okuma, the leaders of the Progressist (Kaishin-to) party, luckily failed. The Portuguese, having no political representatives in Japan, are declared to be under Japanese law courts,—as should all other residents in Japan, we think. Progress is shown in Japan among other matters in the floor matting trade, which produces beautiful work in no less than 4,000 patterns, woven of a fibre with cotton warp. In 1886 the export was only £89, in 1889 it was £25,389, and in 1891 £104,396. It is taken mainly by Australia and the United States; but it needs only to be known to

secure a market in other countries also. The silk crop is disappointing, being 10 per cent. less than last year and of inferior quality. The Japan Mail Steam Ship Company have dismissed a number of their European employés.

FORMOSA is overrun with robber bands, with whom the Chinese are fighting with varying success.

CHINA.—At Shanghai the long suspended attempt to start cotton spinning has been resumed during the last year with success. Chinese cotton has been found very good for the purpose, and makes well into "American drills" and sheetings, 1 yard wide and 40 yards long, weighing 14 lb. There are 550 looms, and 21,000 spindles. They turn out 130,000 yards a week, and are worked by Chinese only. A yarn mill produces about 8 bales a day, of 400 lb. Half of the machinery is English and half American: it seems there were two parties in the concern, one for getting the whole of the machinery from England, the other from America. The result is characteristic.

Reports from China state that much of the ill-feeling against foreigners is stimulated by the intolerant legislation of America and Australia against Chinese; and that the missionaries often promote this ill-feeling by their contempt of local customs, local magistrates and regulations, and by violent attacks on local religious feeling. More anti-foreign placards have appeared in Hunan, and at Shensi a French missionary and some native Christians have been mutilated. The Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Turner were also assaulted in the north-west district of Sze-Chuen, but were rescued by the officials. An agreement with Russia is reported for the establishment of Russian consuls in every important Chinese town. Regarding the Pamirs, the Chinese troops seem to have prudently withdrawn for a time. The Tsung li yamen say they leave the matter in the hands of the Governor of Chinese Turkestan; but strong representations have been made at St. Petersburg, where one of the Chinese Ambassadors accredited to several courts will reside permanently.

In THIBET a child under 10 years old has been solemnly

enthroned as Pashen Erdeni Grand Lama by Chinese officials sent with rescripts from Pekin. The Emperor sent presents of money and valuable articles.

While the Russians were intent on the Pamirs, there has been an outbreak in Ferghana, showing that below the surface all is not quiet in the Russian conquests in Central Asia. A tax of 6 roubles has been imposed in Russian Turkestan on each Kibitka (waggon tent), two thirds going to the Imperial and one half to the local treasury. Two favoured tribes are assessed at two roubles, and those at Astrabad at only one.

The Tramways of Teheran are reported to be about to pass into Russian hands. Some cases of brigandage also have occurred. The Cholera after much devastation in Meshed, Teheran, Tabriz, and elsewhere, passed north-westerly to Batoum and Astrachan, and thence into Russia. At Teheran and villages about, the dead are numbered between 13,000 and 20,000 ;—in all Persia, over 60,000, including 20 Europeans. New cemeteries had to be opened.

In YEMEN, Ahmed Faizi Pasha has captured the last stronghold of the rebels, Saada, 130 miles N. of Sennaa. The leader Hamid ud dun, with 20 other chiefs, was killed. Yemen has a population of about 3,000,000. The exports were Turkish dollars 2,200,000, the imports 5,300,000. These were principally rice, flour, piece goods, sugar, dates and kerosine ; those consist of pearls, senna, myrrh, coffee, hides and salt, indigo, food and oil grains.

At Bourdour in Asia Minor an American missionary's house was burnt down, and the United States at once demanded satisfaction. The damages were at once paid by the Ottoman Government, though it is believed that the fire arose from the negligence of a servant. The two cruisers which, with characteristic modesty, were at once ordered to the neighbourhood now have nothing to do. The railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem (54 miles) has been completed by a French Company, and the first engine entered the Holy City on the 13th Sept. The imports of

PALESTINE are given at £287,700, the exports at £400,530—total value £706,821 in 1890; in 1891, £688,230. Vines have been introduced from France, and mulberry trees are being raised for sericulture. Among the exports were 270,000 cases of oranges valued at £108,000, and 250 tons of soap, equal to £124,000. Over 1,000,000 bushels of wheat and barley are reported.

The canards regarding our withdrawal from EGYPT need not detain us beyond saying that our policy regarding that country is not likely to be changed by the new Ministry. A great step in the further improvement of the country is the decree constituting municipalities in 14 of the chief towns of the Delta and Upper Egypt. The Governor, Sanitary officer and Engineer are members *ex officio*, and 6 others will be elected by the people. Their power of spending is limited; a report of all their meetings must be sent to the Minister of the Interior; and there will be a certain proportion of Europeans in the Municipality till the natives have learned to shift for themselves. The total amount encashed since the last coupons were paid is, for the Unified debt £E.974,000, and for the Preferential debt £E.277,000. The cotton crop is 15 per cent. over that of last year. The success of the Daira Sanieh has led to a Company with £120,000 for producing sugar, on 7,000 acres. Much inconvenience resulting from the circulation of light English gold it has been decided to clip all coins under weight or not current in England, and to give only bullion value for those tampered with. In the last 5 years £1,800,000 have been spent on irrigation. The Nile is in very high flood, and causes some anxiety.

From a TUNIS report, we note that land cultivation has increased from 946,675 acres in 1881 to 1,825,365 acres in 1891, yielding over £1,000,000. There are 200,000 head of cattle, and 1,000,000 sheep. Olive mills have increased to 86, of which 9 are worked by steam. Wine of which in 1887 only 337,000 gallons were exported, in 1891 gave 2,362,800 gallons, and in 1892 3,100,000 gallons. In 1890

the imports and exports were £1,274,907 and £1,213,984; in 1891 they were £1,825,289 and £1,588,129. The imports consisting of piece goods, flour, coffee, sugar, cotton, woollen and silk manufactures were from France £876,650, Great Britain and Malta £349,662, Italy £157,422; the exports were to France £297,270, to Great Britain £265,780, and Italy £135,297; and France is raising fortifications in violation of her undertaking.

The failure of Sir C. Euan-Smith's mission to Morocco is already old matter. Our papers give only one side of the question; much could be said from the Sultan's side perhaps, as the proposed treaty certainly did curtail his power to an extent which left sensible men sure that it could not be granted. Sir C. Euan-Smith rode too high a horse. The flag incident shows in addition a great want of tact. Of the trade of Morocco, 62 per cent. is British. Meanwhile, after strenuous efforts and several checks, the Sultan's troops have defeated the rebels; and the conferences of chiefs at Fez seem to have had good results both for the present pacification of the country and for its future better government. The governor who was the cause of the rebellion has been replaced by another.

The GAMBIA report for 1891 gives the revenue at £31,038, expenditure at £29,697, leaving a surplus of £1,341: this happy land has no public debt, and its accumulated surplus of £18,102 is mainly invested in England. By the recent delimitation with France the colony has gained 250 miles of territory, 10 kilometres wide on each side of the river, 40 miles along the Vintang Creek, and all the navigable waters. The prospects of this colony are very bright. The French have at length assumed the offensive in DAHOMEY, but up to date with no definite success, though King Behanzin has had to retreat. The French Soudan has been made into a separate Province, under Colonel Archinard. In the CAMEROONS, the Germans have a good station for trade at Baliburg in Baliland; but they have failed to reach the fertile kingdom of Adamava,

as the road is barred by hostile Badungs and Bafuts, who are too strong for the allies of the Germans. On the GOLD COAST, Sir W. B. Griffith occupied Crobo Hill, installed a new King of East Crobo, and abolished human sacrifices and fetish worship on the Hill: all is reported to be quiet. The trade of the OIL RIVERS PROTECTORATE, July to December 1891, gave imports at £295,528, exports at £269,237, and revenue at £43,516; the trade is chiefly with the United Kingdom and Germany. In the CONGO State, a general rising of the Arabs has swept away the stations of the Anti-Slavery Co. and Congo State, most of the Europeans being massacred. It extends from Tanganyika to Nyengwe and the upper Lomani, and is headed by Rumiliza. The Joubert and Jegus expeditions to Katanga have been driven back. Forces were being concentrated at Basoko at the confluence of the Lomani and Congo rivers. The position of the State is further complicated by financial difficulties; and France has made a vexatious and as it appears unfounded charge for indemnity for the assumed murder of a Frenchman on Congo territory.

The Franchise has been raised at CAPE COLONY from £25 to £75, illiterates not to have a vote; the avowed purpose being to prevent the swamping of the European interest by the native vote. Sir J. Gordon Spriggs moved a vote of censure regarding the non-completion of the Mafeking Railway, with a personal attack on Mr. Cecil Rhodes, who admitted that it was necessary and would be completed as soon as practicable. The motion was negatived. The export of gold rose from £381,000 in July to £455,050 in August. Grapes are being largely sent to England. Mr. Cecil Rhodes seems to wish for an African Council like the India Office. His next journey to England is not yet fixed; but Sir H. B. Loch is coming at once, and among other matters will discuss the Swaziland question. This visit has prevented Sir Henry from meeting President Kruger of the TRANSVAAL and the President of the ORANGE FREE STATE, at a conference, at which the Swaziland question would

have been discussed. The Transvaal loan of £2,500,000 at 5 per cent. has been most successfully floated, the money being for Railways to Port Elizabeth and southwards. The republic has imposed an increased tariff as against the Cape, and in reply to remonstrances declares itself unable to lower them. There is a great competition in tariffs between the Cape and the NATAL Railways, regarding the Transvaal, and reductions have been made by both, till it has become almost suicidal. Durban is certainly 300 miles nearer Pretoria than any other British port (Delagoa Bay only can compete with it in this), but other considerations help the Cape route. The two Natal delegates having returned after conferring with Lord Knutsford, made their report regarding Representative Government. The Parliament was then dissolved, and a general election will decide whether the natives are to be under the Governor and Ministers or under the Colonial Office. Opinion in the Colony is by no means unanimous regarding the measure. The imports for 1890-91 were £3,620,809, and the exports £1,315,625. Gungunhana was about to start on the war-path against the Portuguese on the Limpopo, but Sir H. Loch through the British Consul persuaded him to give up the idea. Great progress is being made in the Anglo-Portuguese delimitation in the Pungwe, which has led to several rectifications of our maps. The Anglo-German commission has not been so successful, from Dr. Peters' resignation, owing to differences with Baron Soden. Kilma Njaro has been re-occupied; but the Church Missionary Society have left it of their own will. From UGANDA, Captain Lugard has given his version of the recent deplorable events; and after an impartial examination of all statements, we are inclined to blame Bishop Hirth for the whole explosion. Captain Lugard is on his way to Europe, but the country is reported to be quiet. Mwanga has been reinstated, and the Railway survey made progress.

At ZANZIBAR, where Mr. Gerald Portal has won the well-

deserved honour of being made a K.C.M.G., the International Maritime office decreed by the Brussels Conference for collecting documents on the slavery question is being formed, —Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Portugal and Russia sending representatives. Dr. Stuhlman has arrived at Zanzibar, quite recovered from his illness, and reports that Emin Pasha in April crossed Kagira to Karagwe and West M'pororu, where he heard that his people were not far off; he went north to Urschumbi, the south point of the Albert Nyanza, where he was told they were further away. In May, he went N.W. to the Albert Edward Lake, and met his people at Undussame. Selim Bey and the Soudanese refused to go with him; and he continued his way westward to Uelle and Adamava. His 150 tons of ivory had been destroyed by the rebels. He touched English territory only twice. Smallpox broke out, and Emin, himself ill, remaining with those who were sick, sent back Stuhlman with those who were well. The scientific results are great in meteorology, astronomy, surveys, measurements, and collections of mammals, birds, fishes, and skulls of pigmies, besides 1 man and 2 girls rescued from the Manyema. A chain of mountains has been discovered in S. L.  $1^{\circ} 25'$ , E. L.  $30^{\circ}$ —one peak still an active volcano. A river runs from these mountains north to Lake Albert Edward, and another lake is reported to the south.

MAURITIUS.—Already in the middle of July, owing to good rains, almost all traces of the cyclone had disappeared in the fields, and the sugar-crop was reported to be fairly good. In this calamity Mauritius received generous help from England, the Cape, and India; from India, amongst other chiefs, the Nawab Sir Abdulgunny, Ahmadullakhan and the Rajah of Rewah, contributed each Rs. 1,000. Subscriptions also came in from Natal, Madagascar, Seychelles, and Réunion. Their total loss is estimated at 40,000,000 Rs. The British Parliament voted a loan of £600,000.

H.M.S. *Curaçoa* has proclaimed a British protectorate over the Ellice Islands (E. of New Guinea and S. of the



Gilbert Islands already annexed), also the Gardner, Dangar and Nassau Islands. Their inhabitants are said to be warlike and not industrious, and the islands fertile. But they are only 20 ft. above the sea, and are said to be steadily disintegrating. Tertulia Island has also been secured, probably as a coaling station; it had been abandoned by the United States. Johnson island also has been occupied, but it is claimed as belonging to Hawaii. The French have of course at once set to occupy something in return, and have taken possession of the Gloriosa group on the Equator, and the islands of Amsterdam and St. Paul: Australia is lodging a protest against the occupation of the two last.

The Revenue of VICTORIA for the year ending 30th June, was £7,728,828, a decrease of £614,000; the expenditure was £8,639,900. The initial deficit of £1,569,950 would be £1,900,000 for 1893-4: the last 3 years had left a deficit of £1,000,000 a year. The Customs receipts fell £136,000, the Land tax £93,000, Public works £407,000 (including £205,000 on Railways), and Fees £68,000. The excise receipts increased £78,000. The deficit for the year was £1,200,000. An adverse motion by Mr. Dixon on the Budget was defeated by 53 to 32 votes. The last quarter shows a further decrease in revenue of £165,887 compared with last year. Duties have been raised on spirits from 12s. to 15s. a gallon, on beer in bottle from 9d. to 1s. 6d. and in bulk from 9d. to 1s.; on sparkling wines from 8s., and other wines from 6s. per gallon to a uniform 12s. A penny is added to the 2d. duty on tea. All this is expected to yield £200,000. The debt was £46,711,282, with an annual charge of £1,810,459. The revenue and expenditure would be equalized this year, and £500,000 carried forward to the deficit. An increase of Stamp, Probate, and other duties and a tax on absentees were proposed.

The SOUTH AUSTRALIAN revenue for the past year was £2,778,000, an increase of £10,000, the expenditure

£2,734,000. Customs and land revenue are expected to yield £815,000 and Railways £1,200,000. The public debt is quoted at £22,100,000. A tax is proposed on stock to balance an expected decrease in customs, owing to drought and mining strikes. Later, splendid rains have ended the drought. Changes in the military will give an increase of 2,500 well trained men with a saving of £50,000 a year. Against a pessimistic view given by some of the Northern Territory, we quote the following returns: The list of Northern Territory exports for 1891 is a medicine for feverish pessimism about that great Attachment to the colony:—"Gold, 28,629 oz., £98,149; gold concentrates, £552; silver ore and bullion, 90 tons, £4,140; copper ore, 256 tons, £3,619; tin (oxide), 41 tons, £1,870; fish (dried) 93,802 lb., £1,048; hides and horns, £3,020; cattle, 5,875, £17,625; sheep, 7,500, £2,250; wool, £1,315; tobacco, 5,373 lb., £426; sugar, 24 tons, £480; bêche-de-mer, 103 tons, £2,725; tortoise-shell, £1,125; sundries, £413; re-exported, £5,640. Total, £144,397.

The 15th Parliament of NEW SOUTH WALES promises legislation on Land, small holdings, the franchise, and municipal extensions. Federation is to be forwarded by a resolution declaring its desirability. Rumours were afloat of a proposal to make the Legislative Council an elective instead of a nominated body; for as the last Federation Conference proposals included a Federal Legislative Council to be elected by the Council of each Colony, the Sydney Council must become elective also, like those of the other colonies. Strikes have continued at Broken Hill, Silver Barrier and Barren Rock. Arbitration has been refused by the men, and the Bill for that purpose passed last March is so much waste-paper. The loss to the colony is simply enormous; but Labour though very strong is completely blind to both its own and the general welfare. The revenue for the quarter ending June was £2,857,000, an increase of £194,000 on 1891; Customs increasing £165,000, Stamps £46,000 and Railways £6,000. Tenders for 175,000 tons

of steel rails are to be placed with local manufacturers to encourage production. The report of the Board for the Protection of Aborigines for 1891 says there are 4,458 full-blooded Aborigines and 3,015 half-castes in New South Wales, a decrease of 243 on the previous year. The diminution is partly owing to the fact that in 1890 many Aborigines from other colonies who came temporarily to this colony have since gone back. The natural decrease was 82, the births being 125 and the deaths 207. The Board are educating the young Aborigines and providing adults with profitable occupation and homes. £14,078 of Government money was disbursed in 1891. The Board are not satisfied with the management of the Aborigines Protection Association, and if its future operations do not inspire greater confidence "the Board will recommend the Government to alter the existing system."

The revenue of WESTERN AUSTRALIA for the half year ended June was £266,171, and the expenditure £257,136. There was a credit balance of £116,682. Compared with the previous 12 months the increase in the revenue was £94,798, being £517,985, as against £423,187, and the expenditure £487,438, against £411,890. Of the loan of £1,336,000 authorized for public works last year, only £500,000 had been raised, and of this only £171,366 expended. The treasurer has in hand £456,567 on the current loan and trust accounts.

The QUEENSLAND Government measure authorizing the construction of railways by private persons on the land grant system has passed through Committee in the Legislative Assembly. Mr. Barbour's proposal to divide Queensland into two provinces, North and South, instead of three, was carried by a majority of 22. The Government accepted the amendment, which has been passed also by the Legislative Council. Sir T. M'Ilwraith said in his Budget Speech that the financial year was bad in all the Colonies. The estimated revenue had been £3,473,000, being £201,400 under the estimate, though £70,000 over

last year's total. The improvement was wholly on the Railways, which gave £19,000 over the estimate. The Expenditure was £3,625,000, a decrease of £60,000 on last year. The exports during 1891 increased by £810,700, and exceeded the imports by nearly £2,500,000. For the coming year, he estimates Revenue at £3,518,000, and Expenditure at £3,636,000, leaving a deficit of £108,000. The salaries of Members of Parliament were to be reduced from January to £150 a year, succession duties to be doubled, and a tax put on "Totalizers" (betting machines), Customs duties increased 15 and 25 per cent. on beer, boots, hops, malt, cheese, dried fruits, pickles, flour, wheat, and tobacco. These, with £26,000 from retrenchments, will give £134,000. The Kanaka Labour Act, as the Home Government refuse to veto it, may be considered as passed. The opposition to this and Coolie labour on the north of Australia continues, perhaps somewhat unreasonably.

TASMANIA.—The Fruit growers complain that the freight at £4 10s. per measured ton, or 2s. 6d. per case, hampers their trade. They could have sent 500,000 cases, at the rate of £3 per ton or 3s. per case, which would give £75,000 in 3 months. It is hoped the shipowners will note this opening. The revenue for July was £58,723, being a falling off of £16,172 compared with July. The deficiency for the seven months is £32,868.

On opening Parliament on July 26 the Governor said that the depression in the revenue had entailed a necessity for retrenchment. Mr. Bird in his Budget Speech stated the revenue at £872,622, and the expenditure £921,637, leaving a deficiency of £49,000, or with that of last year £70,000. The debit balance on 30 June was £1,181,086. It was proposed to reduce the Governor's and Ministerial salaries, take £9,000 from the assurance fund, and impose a tariff almost wholly protective. Being defeated on the fiscal question by 4 votes, Mr. Fysh resigned, with his colleagues, and Mr. Dobson formed a Ministry, with Mr. John Henry as Treasurer, who stated that the whole of the

£1,500,000 loan had been expended before being borrowed. It would, therefore, be necessary to borrow £500,000, to pay for public and other expenses vote. A deficit of £180,000 he proposed to meet by severe retrenchment, an increase of the Customs duties, and the imposition of fresh taxation on sugar, meat, tobacco, sheep, cattle, tea, and beer. Sanction has been given to issue Treasury bills up to £130,000.

A motion in the NEW ZEALAND House of Representatives, by Sir G. Grey, that the future Governors be elected by the people, was rejected by 28 to 27 votes; as was also the 8 hours bill sent up from the lower house. A difference of opinion has arisen between the New Zealand Ministry and the Governor about appointing 12 additional members to the Legislative Council (a nominee Chamber). Lord Glasgow consents to nine new members, but declines to swamp the present House without a more evident necessity than is yet shown. The Colonial Secretary has been asked to define the prerogatives of the Governor on this point. The revenue for the past year was £4,448,000, being £87,000 over the estimate. The expenditure is £26,000 below the estimate. Last year left a surplus of £165,000, after paying £100,000 off the floating debt and other disbursements. The revenue for the current year is estimated at £4,161,000, including the new Land and Income taxes. It is proposed to expend £25,000 on acquiring for small cultivators and in payment of Civil Service pensions lands owned by private and native proprietors. The tariff remains unaltered. Two State farms will be established for the relief of the unemployed on the co-operative system, which has been a success in ordinary public works.

The trade of NEW CALEDONIA is increasing satisfactorily, with the increase in the population and larger numbers employed in the mines. Labour has been imported from Japan for the mines, and Tonquin for agriculture. New Hebrides labour does not suit the mines, and is scarce and dear. The growing revenue helps the large expenses for public works. Lighthouses have been erected, and ships

enter Noumea harbour at night ; a contract for waterworks has been made ; dry docks are projected ; a railway is under consideration ; and a telegraph to Queensland.

In CANADA the trials connected with the scandals are not yet over. The Government, through fear of President Harrison's retaliatory measures very unnecessarily repeated that the preferential tolls on Canadian Canals were only for this year. The United States however issued retaliatory duties, and Canada gives in. She will refund to Canadian vessels the tolls they may have to pay in the United States. The Canal on the Canadian side of St. Mary's River is being pushed night and day to be completed next July, or 18 months before contract time. The Canadian Pacific Railway is pushing on a new line through the Crow's Nest Pass in the Rocky Mountains to pre-empt the pass, which is only wide enough for one road from the east side. The company will run a line through the magnificent agricultural country west of the boundary to connect with the present Soo system. A "cut-off" is also now being built through the Western States, which will give the company an optional Trans-continental route to the Pacific coast, cheaper than the present. The Parliamentary Sessions work included readjustment of Representation in the Commons, and the adoption of a code of criminal law. The duty has been raised on sugar, treacle, and tobacco for all countries not giving Canada the "most favoured nation" clause, and on eggs against the United States. Regarding the Copyright Act passed 2 years ago, Lord Salisbury told Canada that as it had not been formally approved it had lapsed, and Canada had better accept Mr. Blaine's Copyright Act, and grant copyright to applicants from the United States as England herself does. The re-organization of the Government railways has already saved \$40,000. The revenue for the year was \$36,903,216, the expenditure \$36,629,803 ; the surplus is less than in the preceding 3 years, owing to remission in sugar duties. The McKinley tariff notwithstanding, the exports

of 1892 were \$114,000,000 against \$85,000,000 in 1889. The sealskins taken by the British Columbia fleet last year was \$792,925 against \$492,261 in 1890. Vessels belonging to both parties have been seized for contravening the *modus vivendi* in the Behring Sea. As commissioners for this arbitration, France has nominated Baron Alphonse de Courcel, and Italy the Marquis Visconti Venosta. The British Parliament just before closing last session, advanced £150,000 to British Columbia, for the transfer of 1,250 families of Scottish Crofters, on free land, with dwellings and provision for a livelihood, in parties of 50 at a time, the whole to be located in 6 years.

The misfortunes of NEWFOUNDLAND have culminated in a terrible fire destroying two-thirds of the city of St. John, rendering 10,000 homeless, with a loss of over \$13,000,000; about one-third of the loss is insured in 21 houses. Fortunately but few lives were lost. All the newspapers, and most of the doctors were burnt out. Two attempts were made to burn down the remainder of the city, the marines had to patrol the place, and public-houses to be shut up by order. Some heartless landlords took advantage of the general misery to raise the rents. The fear of starvation was relieved by timely supplies and money from Canada, and a fund was started at the Mansion House. The misfortune has had the fortunate result of bringing Newfoundland closer to Canada, and a feeling for Federation has sprung up in the island. There have been many forest fires, and a long-continued drought has much damaged the crops. Mr. A. W. Harvey is negotiating a treaty with Spain for the importation of fish from Newfoundland.

WEST INDIES.—The Commission to inquire into the Administration of Justice by Mr. Justice Cook, and Chief Justice Sir John Gorrie, in TRINIDAD and TOBAGO, made its report on the 2nd May. The Legislative Council thereupon interdicted both from duty pending the decision of the Colonial Office. They meanwhile returned home on leave,

their places being temporarily filled by Mr. S. H. Gatti, as Chief Justice, and Mr. Justice Lamb—Mr. W. L. Lewis taking Mr. Lamb's place as second Puisne Judge. General Lyons has been sworn in as Governor of BERMUDA.

A wholesale eviction is reported from St. Thomas parish, JAMAICA, of 1,000 tenants on twelve large estates, just as their crops were ripening. The Government declined to interfere.

*Obituary.*—There have passed away during the quarter : Mr. Dhunjibhai Framji Patel, the worthy son of a worthy father, "the Nestor of the Parsis," whose death we chronicled last quarter ; Lady Li, wife of the Chinese Governor of Tiensin ; Lady Alexander Mackenzie, wife of the Chief Commissioner of Burma ; Admiral C. O. Hayes, who served on the India station ; the Hon. John Robson, Premier of British Columbia, who died in London ; Dr. Tasso Neroustos Bey of Cairo ; the Most Rev. Ernest Bonjean, Archbishop of Colombo ; Mr. Rustomji Gustad Irani, the Maharathi poet and author ; Bishop John Hedley, D.D., of Fredrickton and Metropolitan of Canada ; the two Kizilbash Sirdars, Mullah Yusuf Ali Khan, a great Shia preacher, and a good counsellor to the Ameer of Caubul, and Muhammad Nubbi Khan, skilled in Persian poetry ; General F. C. Maisey, who served in the Burma wars of 1852-53, and the Mutiny ; Hugh Hastings Romilly, C.M.G., late Commissioner of New Guinea ; Alfred Patrick, C.M.G., clerk of the Federal Parliament of Canada ; Col. Sir R. W. Hurley, K.C.M.G., of the West India Regiment, and Administrator of several colonies ; Sulieman Pasha, once of Plevna, late of Bagdad ; P. Wassa Pasha, Governor of the Libanus ; His Highness the Zamorin of Calicut, aged over 80 years ; General R. W. Disney Leith, C.B., who served in the Persian Gulf, Punjab, and Mutiny campaigns, and led the storming party at Multan ; Dr. Forbes Watson, the well-known writer on India ; General the Hon. Sir A. E. Hardinge, K.C.B., who served in the Sutlej campaign, and was Commander-in-Chief in Bombay ; Deputy Surgeon-



General H. W. Bellew, of whom we give a longer notice elsewhere ; Sir Harry Albert Atkinson, K.C.M.G., President of the Legislative Council of Auckland, N. Zealand ; General Sir Charles T. Van Straubenzie, G.C.B., who served in the Coorg and Maharajpur campaigns, the Crimea and China, and was sometime Governor of Malta ; Lt.-Genls. S. Chalmers and Alexander Pond, of the Indian Army ; General Sir Charles Stuart, secretary to Lord Canning during the Mutiny ; Mr. Dimitri Rudolph Peacock, Consul-General at Odessa ; Col. L. B. Irwin, who served in the Jowaki expedition, the Afghan wars of 1878-9, and in Egypt ; Sir Charles Fox, K.C.M.G., of the Colonial Office ; Sir John Gorrie, who closed a former brilliant career under a cloud ; Marshal Namyk Pasha, some time Turkish Ambassador in Paris and London, aged over 90 ; and F. A. Lushington, of the Indian Civil Service.

We quote from the *Athenæum* : The death of Wassa Pasha took place suddenly on the 29th of June. He was remarkable not only for his political position, as holding, with the consent of the Powers, the Governor-Generalship of the Lebanon, but also as a scholar. He is one of the few Christian Albanians who have distinguished themselves in this respect. Besides the languages of Albania, he was acquainted with most of the European tongues and all those of the Slav family ; thus he took a high place as a linguist. He was the author of several works, and it may be remembered that to the last Congress of Orientalists he contributed, in collaboration with Sir Patrick Colquhoun, a paper on the Pelasgi.

V.

21st September, 1892.

## OBITUARY.

THE sad deaths of several of the distinguished office-holders of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists held last year in London, has, in each case, been followed by the equally sad loss of their literary material. 600 copies of Sir Patrick Colquhoun's *magnum opus* on Comparative Law, to which an introduction bringing it up to date was being written *in memoriam* by a Committee of the Congress for which he had done so much, were sold, along with, we fear, other treasures of that accomplished scholar, under the auctioneer's hammer for less than £10. Sir Richard Burton's manuscripts have been destroyed and now it is feared the Greek and Afghan linguistic coincidences of the eminent Dr. H. W. Bellew, a Vice-President of the Congress in question, will never see the light. The writer of this notice as also of the "Obituary" in the *Times* from which we quote, had long agreed to co-operate with Dr. Bellew in the elaboration of that material as also of the one embodying his views on Afghan policy, but the death of the great scholar and politician has deprived alike science and diplomacy of contributions, which would have been invaluable at the present conjuncture of affairs. Still the work on "Afghan Ethnography," published for the Congress, will ever remain a monument not only of his learning and of many years' labour, but also of the history and present distribution of Afghan and neighbouring tribes.

## DR. H. W. BELLEW.

We regret to announce the death of Dr. Henry Walter Bellew, C.S.I., Surgeon-General Bengal Army, retired, which took place at his residence at Farnham Royal, Bucks, on Tuesday, the 26th July. By his death has passed away another of the few remaining members of that Anglo-Indian school that helped to build up our Empire by acquiring a thorough knowledge of the natives based on a sympathetic intercourse with them. As an Oriental linguist, Dr. Bellew was well known; as a sanitary commissioner his views were distinguished by a practical insight into the customs of the people which suggested remedies that were as efficacious as they were willingly adopted. As an explorer his gift of observation supplied minute and interesting information regarding regions that had either been unknown, or little known, before his visit; while as a Political Officer and a representative Englishman on the Punjab frontier he gained the confidence of native chiefs and of the natives generally in a high degree. Dr. Bellew was the son of the late Major H. W. Bellew, Assistant Quarter-master-General Indian Army, and was born in India on August 30, 1834. In 1854 he went out to the Crimean war, from which he returned home in 1855, when he took his commission and went to India in 1856. There he joined the Guides, and shortly after was sent on the famous "Mission to Candahar" with Major H. B. Lumsden, since better known as Sir Henry Lumsden, the brother of Sir Peter Lumsden, of the India Council. Dr. Bellew then published his "Journal of a Mission to Candahar in 1857-58," which at once marked him as a man who under-

stood the natives. He was therefore able to render good service during the Ambeyla campaign. As Civil Surgeon of Peshawur he became a centre of influence all along the frontier, and was enabled in 1864 to publish a "General Report on the Yusufzais," which is still a standard work on the topography, history, the antiquities, tribal subdivisions, government and customs, climate and productions of the district, or rather country, of Yusufzai. He then published "A Grammar and Dictionary of the Pukhto Language," which was long a standard work on the subject, and in 1871 he accompanied Sir Richard Pollock on a political mission to Seistan, where they were joined by Sir Frederick Goldsmid's mission and proceeded together to the Persian capital. His extra-official observations made on that journey are contained in his valuable work "From the Indus to the Tigris," and were accompanied by a grammar of the Brahui language, and other scientific matter. In 1873-74 he was deputed on the Embassy to Kashghar and Yarkand after the return of Mr. Forsyth's party to India from a visit to the Atalik Ghazi, and, eschewing politics, his "Kashmir and Kashghar" gives a very telling description of the peoples, especially of the latter country, and of their neighbours, including several references to "Kunjut," which has latterly been brought under our influence by the name of "Hunza." His friendship with the Ameer Shere Ali, and his great knowledge of frontier affairs, pointed him out to Lord Lytton as the most competent person for the post of Chief Political Officer to General (now Lord) Roberts at Cabul during the war with Afghanistan in 1879. Illness unfortunately compelled him to give up the post, but to science his stay in Cabul furnished the materials for "The Races of Afghanistan," published in 1880, and for his valuable contribution to the "Ethnography of Afghanistan," regarding which he submitted an important work to the International Congress of Orientalists held last year, on which occasion also, at a meeting presided over by the Hon. G. Curzon, M.P., he expounded his views on a number of linguistic and other identifications between Greek and Afghan tribes, a subject which occupied his attention to within a few hours of his death. Dr. Bellew had been long ailing from gastric complaints, brought on by excessive overwork and exposure during his Indian career, from which he retired in November, 1886. He will be mourned by more than one generation of friends, colleagues, and brother officers. . . The funeral took place on the 30th July, at 4.20 p.m. at Woking, and was attended by his brother, Mr. P. F. Bellew, his nephew Captain Judge, Mr. Norman MacGregor, M. Ciardiello, Dr. Fairbank, and a number of Anglo-Indian friends, including Sir Richard Pollock, Sir Peter Lumsden, Generals Hunter, Johnstone and Limond, Mr. A. Brandreth and Dr. G. W. Leitner. Dr. Bellew was married to Isabel, sister of another famous explorer, General Sir Charles MacGregor, and leaves two daughters and a son, Dillon, of the 16th Lancers, stationed at Ranikhet, M.W.P., India.—*Times* 29th July and 1st August 1892.

We take the following from the *Hometward Mail* of August 5th, in order to supplement the foregoing obituary :

"Right or wrong, his convictions and his principles were often incompatible with the precepts of official diplomacy; and as he was not a man whose

opinions could be concealed or altered from time to time to suit the varying moods of politicians in power, it can easily be understood that he was as often as not ignored at headquarters. His advice and assistance would be sought when the Government was in a tight place; he would be thrown over and left unrewarded when the crisis passed away. Yet it is a proof of the sterling quality of his mind that, although a keen and untiring controversialist, he was ever found, not protesting against official neglect or posing as a man with a grievance, but expounding and advocating what he believed to be true principles of policy. He held it a matter of far greater consequence that we should be treating the Afghans unfairly, than that his own prospects of promotion should suffer. With his unrivalled experience and unusual faculties, it is easy to see that, had he only subordinated his own views to those of this and that Governor-General and Foreign Secretary, honours and official rewards would have been showered on him. As it was, he had to be content with a European reputation as a scholar and traveller, and with the approbation of those who understood him. . . .

"His father, Major H. W. Bellew, was one of that ill-fated army which perished, all but one man, in the disastrous retreat from Cabul. 'It seems to have been the will of Providence,' wrote one who knew him, 'that Henry Walter Bellew should spend his life in efforts for the welfare of that race which deprived him of a father's protection; for no English name is so revered, and there are no deeds of kindness so treasured up by the Afghans, even as household words, as the name and deeds of 'Bellew Sahib.' . . .

"During the Mutiny, when the Guides were winning imperishable renown before Delhi, the two Lumsdens and Bellew were at the mercy of the Afghans. The rumour reached Candahar that every Englishman in India had been massacred. The Governor, Gholam Haidar, son of the Dost, consulted his father as to whether the three Englishmen should be put to death. It was very greatly owing to the good name which Dr. Bellew had won for England by the exercise of his professional skill, and by the friendly relations which he had established with leading Afghans, that this catastrophe was averted. . . .

"In 1869 he was employed as interpreter with Shere Ali, during the Ameer's visit to Lord Mayo; and the Ameer never ceased to speak of him with expressions of respect and warm friendship. Nine years afterwards, when Sir Lewis Pelly met the Afghan Envoy in conference at Peshawur, the Envoy said to Dr. Bellew, 'I reckon you as our friend, and I know that the Ameer esteems you as such, and often speaks of you in terms of commendation. But,' he went on to say, 'it is different with your Government.' The Ameer has now a deep-rooted mistrust of the good faith and sincerity of the British Government, and he has many reasons for this distrust. . . .

"This is not a fitting occasion for inquiring into the secrets of history, but we cannot refrain from the remark that, had Dr. Bellew's advice been taken, more than one serious scandal would have been avoided."

A friend sends us the following anecdotes regarding Dr. H. W. Bellew:

1. One day we were riding out on the Mushobra Road and met a long string of coolies of sorts, Afghans, Ladakhis, Cashmiris, one or two Lepchas and Bhotas, etc.; Dr. Bellew, as was usual with him, on seeing a strange physiognomy, entered into conversation with one and another of them; though perhaps not speaking all their different lingos, he yet managed to make them understand him. And the astonishment of these semi-savages, at hearing a sahib thus address them made them lift up their hands with many a "Wah wah, here is a sahib who knows all about us and can talk to us all in our own tongues"; reminding one of the Bible story about "Here is a man who talks to us all in the languages in which we were born—Parthians, and Medes and Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia."

2. A camel-man in the plains, straight down from Cabul with his load of apples and grapes, shortly after the last Afghan War, was discoursing upon his experiences, and finished up with "Ah yes, you got away that time, but you will never get up there again; or if you do, not a man of you but will leave his bones behind." This made a great impression on Bellew at the time, and he mentioned it to several friends, as the common talk in the Cabul bazaar, which just bore out his own views, about the short-sighted policy of going up, at such infinite cost and difficulty and then clearing out again. "If you go, you should *stay* there," he used to say, "and let them see you are masters of the situation; or if not, leave them alone to cut their own throats, and don't interfere at all."

3. A celebrated American traveller to whom Dr. Bellew had been asked to show the lions of Cashmir, Murree, Peshawur, etc., and who struck up a great friendship with him which has continued to this day (they both being of an open-hearted free-thinking sort of nature), wrote to him shortly after, to say "he had heard two wonderful things that morning:—one was that there had been an earthquake in the Peshawur valley!, and the other that Bellew was married!!, and of the two he rather thought the last had surprised him most. This shows he was not what one might call a marrying man, though this did not prevent his being the best of husbands when once married, as another anecdote will fairly prove.

4. A correspondent in writing to the *Times* giving an account of Sir D. Forsyth's Mission to Yarkand, and the hardships the party had to undergo, having to keep their ink-bottles over a spirit-lamp to prevent their freezing, etc., concluded with "This morning it was so cold, that Dr. Bellew could not even write to his own wife," showing that his long letters were quite a joke to the little band of travellers. Indeed his pen (like his pipe) was never long out of his hand.

5. While political assistant to Sir Frederick Roberts he was put on the commission with his brother-in-law, the lamented Sir Charles MacGregor—than whom India has seen no braver soldier—to investigate the guilt or non-guilt of certain prisoners of war, a wise selection, as the ready action and prompt decisions of the one, were tempered by the clearer insight of the other into the intricacies of the Afghan mind, so that it was chaffingly said in camp, "Oh! hang it all, why not hand the whole business over to MacGregor and Bellew and let them settle it between them? MacGregor would do the fighting and conquer the country for you, then let him clear out, and put Bellew in to pacify the natives and make the thing work."

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Ranjit Singh*, by SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN K.C.S.I. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892. 2s. 6d.), is one of the best volumes of the well-known series of *The Rulers of India*. Sir Lepel Griffin is exceptionally well fitted for writing Punjab History, and he has given us here the fruits of his reading, personal acquaintance with Punjab Chiefs and documents, and great knowledge of Indian men and affairs. The history of Ranjit Singh, concise to suit the Series, is graphic in its descriptions, perfect in its form, and comprehensive in all that needed to be detailed. Graceful yet terse in style in every part, we specially note his sketch-character of Ranjit Singh as a man and a Ruler, and the chapter on the Sikhs and their distinctive traits. Here and there are interspersed good maxims of sound statesmanship for the guidance of the present British administration. We fully agree with Sir Lepel, that British rule in India has been a great success; and we re-echo his hope that it may continue to promote the welfare of the country, by a firm, just, judicious, and conscientious government. It is important that books like this of Sir Lepel and Mr. Keene's Madhava Rao Scindhia should remind us, and especially the great Indian public, of the troubled days of anarchy and the terrible ways of tyranny from which the British Government has freed India; for it is important that the sons and grandsons should not forget what their ancestors witnessed and bore. We can recommend highly this volume of the *Rulers of India* to all classes of readers. Excellent as the work is, Ranjit Singh's place in this Series is by no means evident; for though a great Ruler in India, he can, in only a very wide sense, be called one of the Rulers of India.

2. *Lord William Bentinck*, by DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892. *Rulers of India* Series. 2s. 6d.) Lord Bentinck has been generally considered an overpraised man, and of this clear and conclusive evidence is supplied by Mr. Boulger's well-written book, though the writer himself is a panegyrist. Lord Bentinck's intellect failed to grasp and his will to improve the numerous opportunities offered him in his early career, in the civil and military employments which the interest of his powerful family procured for him: he was, in almost every instance, a conspicuous failure. None but a man with wide and powerful connections could have recovered from the scathing censure and well-deserved removal from office which closed Lord Bentinck's first Indian career. Though the very facts that Mr. Boulger relates plainly lay on Lord Bentinck's shoulders the responsibility of the Vellore mutiny and much else of evil in his Governorship of Madras, Mr. Boulger begins, later in the volume, to consider him the victim of an unjust severity. We are not told the negotiations which resulted in Lord Bentinck's appointment as Governor-General; but the fact of his accepting office on condition of carrying out certain retrenchments and a policy which he condemned in his heart, shows that he sacrificed his principles for the chance of wiping out his former dis-

graceful recall. His abolition of *Sati* and his financial administration deserve every praise. But beyond that he did little or nothing for India. His campaign in Coorg was a failure, like the rest of his personal acts; and he deserves no credit for carrying out orders from the Court of Directors which he held to be wrong, or for merely continuing the acts of his predecessors. So much for Lord Bentinck himself. We hope this Series will not degenerate into mere panegyrics, overlaying faults with a coating of uniform praise. Mr. Boulger's want of personal knowledge of India is conspicuous in this volume, when he comes to speak of native customs and feelings; and we would recommend the Editor to pick his writers for further volumes of the Series from those who include a long residence in the East among other requirements as good writers.

3. *Oriental Religions and Christianity*, by F. F. ELLINWOOD, D.D. (London: James Nisbet and Co. 5s.) This is an essentially pugnacious book, professedly written to exalt Christianity at the expense of all other forms of religion. We would not, however, condemn it on that account alone: a man is right to praise what he firmly believes. But before a writer can speak of Christianity, he should be able to specify what is included and what excluded by that now very vague term, of which among Christians one body alone can give an authoritative definition. There is no such thing as Christianity in general; and our author fails to specify which of the numerous branches of Christianity he patronises. The critic, moreover, of other religions than his own requires something besides a mere second or third hand compilation of condemnatory sentences. A great deal more is wanted than a mere anthology of vituperation. The living forms of Muhammadanism, Hinduism and Buddhism he has not met and does not know; the strength of their grasp upon millions he has not seen; and their influence for good he cannot appreciate. His reading has been all one-sided; and he naïvely suggests that, like some of Darwin's followers, he intends producing whatever favours his own views, without being too nice in selecting. The fact is that he is incompetent to judge, owing both to prejudice and ignorance. It is easy to ridicule separate details in religions, to dilate on defects, and to point the finger of scorn at shortcomings. These are incidental to all human institutions, and even to those that may be called humano-divine: Christianity is not itself exempt from this "trail of the serpent." It is also an open question whether the missionaries (for whose training Dr. Ellinwood lectures) would not succeed better, if taught to seek out and make the most of the points of contact of the various religions, rather than search for and abuse the lines of difference. Hence even as a guide to the missionary this book is misleading, while as an effort of scholarship it is a conspicuous failure.

4. *Letters from Mandalay*, by the late J. A. COLBECK, edited by G. H. COLBECK (Knaresborough: A. W. Lowe, 1892. 2s. 9d.), is a small volume of extracts from letters written by a late S.P.G. missionary at Mandalay. The printers and publishers have turned out a very handsome volume, though the editing leaves room for amendment. Thus in the introduction (p. iv.) we are told that the monastic schools are losing ground, whereas the late Director of Public Instruction tells us that they have accepted the

system inaugurated by Sir Arthur Phayre, and are holding their own amid the schools of Upper as of Lower Burma. The Letters themselves are honest, plain, and above all concise; and though they pretend to no eloquence of diction or terseness of style, they convey a striking picture, vivid from its very simplicity, of the events of the concluding days of the predecessor of King Thibau, and the short reign of the tyrant himself. The great defect is that the narrative is neither sufficiently detailed nor continuous; and hence, though very pleasant reading as far as it goes, it fails to show the whole history of even that narrow period of time. The author concludes with the satisfactory announcement of having founded a "real Burmese congregation," but with the vagueness characteristic of all missionaries, fails to state the number.

5. *Arakan: Past, Present, and Future*, by JOHN OGILVY HAY. (London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1892.) This book, which reached us too late for review in our last issue, is an account of Mr. Hay's long and strenuous efforts to make the India Office and the Indian Government do something for the development of Arakan, beyond allowing it to exist and quietly appropriating the surplus of its revenue (in 1890-91 quite Rs. 1,217,676) to Imperial uses. He proposes to make Akyab, in preference to Chitagong, the centre of its trading operations, and to connect Arakan by rail and steamer with Bengal on the east and Burma on the west. We confess to a feeling of utter disgust at the apathy which, notwithstanding a steady surplus in the revenue, has given to this tract, acquired in 1826, less than 50 miles of good road and left it still almost unexplored. There are, of course, other motives beyond those of mere philanthropy visible in Mr. Hay's contentions, but nothing which he need be ashamed to admit. The book would have been far pleasanter to read in the form of a detailed narrative, instead of the present fragmentary stringing together of letters and newspaper articles, with a slender thread of connection. Much was written before the annexation of Burmah, and in consequence of this is quite useless now and might be omitted. These are slight defects; but the book is, as a record of neglected duties and opportunities, valuable in an age which generally publishes and reads nothing except what is fulsome, and flattering to national and individual vanity.

6. *معامل احمدي*, *Ma'mūl-i-Ahmadi*; a complete manual of the art of Surgery, by HAKIM AHMAD ALI-SAHIB, زبیر احکما (Lahore, Lithographic Press of Munshi Jagath Narayan, 1890). This is a thick 8vo. vol. of 428 pages (in three parts) written in Hindustani, with illustrations. It forms a complete manual of Surgery. The author, a student of the Punjab University, seeing that many natives in India held aloof from European surgery, has carefully compiled his work from ancient Arabic treatises supplemented by the practice of modern surgery: as a matter of course, the latter forms the bulk of the treatise. It helps to show that the ancient Arabs had not neglected the art; and it is a standing testimony to the deep study and wide reading of the author. Its merit has been acknowledged in India by a wide circulation; and the Government have purchased and circulated a large number of copies among Indian medical students. It is a distinct step towards popularizing science by means of manuals ably written



in the vernacular, and as such we give it a most hearty welcome. The lithographic character is clear and legible, though small in size; and its cheapness enables the poorest Indian student to purchase a book from which he can store his mind or refresh his memory with the details of surgical art hitherto available only in European languages.

7. *Medum*, by W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. (London: David Nutt, 1892. 24s.) This is a companion volume to Mr. Flinders Petrie's "Illahun, Gurob," etc., which we reviewed in our April issue. It treats of the results of the excavations of 1890-91, the publication of which the author anticipated in a paper read at the 9th International Congress of Orientalists last September in London. Half the present quarto volume consists of very accurately prepared illustrations; and the other half gives, in Mr. Petrie's familiar and lucid style, a detailed account of the system on which he proceeded in his excavations and discoveries. One cannot but be struck with the great pains he always takes for preserving the originals, even when reproducing their details; and we can only regret that others are not as careful: wet squeezes have, as he justly remarks, been the destruction of paintings, and leaving stonework uncovered is an invitation to plunder it for building material. Among the more interesting finds at this great pyramid of Seneferu, whom Brugsch places about B.C. 3766, before Kefu (Cheops), are the details given of the building itself, which show at that early age a knowledge of both the science and art of architecture nearly as complete as that shown on the better known Gizeh edifices. Numbers of tombs found intact contained bodies not mummified, which with other indications pointed to a difference of race; and specimens have been made over to the College of Surgeons for ethnographical and anthropological specification. A very early stage of the process of mummification is also disclosed. Several important papyri, some noteworthy discoveries regarding earlier hieroglyphics, and many stone implements, are among the finds of great interest, as is the chemical analysis given of the pigments used. For further particulars we must refer our readers to Mr. Flinders Petrie's splendid work, another monument of the services which he has, for over a decade, continuously rendered to Egyptology.

8. *List of Officers of the Bengal Artillery*, compiled by GENERAL F. W. STUBBS. (Bath: C. Seers, Argyle Street.) This is essentially a compilation of details, interesting especially to artillery officers, and to those families whose scions have served their country in the distinguished corps, long since amalgamated with the Royal Artillery. The old Bengal Artillery has a record of glorious deeds second to that of no corps in the world; and those whose family names occur in the list of General Stubbs (himself a distinguished officer of the same, and a great numismatist) will treasure the record in their family archives. General Stubbs ever does his work with a thoroughness that leaves nothing to be desired; and his patient and painstaking compilation exhausts all the available records now existing. Among the names are many which are familiar as household words,—Tomb, Olpherts, Reid, Roberts, Huish, etc.

9. *Ethnology in Folklore*, by G. L. GOMME, F.S.A. (London: Kegan Paul and Co., 1892. 2s. 6d.) As might be expected from the President of

the Folklore Society, we have here a very readable book and a considerable step towards systematizing the discoveries of this comparatively new branch of investigation. The work is full of interesting details and scraps of knowledge, and bears evidence of the wide reading and careful study of the author. The main idea sought to be proved is that a Non-Aryan race preceded the Aryan wave, had its own cults and customs, was conquered but not exterminated by the Aryans, and continued till a late period intermixed with its conquerors: from this race the author traces folklore customs. Worthy of all praise for its research and erudition, our candid opinion is that Folklore is not sufficiently advanced and founded in sound principles to be called a science, and that this book fails to prove any positive Ethnological points, beyond the main conclusion. We note that at the outset (pp. 21 to 29) the author places a foundation stone, from the earlier writings of Sir Walter Elliot; and by a strange coincidence, a full account of the same village festival is given in our current issue (p. 461) from later notes of Sir Walter. The two vary in very material points, on which arguments are based by Mr. Gomme. In folklore in general, the same complaint is made: that isolated and possibly exaggerated instances are connected by suggestion, with a particular origin; and are afterwards cited as proofs of assertions. Instances occur in the book under review. Neither the learning of the author nor the eminence of the Editor of the series "Modern Science" suffice at present to entitle *Ethnology in Folklore* to a place among *Sciences*.

10. *The Sacred Books of the East*, translated by various Oriental Scholars, and edited by F. MAX MÜLLER. Vol. xxx. (Oxford: the Clarendon Press, 1892. 12s. 6d.) This volume, which in excellence and thoroughness of work as in appearance, is uniform with the preceding volumes of the Series, contains a translation by Professor Hermann Oldenberg, three Grihya Sutras, with a general introduction, after which (each with its own introduction) come the Gobhila, Hiranyakesi and Apastamba Grihya Sutras: a synopsis of the whole is given as a conclusion. The volume is made up to the size of its predecessors by Professor Max Müller's translation of Âpastamba's Yagnâ-Paribhasha Sutras, with a short introduction. It is superfluous to add more than that the work is worthy of the reputation of both the scholars concerned, and of the press from which it is issued.

11. *Studies in Mohammedanism*, by JOHN J. POOL. (Westminster: A. Constable and Co., 1892.) The high-sounding title led us to expect much, and we are disappointed. Had it been called "Gossips on Muhammadanism" we should have said the book was very readable and interesting, though not free from errors. But Mr. Pool's *Studies* are neither deep nor correct; and though he has travelled in the East, as he repeatedly tells us, he has failed to make the most of his opportunities. A good book of amusement for the general reader, it is, as a comparative study of Christianity and Muhammadanism, of no value at all; and the sort of doleful dirge sung in each chapter over the real and supposed short-comings of the latter is tiresome and annoying even to professors of the former religion.

12. *Mutual Influence of Muhammadans and Hindus in India*, by F. W.

THOMAS. (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell and Co., 1892.) This is a Le Bas prize-essay, showing a great range of reading combined with considerable power of deduction. It first compares the nature of the two religions in themselves, and treats of the results *a priori* which were likely to result from their contact and conflict; and these results are then pursued in detail as regards Government, Land-tenure and Law, Morality, and Religion. The conclusion gives a retrospect and a forecast of the future, which is fair and probable. The author has made as much as was possible of a subject which is necessarily rather dry in many of its details, and has given us a work of much learning and importance, though there are a few blemishes and errors, from which nothing but a personal knowledge of India could have saved him.

13. *From the Arctic Ocean to the Yellow Sea*, by JULIUS M. PRICE, M.R.G.S. (London: Sampson Low and Co., 1892. 24s.), details an adventurous tour through the Kara Sea, Siberia, Mongolia, and China. It is a charming book, full of information on the manners and customs of those regions; and its lively and graphic descriptions are profusely illustrated, almost at every page, by the author's excellent sketches and photographs. The first-hand and plain-spoken descriptions of prison life in Siberia will be especially read with interest, and probably with surprise by most persons whose ideas of the system, bad as it is, are distorted by the exaggerated accounts of the few who, after hurried journeys, have posed as teachers and authorities: we allow for later improvements. Mr. Price's book will do much to soften our ideas regarding Russian Siberia, and especially the Russian officers who rule it. Despite the faults of a system of universal espionage and corruption, Mr. Price's experiences cause the reader to admire, almost unconsciously, the splendid physique and excellent qualities of the men who, far from the influence of public opinion, maintain order amid their criminal surroundings. The adventurous journey across North-Eastern Asia is not likely to be often imitated; but we promise our readers much enjoyment in following, in this delightful book, the author's description of his travels. He went as special correspondent of the *Illustrated London News*, with a pioneer commercial expedition.

14. *Asiatic Cholera: its History and Treatment*, by N. C. MACNAMARA. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1892. 2s. 6d.) Good enough, to a certain extent, the historical part of this book is singularly incomplete: we notice omission of all reference to the last Indian commission on Cholera, on which the lamented Dr. Bellew was secretary, and to the continued labours of Drs. Lewis, Cunningham, and others, who for many years carried out special investigations and experiments. The numerous blue-books concerning both, the author could easily have consulted at the India Office; and if the suppression of the names of all three of these great authorities is due to professional bias, it reflects little credit on Mr. Macnamara. In the scientific part of the work, which includes the Bacteriology, Etiology, dissemination and treatment of this fell disease, he writes as a partisan of particular theories, which are not yet demonstrated—to say the least. Our personal experience refutes many of the statements on which arguments are based; and the mode of treatment recommended we have seen tried often

as unsuccessfully as other nostrums. Strangely enough he fails to give any personal precautions against catching cholera in infected districts, though many are proved by experience to be effective, such as wide flannel belts round the abdomen, and the use of camphor. The author fails to see that the violent outbreaks of cholera in the jails and barracks of India, the sanitary arrangements of which are so conspicuous amid their surroundings, militates strongly against his theories. This book is reliable, as far as it goes; but it is too partisan to be of much use, besides being incomplete and occasionally incorrect.

15. *Mahabôdhi: the great Buddhist Temple under the Bôdhi Tree, near Buddha Gaya*, by SIR A. CUNNINGHAM, R.E., K.C.I.E., C.S.I. (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1892. £3 3s.) The nearly octogenarian archæologist here gives us his long-expected work which quite satisfies the hopes entertained of it. Messrs. Allen and Co. have done their duty as publishers in a splendidly got up volume, in which letterpress, illustrations and binding leave as little to desire as does the thoroughly characteristic work of Sir A. Cunningham. Whilst restoring to the great Buddhist temple of Gaya its former name of Mahabôdhi, he also restores the temple itself for his readers. With descriptions of what still exists, ground-plans, illustrations, and restorations, he enables one to raise up a lively idea of what the great temple must have been. Perhaps the only defect in the book is that the restored view given (Plate XVI) is small, and insufficient to show more than very general details. General Cunningham, besides describing what actually exists, traces the records of the temple in antiquity, concentrates all the information available regarding it into a focus, and thus kindles a light to show the grandeur and beauty of this monument of by-gone piety, of which only too little has escaped the ravages of time and man. Among the points settled in this volume by the author, with his usual wealth of erudite illustration, is the question of the time when the arch was known in India; and he here proves, against his own previous view and Mr. Fergusson's, that the arch was in existence in India centuries anterior to Muhammadan conquest. We cannot give higher praise to this beautiful and interesting book than by saying that it is fully worthy of the great author's deservedly high reputation as a veteran archæologist, than whom no one is a greater authority on Indian questions. The discovery of so important a monument at comparatively so late a date should encourage a more systematic archæological survey than has hitherto been undertaken in India.

16. *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, by F. STEINGASS, Ph.D. of the Munich University. (London: W. H. Allen and Co. £3 16s.) As the author states, his work is "Johnson and Richardson's Persian, Arabic, and English Dictionary," revised, enlarged, and entirely reconstructed, giving in addition to the Persian also the Arabic words and phrases found in Persian literature. It is considerably smaller than its original, yet maintains fully its claim of being a comprehensive aid to Persian literature. Like most comprehensive works, however, it has the defect of giving loose meanings under headings whence they ought to be struck out. E.g., under *Dahana*, we have "*Dahana i Farhang*, Jasper, a precious stone of a thick greenish colour, Melochites" (*sic*). Now, jasper

and malachite are not the same, nor is it true that jasper is of a thick greenish colour for it is oftener red or yellow, nor is *dahana i farhang* correctly used for either the one or the other. Another fault in common with other "comprehensive" books is that of inserting many words which have no claim whatever to a place in a dictionary, or if they have, they require in fairness to be supplemented with a whole series of similar words. Thus we are given a bastard Madeleine and Champs Elysées, while Boulevard, Paris, and even France, are absent. If those two, why not all geographical names of importance? and if not, then why the two minor topographical details? Yet the work, more portable than other dictionaries of the language of a proportionate "comprehensiveness," is a good one for the student, to whom it will save much time by presenting him a ready-made phrase where he might have otherwise to seek out the meaning of two, perhaps three, words. The Persian scholar will hardly, however, praise it for strict exactness of meaning.

17. *The Labour Party in New South Wales*, by J. R. ROYDHOUSE and H. J. TAPERELL. (London: Swan Sonnenschen and Co.; Sydney and Brisbane: E. Dunlop and Co., 1892.) The last general elections in New South Wales returned 35 Labour members to the Sydney Legislature, and our authors give a full history of the men and of the ends of the Labour Party, and of what these representatives of that party have hitherto done. The whole is well and dispassionately told; and the work deserves careful study by all interested in politics; for the Labour Party is looming large in the dim but not distant future of every so-called civilized country. If what has taken place in New South Wales is the sample of what will take place everywhere, we shall have a party much given to disintegrating on side issues, to frequent loud and long speechifying with repetitions of the statement that they are there not to talk but to act and to make everyone else act, and to an insistence on the passing of measures which, when passed, are found utterly worthless and useless—like the Trades Disputes Conciliation and Arbitration Act, passed last March, which remains in the present disputes at Broken Hill, quite a dead letter. As a graphic description of the party and its objects, the men and their mode of acting and speaking, this book is of great value to the student of politics.

18. *Geography of the British Colonies*, by G. M. DAWSON and A. SUTHERLAND. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co., 1892.) This little book is one of the best of recent additions to Macmillan's well-known geographical series. The illustrations are excellent, the typographical errors few in number, and the style lucid and interesting. The physical, climatic, and ethnographical conditions of the colonies receive their full share of attention, and the mind is nowhere compelled to dwell on long lists of cities and populations. It is, however, not so much a standard work for geographical reference as an interesting description, well calculated to stir up a feeling of patriotism in the hearts of all British readers. The fact that to a great extent both the authors are describing their own native countries may perhaps account for the general aspect of everything being so very *couleur de rose*; nevertheless the less prepossessing features of the picture are nowhere passed over. One of the most interesting facts is that

"Greater Britain" seems to include almost all the coal and iron producing districts of the world. No "Imperial federationist" should be without this handy little volume.

19. *Eastern Geography*, by PROF. A. H. KEANE, with a map. (London: Edward Stanford, 1892.) This geography is as good as the preceding, though a work of quite a different type. Professor Keane's diligence and research are abundantly shown throughout; but the book is evidently meant more for the ethnographist or the European engaged in administration or business in the far East than for the general reader. Some of the statistics are interesting, but the lists of Siamese or Malayan provinces, etc., are necessarily somewhat dry. For the ordinary reader the most interesting portions of the volume are the historical references and the ethnographical and oceanic divisions of the "fairly islands of the East." Professor Keane's division of the Eastern Archipelago into three natural regions (Asiatic, Oceanic, and Australian) is ably stated, and certainly very reasonable. The existence of a large "Indonesian" substratum throughout this part of the world is employed by him to connect the Polynesians of the Pacific with the Caucasian inhabitants of India; and no doubt the tall, wavy-haired, light-brown Tahitans and Samoans have a much greater resemblance to Caucasians than to Mongols, Malays, or Negroes. The style is scientific, as becomes a work of this character, still occasionally it might have been simpler. For instance, in one passage we are told that a certain volcano yields "a considerable supply of the muriate of soda useful for culinary purposes." It would perhaps have been just as easy to say "cooking salt," and it is not quite evident why the author prefers to use an obsolete chemical formula.

20. *Barren Ground of Northern Canada*, by WARBURTON PIKE. (London and New York: Macmillan and Co.) The author, in a somewhat humble and deprecatory preface, begs the critical reader to spare his comments on the faulty style of one who has been rash enough to lay down his rifle and take up the pen, and the "eminent geographer" not to waste his time in pointing out the inaccuracies in his sketch-map of the lakes he passed through. As Mr. Pike's travels lay, however, in a part of Canada almost entirely unexplored by white men, the "eminent geographer" would be very hasty to condemn what he knows little about. Travelling and camping with Indians all the time, the author was compelled to live as they did, feasting and starving alternately, jostling for a good piece of meat out of the common pot, now disputing and quarrelling with his rascally guides, now coaxing them. The chase of the Musk Ox, the object of his journey, and the migration of the Caribou are naturally the most interesting parts of the book. We hope that the Indian's innate lust of ruthless slaughter will not succeed in exterminating the Musk Ox, an animal interesting in itself and perhaps a remnant of the pre-glacial American fauna. The narrative is generally interesting, and frequently humorous, though the humour is somewhat grim when it deals with the follies of starving men. Geographical societies may grieve that the author did not take instruments to give an exact map of the country he traversed, but this does not affect the general reader. It is a sportsman's story, and as such well told; but even the scientist can still find much useful information in it.

21. *Rambles through Japan without a Guide*. (London: Sampson Low, Marston and Co. 6s.) After Sir Edwin Arnold's *Seas and Lands*, and several other elaborate descriptions of Japan and its people, it is not surprising that Mr. Alfred Tracy felt somewhat diffident in launching his *Rambles through Japan without a Guide* on the sea of publicity. The only novelty it possesses, as he himself tells us in the preface to his book, is that he travelled from one end of the empire to the other without an interpreter or guide, and without knowing more than a few words of the language. He has, however, given us a very pleasant and chatty account of his experiences during his three months' wanderings, and a good deal of information in his last chapter on the Present and Future of Japan. The author, free from the narrow prejudices of race and creed, does ample justice to Japanese life and manners, which he calls a phase of a real civilization. Although he holds Christianity the highest type and form of civilization when based on the teachings of Christ, he strongly deplores that the greed of Christian nations has brought that once prosperous country nearly to the verge of ruin, and that we still withhold from her the right of controlling her commerce, and thus keep her in a position of dependence and humiliation. Like all travellers in Japan, Mr. Tracy speaks most highly of the courteous manners and good breeding of the Japanese people, in all grades of society. He met with uniform politeness everywhere, and was rarely, if ever, overcharged or imposed upon. We can recommend this book for its light and entertaining reading; though, as a rule, we do not approve of hasty travels, as they seldom are quite accurate.

22. *The Law Magazine and Review* for August (Stevens and Haynes), contains a further article by Mr. John Dacosta, on "Judicial Independence in India," which, like its predecessor, has been reprinted by the author. Mr. Dacosta's arguments are very strongly marshalled, and taking the two articles together, seem to make out a case of which probably the strongest features are yet in the background. It is evident, for instance, that the action of the Court of Wards, to mention only one point which occurs to us at the moment, amply deserves the same vigorous analysis as that to which Mr. Dacosta has subjected the relations of the Executive and the Judicature in British India. The editor has appended to the present contribution a brief notice, pointing out that the question of Judicial Independence was practically one of the main issues in the struggle against Absolutism under the Stuarts.

23. *Jataka-Mala*. (Harvard Sanskrit Series.) The names of Professor Lanman, the supervisor of this series, and of Dr. Kern, the special editor of the volume under review, are a sufficient guarantee for the sound and accurate scholarship of this edition of the "Jataka-Mala." As far as we have examined the Sanskrit text, it leaves nothing to be desired; the type is clear and readable, the printing and paper excellent.

It is a pleasure to turn from the badly-printed, and often, we fear, it must be added, equally badly-edited, productions of the native Indian presses, to a book so technically perfect as this first volume of the Harvard Series; though, while noting the generally inferior work of the Bombay and Calcutta printers, it would be unfair not to make an exception in



favour of the "Rig-Veda," with Sayana's Commentary, edited by Pandit Rajatama Shastri, which was published a few months ago by Mr. Tukaram Tatyā, of Bombay.

This edition of the "Jataka-Mala ; or, Garland of Birth-Stories," though produced from the collation of several MSS., really represents only one reading, as the MSS. accessible to the editor are evidently copies from a common source, and only repeat each other's mistakes.

The birth-stories in the Sanskrit text are thirty-four in number, according to the Buddhist tradition, but the appendix contains a thirty-fifth story not in Sanskrit, but in the curious Gatha dialect, which is closer to Sanskrit than Pali. The editor's explanation of the presence of this Gatha story in the Sanskrit text is interesting.

The chief defect, it seems to us, that can be laid to the charge of this first volume of the Harvard Sanskrit Series, is the absence of a general introduction discussing the literary and philosophic bearing of many interesting points involved in the "Jataka-Mala." To the most interesting of these, the origin of the main motive of the book, some space, at any rate, might have been given.

We might have been told what Dr. Kern's view is on the question of the source from which the author or authors of the "Jataka-Mala" borrowed the idea of stringing together a series of stories or fables on the personality of Buddha in different births ; and whether this conception was borrowed from the Brahminical doctrine of the avatārs of Vishnu, such as the fish-avatār and the boar-avatār, which might be compared with the Vyagri-Jataka and the Shasha-Jataka in the text under review.

24. *The Naulakha : a Story of West and East*, by RUDYARD KIPLING and WOLCOTT BALESTIER. (London : William Heinemann, 1892.) 6s. The incomparable pictures on the horizon, which Mr. R. Kipling has discovered and described, would, like charity, cover a multitude of literary sins ; but we cannot be indulgent to the rowdy and namby-pamby combination of American with Anglo-Indian love-making and swindling in "Naulakha" (as everyone in the least acquainted with any Indian vernacular would spell this well-known word): Of course, Mr. Kipling's Indian descriptions shine in comparison with those of his Yankee colleague, but both are vulgar and falsely sentimental—the very last reproach which the authors probably expect. Like "The Light that Failed," the ending of "Naulakha" is bad English and worse sense ; but there are the characters of the Rajput King and of the Gipsy Queen, as also the ghastly failure of a Dufferin scheme for the medical treatment of Indian women, that alone would make the purchase of "Naulakha," as also the subsequent relinquishment of the "nine lakh" gem, which is its *raison d'être*, a matter of excusable curiosity.

25. *The Lone-Star of Liberia*, by F. A. DURHAM, with an introduction by Madame La Comtesse C. Hugo. (London : Elliot Stock, 1892.) The author describes himself as an African and a student of Lincoln's Inn. To the former circumstance is due his having undertaken the defence of his brethren ; to the latter, we owe a collection of strange quibbling arguments and peculiar views. The object of the book is to induce the Negroes in



America to throw off the yoke of their tyrants and to emigrate to Liberia where grants of land and sundry good things await them. We agree with the author in considering this desirable both for the Negroes and their persecutors; but the fact that the former, in spite of much urging, yet remain attached to the flesh-pots and the accompanying indignities in the land of the "stars and stripes," (for them, chiefly the latter) conclusively shows that these martyred saints of coal-black hue are still slaves in mind and serfs in spirit as they were bondsmen for ages. We laud Mr. Durham for his vigorous protest against the iniquities perpetrated upon the inhabitants of Africa by exploiters whom the dazzled ignorant herd styles explorers; by thieves, murderers, incendiaries—as Dr. Cust's article in this issue proves them to be—whom the English and German nations worship as heroes. Justly does the author inveigh against those whose gospel of peace and goodwill is emphasized by bullets and whose sincerity is demonstrated by the gattling, the rifle, the bayonet! Mr. Durham is perfectly right in such denunciation and equally so when he discloses the thousand grievances, the relentless persecution, the cold-blooded tyranny which the dark citizens of the United States suffer at the hands of their fairer co-citizens; but when the author excuses the vilest of crimes to which his brethren are addicted on the plea of their excessively affectionate, amatory, temperament, then, indeed, are we forcibly reminded that he holds a brief on behalf of his compatriots and that his statements should, therefore, be taken very largely *cum grano*. The height of absurdity is reached when Mr. Durham contends for the Phœnician ancestry of the African negro and boasts of African greatness and African civilization, on the strength of a number of examples of his race who not only successfully adopted the garments of Europe, but also its culture and thus became shining lights. The author makes sweeping charges of ignorance, yet he himself betrays a lamentable want of knowledge and culpable negligence when referring to Indians; his childish spite against these, ill suits an apostle of toleration. Let the author not compare Africans to Orientals; for what comparison can there be between the dark Continent, possessed of no indigenous civilization and no religion worthy the name; between that absolute zero in the work of human progress and the glorious, resplendent East, the *fons et origo* of religion, of philosophy, of culture; the cradle of mankind?

Mr. Durham elaborately proves that white women have married black men and *vice versâ*; yet, what purpose this is to serve we cannot gather, nor can we think why the author should adduce proof for what is admitted; no one doubts that such things happen, and arguments are quite unnecessary to maintain the assertion that there are fools amongst human beings of both sexes. We cannot conclude our remarks without wishing success to the object of the book and congratulating Mr. Durham on his wide though superficial reading, his powerful though quibbling logic, and his vigorous style only marred by distressing repetitions.

26. *Useful Sanskrit Nouns and Verbs*, in English letters; compiled by Charles Johnston (Luzac and Co., London). This is a useful little volume indeed. Mr. Johnston may lay claim to originality inasmuch as he has produced a handy book for the study of that most beautiful and polished

language, Sanskrit, without at the very outset, as is customary, parading his knowledge of the intricacies of grammar and syntax and thus creating almost insurmountable barriers to the progress of the student. The learned author is, indeed, quite a heretic in this respect for he actually tries to make matters as easy as possible.

27. *Persia and the Persian Question*, by the Hon. George N. Curzon, M.P., 2 vols. (Longmans and Co.).\* The two bulky volumes on "Persia and the Persian Question" which have appeared during the current year, and for which we are indebted to the fluent pen of the Hon. George Curzon, embody almost all that an enlightened inquirer can reasonably expect to be told about an Oriental State, in a single publication. At once a comprehensive guide-book and useful political manual, it contains a vast amount of particular and general information on a country the antiquity of which alone entitles it to a prominent place among the nations of the East. But Persia has stronger claims to notice than deducible from a venerable age. Her associations are Scriptural as well as historical. Her Esthers and her Vashtis are even better known and more conspicuous figures in the world's memory than her Ardashirs and Shápúrs. If we recognise in the Ahasuerus of the Bible, as modern research leads us to do, the Xerxes of Herodotus and Justin, we have the testimony of both sacred and profane history to the power and magnificence of the predecessors of Nasru'd-dîn Shah five centuries before the Christian Era; and now in the last decade of the nineteenth century the Persian kingdom—though not in extent the vast Empire of Cyrus—is of very ample dimensions, and possesses a population which, if comparatively small and composed of divers elements, is by no means effete or incapable of progression in a sense far higher than that of territorial aggrandisement. As a reason why Englishmen should be especially interested in Persia, Mr. Curzon reverts to a common ancestry; but his argument is more likely to strike home when he comes down from the somewhat hazy standpoint of the original Aryan stock to the more evident periods of English history. His *résumé* of Anglo-Persian connection, in his Introductory Chapter, takes us back to the thirteenth century.

The long-standing historical connection of the two monarchies must undoubtedly be an interesting and essential feature in any abstract of Anglo-Persian diplomatic relations prepared at the present hour to refresh the memory of incoming Governments; and it supplies a kind of sympathetic chord which the Shah himself will readily touch when it suits the royal convenience. But if it is to be rendered available, by our statesmen, for the substantial advantage of Great Britain in the form of commercial or other concessions in favour of her enterprising subjects, opening out new lines of communication with the Indian Empire, or, eminently, in aiding to oppose the unwarrantable encroachments of Russia towards India, we are bound to do something to raise Persia herself to the level of civilized

\* We briefly referred to this work in our last issue, as one of the most important publications of the quarter; but we reserved a more exhaustive review of its contents for this present number, as both time and space rendered it impossible to do justice to the book in our July issue.—Ed.

nations, a condition which she has not yet attained. For achieving such an object as this the volumes before us are of infinite value. They convey to the reader's mind the truth about Persia and its "Question"; they show the Shah and his people, in their "habits as they live"—the first represented, not as a pattern sovereign, but as one who might well have been worse; the last as grasping, untrustworthy, false, yet withal frugal, intelligent, industrious. The two main demoralizing influences are expressed by the words *tashakkkhus* and *muddakkhil*, which may, practically, be translated "ostentation" and "peculation" (literally "incomings"). The love of display and distinction, and the craving for perquisites, in whatever sphere of work he may be placed, are to the Persian official, or *employé* of every grade, like counsellors of ill whose promptings are seldom, if ever, resisted. In other classes the same spirit is actively in operation, but opportunities for its exercise are less frequent and provocative. Those who have not lived and moved among Persians on their own soil can form but little conception how thoroughly ingrained are such peculiarities on the native character, and how much they affect the possessors in the ordinary transactions of life. Well may it be said that if these evil genii were destroyed, and replaced by Patriotism and Honesty, the regeneration of Persia might be anticipated.

Our author makes no mention of *tashakkkhus*—the term may not have fallen upon his ear—but this is what he has to tell us on *muddakkhil*:

"This remarkable word . . . may be variously translated as commission, perquisite, douceur, consideration, pickings and stealings, profit, according to the immediate context in which it is employed. Roughly speaking, it signifies that balance of personal advantage, usually expressed in money forms, which can be squeezed out of any and every transaction. A negotiation, in which two parties are involved as donor and recipient, as superior and subordinate, or even as equal contracting agents, cannot take place in Persia without the party who can be represented as the author of the favour or service claiming and receiving a definite cash return for what he has done or given. It may of course be said that human nature is much the same all the world over, that a similar system exists under a different name in our own or other countries, and that the philosophic critic will welcome in the Persian a man and a brother. To some extent this is true, but in no country that I have ever seen or heard of in the world, is the system so open, so shameless, or so universal as in Persia. So far from being limited to the sphere of domestic economy or to commercial transactions, it permeates every walk and inspires most of the actions of life. By its operation, generosity or gratuitous service may be said to have been erased in Persia from the category of social virtues, and cupidity has been elevated into the guiding principle of human conduct" (Vol. I., pp. 440, 441).

Be it added, however, that while this definition of a national failing may be admitted as a rule, there are undoubtedly to be found exceptions in individual cases, and these are by no means confined to those who have enjoyed the advantages of Western civilization.

Mr. Curzon divides his book into thirty chapters, half of which he com-

mends to the student, and half to the amateur. By classifying his work under the two heads of Dissertation and Travel, and apportioning chapters or parts of chapters accordingly, we should probably arrive at much the same result as he himself had in view, but the process would be facilitated and methodized by subdivision. For instance, under the first head might be grouped (1) archæology and history, (2) commerce and politics; while (1) geography in its wider and more popular sense, with (2) personal narrative and adventure, would be found under the second. Archæology and ancient history are, as a rule, combined. The ruins of Pasargadæ, the sculptures bearing the names of Naksh-i-Rustum and Naksh-i-Rajab, Persepolis, Istakhr, Susa, and Shápûr—all these are described and commented on with praiseworthy attention to minutæ and instructive retrospect; and the reader, to aid his research, is referred, by quotations or indications, to Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon, Strabo, Pliny, Quintus Curtius, Arrian, Lactantius, and other classical writers. At Persepolis, the hall of a hundred columns is considered to have been the throne-room or audience-hall of Darius Hystaspes; and it is thought probable from the evidence of ashes, proved to be carbonized cedar, that this is one of the palaces destroyed by Alexander, when, according to Dryden—

"The king seized a flambeau, with zeal to destroy;  
Thais led the way to light him to his prey,  
And, like another Helen, fired another Troy."

We will not follow Mr. Curzon in his discussion of motive for the act of incendiarism. What impelled Alexander to commit the deed—if he did commit it at all—must be matter of pure conjecture. Nor can we attempt an analysis of the many pages he has devoted to archæological investigation. But we may heartily congratulate him on the skill and industry he has exhibited in dealing with this branch of his subject in connection with ancient classical history. On the other hand, there is much of comparatively modern history to be traced in the description of cities such as Tehran, Tabriz, Mash-had, Ispahan, Yezd, Kirman, and Shiraz.

With Commerce and Politics, the chapters relating to which are plainly indicated by their titles, may be associated much that is comprised under the heads of Government, Institutions and Reforms, the Army, Railways, Revenues, Resources and Manufactures. All these questions are, upon the whole, ably, and often admirably, treated; and the instruction imparted is comprehensive and sound. But they cannot be adequately illustrated by extracts; the inquirer must be referred to the book itself and its well-filled pages, in which he will find no dry chapters and few dry passages. If we differ from the writer in opinion, it will be chiefly on details such as the particular line of railway communication which should form the Persian link of an Indo-European line. That link should, we believe, be found between the two terminal points of Baghdad and Kuráchi; not keeping to the coast except in Mekran, yet not reaching a more northerly point than Shiráz. A *main* line further north is obviously impolitic; but branches could be run out with ease to northerly or other points of the compass in the interests of trade, when occasion offered or circumstances justified. The physical difficulties to which Mr. Curzon refers, as presenting objections

to this scheme, would assuredly be no greater than on his own proposed line from Baghdad to Ispahan, through Kirmanshah. But we should have great reason for thankfulness if even *his* alternative line were adopted, and steps taken to make it a reality. At present we are aware of no visible signs of laying down a serious length of railway in Persia, in any direction whatever; nor does it appear practicable to obtain a concession for such procedure for a course of years, unless Russia were the applicant.

Ample justice is done to the geography of the Shah's dominions. Inspection of the newly executed map which accompanies "*Persia and the Persian Question*," shows that it is brought well up to date, and supplies intended travellers with just the information they require. In that portion of the text which we should separate as geographical, are some capital descriptions of road and landscape, and the stories and statistics of towns are given with extraordinary care and fulness. References to former writers abound, and the cream of their observations is retained for the benefit of the reader.

In conclusion, we must record our appreciation of Mr. Curzon's easy portraiture of men whom he meets. The passage in which he describes the prince known as Zil-es-Sultan merits notice under this head, and would be a fair specimen to select, had we space for further extract. F. J. G.

It is with particular regret that we postpone for want of space the reviews of Captain Binger's most interesting volumes entitled *Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée par le pays de Kong et le Mossi* (Paris: Hachette et Cie.), and M. J. Chailley-Bert's *La Colonisation de l'Indo-Chine; l'expérience Anglaise* (Paris: Guillaume et Cie. and Armand, Colin et Cie.), which may well make Britain proud of the praise that the distinguished Frenchman, after careful study, analysis, and examination, bestows on its methods of colonisation.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

We have received, too late for review in this issue, Prof. Nöldeke's *Sketches from Eastern History* (London: A. and C. Black); J. L. Kipling's *Beast and Man in India* (London: Macmillan and Co.).

We have also received, with thanks, *The Contemporary Review* (Messrs. Isbister and Co.); *The Civiltà Cattolica*, which in addition to further De Cara's learned papers on the Hittites has given several other interesting articles in archæology; *The Missionary Review of Reviews*; *The American Journal of Philology*; *The Scottish Geographical Magazine*; *Le Polybiblion*; *La Revue des Revues*; *La Revue Général*; *The Review of Reviews*; *The American Antiquarian*; *The Biblia*, a Monthly Magazine of Biblical and Oriental Research.

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